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THE
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(AUTHORISED EDITION)

For Session 1900.

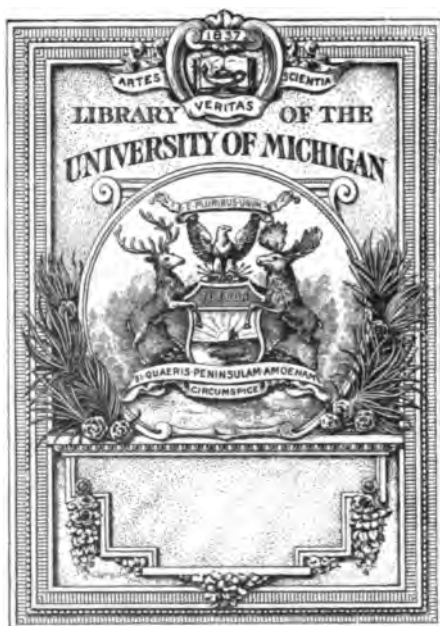
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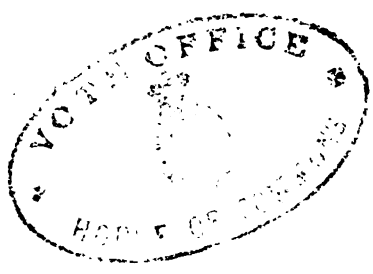


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THE
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(AUTHORISED EDITION),

166923.

FOURTH SERIES.

BEING THE SEVENTH SESSION OF THE TWENTY-SIXTH PARLIAMENT

OF THE

UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

63 VICTORIÆ.

VOLUME LXXVIII.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM THE THIRTIETH DAY OF JANUARY
TO THE FOURTEENTH DAY OF FEBRUARY.

1900.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED,
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CHRONOLOGY OF "THE PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES."

THE PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY contains all that can be collected of the Legislative History of this country from the Conquest to the close of the XVIIIth Century (1803), 36 vols. The chief sources whence these Debates are derived are the Constitutional History, 24 vols.; Sir Simonds D'Ewes' Journal; Debates of the Commons in 1620 and 1621; Chandler and Timberland's Debates, 22 vols.; Grey's Debates of the Commons, from 1667 to 1694, 10 vols.; Almon's Debates, 24 vols.; Debrett's Debates, 63 vols.; The Hardwicke Papers; Debates in Parliament by Dr. Johnson, &c., &c.

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AN ALPHABETICAL LIST
OF THE
LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL
IN THE
SEVENTH SESSION OF THE TWENTY-SIXTH PARLIAMENT
OF
THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

63 VICTORIÆ 1900.

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| 538 | Cheylesmore, William Meriton Lord | 553 | Crawshaw, Thomas Lord |
| 133 | Chichester, Walter John Earl of | 196 | Crewe, Robert Offley Ashburton Earl of |
| 239 | Chichester, Ernest Roland Bishop of | 340 | Crofton, Edward Henry Churchill Lord. (<i>Elected for Ireland</i>) |
| 46 | Cholmondeley, George Henry Hugh Marquess of | 233 | Cromer, Evelyn Viscount |
| 360 | Churchill, Victor Albert Francis Charles Lord | 11 & 228 | Cross, Richard Assheton Viscount. (<i>Lord Privy Seal</i>) |
| 431 | Churston, John Lord | 28 | Cumberland and Teviotdale, His Royal Highness Ernest Augustus William Adolphus George Frederick Duke of |
| 217 | Clancarty, William Frederick Viscount. (<i>Earl of Clancarty</i>) | 594 | Currie, Philip Henry Wodehouse Lord |
| 380 | Clanwilliam, Richard James Lord. (<i>Earl of Clanwilliam</i>) | | |
| 113 | Clarendon, Edward Hyde Earl of | | |
| 385 | Clements, Charles Lord. (<i>Earl of Leitrim</i>) | | |
| 284 | Clifford of Chudleigh, Lewis Henry Hugh Lord | | |
| 279 | Clifton, Edward Henry Stuart Lord (<i>Earl of Darnley</i>) | 91 | Dartmouth, William Heneage Earl of |
| 263 | Clinton, Charles Henry Rolle Lord | 180 | Dartrey, Vesey Earl of |
| 338 | Clonbrock, Luke Gerald Lord. (<i>Elected for Ireland</i>) | 568 | Davey, Horace Lord. (<i>A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary</i>) |
| 392 | Cloncurry, Valentine Frederick Lord | 584 | Dawnay, Hugh Richard Lord. (<i>Viscount Downe</i>) |
| 202 | Cobham, Charles George Viscount | 262 | De Clifford, Jack Southwell Lord |
| 362 | Colchester, Reginald Charles Edward Lord | 422 | De Freyne, Arthur Lord |
| 470 | Coleridge, Bernard John Seymour Lord | 108 | De La Warr, Gilbert George Reginald Earl |
| | | 396 | De L'Isle and Dudley, Philip Lord |

D

| | |
|-----|---|
| 91 | Dartmouth, William Heneage Earl of |
| 180 | Dartrey, Vesey Earl of |
| 568 | Davey, Horace Lord. (<i>A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary</i>) |
| 584 | Dawnay, Hugh Richard Lord. (<i>Viscount Downe</i>) |
| 262 | De Clifford, Jack Southwell Lord |
| 422 | De Freyne, Arthur Lord |
| 108 | De La Warr, Gilbert George Reginald Earl |
| 396 | De L'Isle and Dudley, Philip Lord |

- 438 Fitzhardinge, Charles Paget Fitzhardinge Lord
 104 Fitzwilliam, William Thomas Spencer Earl
 304 Foley, Henry Thomas Lord
 287 Forbes, Horace Courtenay Gammell Lord. (*Elected for Scotland*)
 370 Forester, Cecil Theodore Lord
 117 Fortescue, Hugh Earl
 359 Foxford, William Henry Edmond de Vere Sheaffe Lord. (*Earl of Limerick*)

G

- 320 Gage, Henry Charles Lord. (*Viscount Gage*)
 171 Gainsborough, Charles William Francis Earl of
 353 Gardner, — Lord
 480 Gerard, William Cansfield Lord
 372 Gifford, Edric Frederick Lord
 595 Glanusk, Joseph Russell Lord
 576 Glenesk, Algernon Lord
 237 Gloucester, Charles John Bishop of
 214 Gordon, John Campbell Viscount. (*Earl of Aberdeen*)
 452 Gormanston, Jenico William Joseph Lord. (*Viscount Gormanston*)
 222 Gough, Hugh Viscount
 15 Grafton, Augustus Charles Lennox Duke of
 97 Graham, Douglas Beresford Malise Ronald Earl. (*Duke of Montrose*)
 352 Granard, Bernard Arthur William Patrick Hastings Lord. (*Earl of Granard*)
 309 Grantley, John Richard Brinsley Lord
 164 Granville, Granville George Earl
 463 Greville, Algernon William Fulke Lord
 140 Grey, Albert Henry George Earl
 265 Grey de Ruthyn, Rawdon George Grey Lord
 522 Grimthorpe, Edmund Lord
 358 Grinstead, Lowry Egerton Lord. (*Earl of Enniskillen*)
 105 Guilford, Frederick George Earl of
 329 Gwydir, Peter Robert Lord

H

- 84 Haddington, George Earl of. (*Elected for Scotland*)
 484 Haldon, Lawrence Hesketh Lord
 592 Haliburton, Arthur Lawrence Lord
 223 Halifax, Charles Lindley Viscount
 8 & 198 Halsbury, Hardinge Stanley Earl of. (*Lord High Chancellor*)
 526 Hamilton of Dalzell, John Glencairn Carter Lord
 226 Hampden, Henry Robert Viscount
 473 Hampton, Herbert Perrott Murray Lord
 221 Hardinge, Henry Charles Viscount
 106 Hardwicke, Albert Edward Philip Henry Earl of
 457 Hare, William Lord. (*Earl of Listowel*)
 143 Harewood Henry Ulick Earl of
 477 Harlech, William Richard Lord
 100 Harrington, Charles Augustus Earl of
 361 Harris, George Robert Canning Lord
 142 Harrowby, Dudley Francis Stewart Earl of
 444 Hartismere, John Major Lord. (*Lord Henniker*)
 261 Hastings, George Manners Lord
 398 Hatherton, Edward George Percy Lord
 209 Hawarden, Cornwallis Viscount. (*Elected for Ireland.*) (*In another place as Earl de Montalt*)
 303 Hawke, Martin Bladen Lord
 563 Hawkesbury, Cecil George Savile Lord
 294 Hay, George Lord. (*Earl of Kinnoul*)
 339 Headley, Charles Mark Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)
 578 Heneage, Edward Lord
 199 Hereford, Robert Viscount
 504 Herries, Marmaduke Francis Lord
 519 Herschell, Richard Farrer Lord
 40 Hertford, Hugh de Grey Marquess of
 378 Heytesbury, William Frederick Lord
 220 Hill, Rowland Richard Viscount
 520 Hillingdon, Charles William Lord

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| 112 Hillsborough, Arthur Wills John Wellington Trumbell Blundell Earl of. (<i>Marquess of Downshire</i>) | 425 Kenmare, Valentine Augustus Lord. (<i>Earl of Kenmare</i>) |
| 521 Hindlip, Charles Lord | 442 Kenry, Windham Thomas Lord. (<i>Earl of Dunraven and Mount-Earl</i>) |
| 510 Hobhouse, Arthur Lord | 524 Kensington, William Lord |
| 586 Holm Patrick, Hans Wellesley Lord | 317 Kenyon, Lloyd Lord |
| 206 Hood, Francis Wheler Viscount | 363 Ker, Robert Schomberg Lord. (<i>Marquess of Lothian</i>) |
| 547 Hood of Avalon, Arthur William Acland Lord | 448 Kesteven, John Henry Lord |
| 258 & 355 Hopetoun, John Adrian Louis Lord. (<i>Earl of Hopetoun.</i>) (<i>Lord Chamberlain of the Household</i>) | 337 Kilmaine, Francis William Lord. (<i>Elected for Ireland</i>) |
| 496 Hothfield, Henry James Lord | 382 Kilmarnock, Charles Gore Lord. (<i>Earl of Erroll</i>) |
| 458 Howard of Glossop, Francis Edward Lord | 156 Kilmorey, Francis Charles Earl of (<i>Elected for Ireland</i>) |
| 275 Howard de Walden, Thomas Evelyn Lord | 179 Kimberley, John Earl of |
| 153 Howe, Richard William Penn Earl | 436 Kinnaird, Arthur Fitz-Gerald Lord |
| 493 Howth, William Ulick Tristram Lord. (<i>Earl of Howth</i>) | 581 Kinnear, Alexander Smith Lord |
| 59 Huntingdon, Warner Francis John Plantagenet Earl of | 404 Kintore, Algernon Hawkins Thomond Lord. (<i>Earl of Kintore</i>) |
| 216 Hutchinson, John Luke George Viscount. (<i>Earl of Donoughmore</i>) | 593 Kitchener of Khartoum, Horatio Herbert Lord |
| 445 Hylton, George Hylton Lord | 230 Knutsford, Henry Thurstan Viscount |

I

- 190 Iddesleigh, Walter Stafford Earl of
 107 Ilchester, Henry Edward Earl of
 333 Inchiquin, Edward Donough Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)
 168 Innes, Henry John Earl. (*Duke of Roxburghe*)
 587 Inverclyde, John Lord
 543 Iveagh, Edward Cecil Lord

J

- 573 James, Henry Lord
 79 Jersey, Victor Albert George Earl of

K

- 417 Keane, John Manley Arbuthnot Lord
 548 Kelvin, William Lord
 286 Kenlis, Geoffrey Thomas Lord. (*Marquess of Headfort*)

L

- 487 Lamington, Charles Wallace Alexander Napier Lord
 122 Lanesborough, John Vansittart Danvers Earl of. (*Elected for Ireland*)
 341 Langford, Hercules Edward Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)
 35 Lansdowne, Henry Charles Keith Marquess of
 187 Lathom, Edward George Earl of
 85 Lauderdale, Frederick Henry Earl of. (*Elected for Scotland*)
 454 Lawrence, John Hamilton Lord
 432 Leconfield, Henry Lord
 18 Leeds, George Godolphin Duke of
 169 Leicester, Thomas William Earl of
 412 Leigh, William Henry Lord
 205 Leinster, Maurice Viscount. (*Duke of Leinster*)
 88 Leven and Melville, Ronald Ruthven Earl of. (*Elected for Scotland*)
 162 Lichfield, Thomas Francis Earl of
 254 Lichfield, Augustus Bishop of
 331 Lilford, John Lord

- 244 Lincoln, Edward Bishop of
 65 Lindsey, Montagu Peregrine Albermarle Earl of
 511 Lingen, Ralph Robert Wheeler Lord
 582 Lister, Joseph Lord
 238 Liverpool, John Charles Bishop of
 231 Llandaff, Henry Viscount
 240 Llandaff, Richard Bishop of
 557 Llangattock, John Allan Lord
 569 Loch, Henry Brougham Lord
 344 Loftus, John Henry Lord. (*Marquess of Ely*)
 192 Londesborough, William Henry Forester Earl of
 234 London, Mandell Bishop of
 141 Lonsdale, Hugh Cecil Earl of
 402 Lovat, Simon Joseph Lord
 170 Lovelace, Ralph Gordon Earl of
 300 Lovel and Holland, Augustus Arthur Lord. (*Earl of Egmout*)
 126 Lucan, George Earl of. (*Elected for Ireland*)
 585 Ludlow, Henry Ludlow Lord
 414 Lurgan, William Lord
 186 Lytton, Victor Alexander George Robert Earl of
 434 Lyveden, FitzPatrick Henry Lord
- M**
- 96 Macclesfield, George Loveden William Henry Earl of
 529 Macnaghten, Edward Lord. (*A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary*)
 534 Magheramorne, James Douglas Lord
 579 Malcolm of Poltalloch, John Wingfield Lord
 120 Malmesbury, James Edward Earl of
 25 Manchester, William Angus Drogo Duke of
 248 Manchester, James Bishop of
 285 Manners of Haddon, Henry John Brinsley Lord. (*Marquess of Granby*)
 354 Manners, John Thomas Lord
 114 Mansfield, William David Earl of
 138 Manvers, Charles William Sydney Earl.
 81 Mar, John Francis Erskine Earl of (*Elected for Scotland*)
 83 Mar and Kellie, Walter John Francis Earl of. (*Elected for Scotland*)
 21 Marlborough, Charles Richard John Duke of
 545 Masham, Samuel Lord
 335 Massy, John Thomas William Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)
 124 Mayo, Dermot Robert Wyndham Earl of. (*Elected for Ireland*)
 357 Meldrum, Charles Lord. (*Marquess of Huntly*)
 211 Melville, Henry Viscount
 323 Mendip, ————— Lord. (*Viscount Clifden*)
 441 Meredyth, James Herbert Gustavus Meredyth Lord. (*Lord Athlumney*)
 410 Methuen, Paul Sanford Lord
 295 Middleton, Digby Wentworth Bayard Lord
 364 Minster, Victor George Henry Francis Lord. (*Marquess Conyngham*)
 144 Minto, Gilbert John Earl of
 443 Monck, Henry Power Charles Stanley Lord. (*Viscount Monck*)
 532 Monckton, George Edmund Milnes Lord. (*Viscount Galway*)
 469 Moncreiff, Henry James Lord
 500 Monk Bretton, John William Lord
 509 Monkswell, Robert Lord
 296 Monson, Debonnaire John Lord
 516 Montagu of Beaulieu, Henry John Lord
 351 Monteagle, John Thomas Lord. (*Marquess of Sligo*)
 415 Monteagle of Brandon, Thomas Spring Lord
 149 Morley, Albert Edmund Earl of
 541 Morris, Michael Lord. (*A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary*)
 82 Morton, Sholto George Watson Earl of. (*Elected for Scotland*)
 390 Mostyn, Llewelyn Nevill Vaughan Lord
 116 Mount Edgecumbe, William Henry Earl of
 544 Mount Stephen, George Lord
 260 Mowbray, Charles Botolph Joseph Lord
 591 Muncaster, Josslyn Francis Lord
 160 Munster, William George Earl of

336 Muskerry, Hamilton Matthew Fitzmaurice Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)

N

451 Napier, Robert William Lord
 136 Nelson, Horatio Earl
 26 Newcastle, Henry Pelham Archibald Douglas Duke of
 589 Newlands, William Wallace Lord
 555 Newton, Thomas Wodehouse Lord
 12 Norfolk, Henry Duke of. (*Earl Marshal of England*)
 50 Normanby, Constantine Charles Henry Marquess of
 273 North, William Henry John Lord
 600 Northcote, Henry Stafford Lord
 43 Northampton, William George Spencer Scott Marquess of
 501 Northbourne, Walter Henry Lord
 184 Northbrook, Thomas George Earl of
 506 Northington, Frederick Lord. (*Lord Henley*)
 27 Northumberland, Henry George Duke of
 482 Norton, Charles Bowyer Lord
 256 Norwich, John Bishop of

O

464 O'Hagan, Thomas Towneley Lord
 450 O'Neill, Edward Lord
 131 Onslow, William Hillier Earl of
 401 Oranmore and Browne, Geoffrey Dominick Augustus Frederick Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)
 139 Orford, Robert Horace Earl of
 368 Oriel, Clotworthy John Eyre Lord. (*Viscount Massereene*)
 449 Ormathwaite, Arthur Lord
 365 Ormonde, James Edward William Theobald Lord. (*Marquess of Ormonde*)
 562 Overtoun, John Campbell Lord
 418 Oxenfoord, John Lord. (*Earl of Stair*)
 241 Oxford, William Bishop of

P

598 Pauncefote, Julian Lord

229 Peel, Arthur Wellesley Viscount
 56 & 60 Pembroke and Montgomery, Sidney Earl of. (*Lord Steward of the Household*)

446 Penrhyn, George Sholto Gordon Lord

276 Petre, Bernard Henry Philip Lord

575 Pirbright, Henry Lord

558 Playfair, George James Lord

377 Plunket, William Lee Lord

389 Poltimore, Augustus Frederick George Warwick Lord

292 Polwarth, Walter Hugh Lord. (*Elected for Scotland*)

297 Ponsonby, Walter William Brabazon Lord. (*Earl of Bessborough*)

123 Portarlington, Lionel George Henry Seymour Earl of. (*Elected for Ireland*)

24 Portland, William John Arthur Charles James Duke of

225 Portman, Wm. Henry Berkeley Viscount

101 Portsmouth, Newton Earl of

80 Poulett, ————— Earl

207 Powerscourt, Mervyn Edward Viscount. (*Elected for Ireland*)

505 Powerscourt, Mervyn Edward Lord. (*In another place as Viscount Powerscourt*)

135 Powis, George Charles Earl of

R

109 Radnor, William Earl of

424 Raglan, George Fitz-Roy Henry Lord

475 Ramsay, Arthur George Maule Lord. (*Earl of Dalhousie*)

375 Ranfurly, Uchter John Mark Lord. (*Earl of Ranfurly*)

453 Rathdonnell, Thomas Kane Lord. (*Elected for Ireland*)

574 Rathmore, David Robert Lord

182 Ravensworth, Henry George Earl of

371 Rayleigh, John William Lord

494 Reay, Donald James Lord

565 Rendel Stuart Lord

508 Revelstoke, John Lord

332 Ribblesdale, Thomas Lord

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| 14 | Richmond, Charles Henry Duke of | 27 | Salisbury, Robert Arthur Talbot Marquess of |
| 51 | Ripon, George Fredk. Samuel Marquess of | 246 | Salisbury, John Bishop of |
| 243 | Ripon, William Boyd Bishop of | 326 | Saltersford, James George Henry Lord. (<i>Earl of Courtown</i>) |
| 461 | Robartes, Thomas Charles Lord | 288 | Saltoun, Alexander William Fredk. Lord. (<i>Elected for Scotland</i>) |
| 546 | Roberts of Kandahar, Frederick Sleigh Lord | 465 | Sandhurst, William Lord |
| 599 | Robertson, James Patrick Bannerman Lord. (<i>A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary</i>) | 69 | Sandwich, Edward George Henry Earl of |
| 310 | Rodney, George Bridges Harley Dennett Lord | 348 | Sandys, Augustus Frederick Arthur Lord |
| 440 | Romilly, John Gaspard Le Marchant Lord | 540 | Savile, John Savile Lord |
| 132 | Romney, Charles Earl of | 277 | Saye and Sele, John Fiennes Lord |
| 549 | Rookwood, Henry John Lord | 76 | Scarborough, Aldred Frederick George Beresford Earl of |
| 379 | Rosebery, Archibald Philip Lord. (<i>Earl of Rosebery</i>) | 298 | Scarsdale, Alfred Nathaniel Holden Lord |
| 580 | Rosmead, Hercules Arthur Temple Lord | 416 | Seaton, John Reginald Upton Lord |
| 137 | Rosse, Lawrence Earl of. (<i>Elected for Ireland</i>) | 384 | Sefton, Charles William Hylton Philip Lord. (<i>Earl of Sefton</i>) |
| 129 | Rosslyn, James Francis Harry Earl of | 189 | Selborne, William Waldegrave Earl of |
| 405 | Rossmore, Derrick Warner William Lord | 73 | Shaftesbury, Anthony Earl of |
| 507 | Rothschild, Nathaniel Mayer Lord | 550 | Shand, Alexander Burns Lord |
| 489 | Rowton, Montagu William Lord | 349 | Sheffield, Henry North Lord. (<i>Earl of Sheffield</i>) |
| 178 | Russell, John Francis Stanley Earl | 313 | Sherborne, Edward Lennox Lord |
| 567 | Russell of Killowen, Charles Lord | 57 | Shrewsbury, Charles Henry John Earl of |
| 22 | Rutland, John James Robert Duke of | 483 | Shute, Percy Lord. (<i>Viscount Barrington</i>) |
| | | 212 | Sidmouth, William Wells Viscount |
| | | 367 | Silchester, Thomas Lord. (<i>Earl of Longford</i>) |
| | | 289 | Sinclair, Charles William Lord. (<i>Elected for Scotland</i>) |
| | | 373 | Somerhill, Hubert George Lord. (<i>Marquess of Clanricarde</i>) |
| | | 311 | Somers, Arthur Herbert Tennyson Lord |
| | | 13 | Somerset, Algernon Duke of |
| | | 467 | Somerton, Sidney James Lord. (<i>Earl of Normanton</i>) |
| | | 188 | Sondes, George Edward Earl |
| | | 308 | Southampton, Charles Henry Lord |
| | | 242 | Southwell, George Bishop of |
| | | 110 | Spencer, John Poyntz Earl |
| | | 282 | Stafford, Fitzherbert Lord |
| | | 523 | Stalbridge, Richard de Aquila Lord |
| | | 66 | Stamford, William Earl of |

S

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| 481 | Sackville, Lionel Sackville Lord |
| 17 | Saint Albans, Charles Victor Albert Aubrey De Vere Duke of |
| 251 | St. Albans, John Wogan Bishop of |
| 250 | St. Asaph, Alfred George Bishop of |
| 148 | St. Germans, Henry Cornwallis Earl of |
| 274 | St. John of Bletso, Beauchamp Moubray Lord |
| 423 | Saint Leonards, Edward Burtenshaw Lord |
| 533 | Saint Levan, John Lord |
| 513 | Saint Oswald, Rowland Lord |
| 210 | St. Vincent, Carnegie Parker Viscount |

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| 95 Stanhope, Arthur Philip Earl | 204 Torrington, George Master Viscount |
| 411 Stanley of Alderley, Henry Edward John Lord | 36 Townshend, John James Dudley Stuart Marquess |
| 564 Stanmore, Arthur Lord | 433 Tredegar, Godfrey Charles Lord |
| 325 Stewart of Garlies, Alan Plantagenet Lord. (<i>Earl of Galloway</i>) | 488 Trevor, Arthur William Lord |
| 154 Stradbroke, George Edward John Mowbray Earl of | 253 Truro, John Bishop of |
| 173 Strafford, Francis Edmund Cecil Earl of | 492 Tweeddale, William Montagu Lord. (<i>Marquess of Tweeddale</i>) |
| 115 Strange, John James Hugh Henry Earl. (<i>Duke of Atholl</i>) | 497 Tweedmouth, Edward Lord |
| 588 Strathcona and Mount Royal, Donald Alexander Lord | 314 Tyrone, Henry De La Poer Lord. (<i>Marquess of Waterford</i>) |
| 400 Stratheden, Hallyburton George Lord | |
| 499 Strathspey, James Lord. (<i>Earl of Seafield</i>) | V |
| 324 Stuart of Castle Stuart, Edmund Archibald Lord. (<i>Earl of Moray</i>) | 157 Vane, Charles Stewart Earl. (<i>Marquess of Londonderry</i>) |
| 109 Sudeley, Charles Douglas Richard Lord | 269 Vaux of Harrowden, Hubert George Charles Lord |
| 502 Sudley, Arthur Saunders William Charles Fox Lord. (<i>Earl of Arran</i>) | 342 Ventry, Dayrolles Blakeney Lord. (<i>Elected for Ireland</i>) |
| 316 Suffield, Charles Lord | 301 Vernon, George Francis Augustus Lord |
| 62 Suffolk and Berkshire, Henry Molyneux Paget Earl of | 146 Verulam, James Walter Earl of |
| 30 Sutherland, Cromartie Duke of | 419 Vivian, George Crespigny Brabazon Lord |
| 560 Swansea, Ernest Ambrose Lord | |
| | W |
| T | 1 Wales, His Royal Highness the Prince of |
| 427 Talbot de Malahide, Richard Wogan Lord | 98 Waldegrave, William Frederick Earl |
| 92 Tankerville, George Montagu Earl of | 306 Walsingham, Thomas Lord |
| 155 Temple of Stowe, William Stephen Earl | 570 Wandsworth, Sydney James Lord |
| 391 Templemore, Henry Spencer Lord | 514 Wantage, Robert James Lord |
| 213 Templetown, Henry Edward Montagu Dorington Clotworthy Viscount. (<i>Elected for Ireland</i>) | 566 Welby, Reginald Earle Lord |
| 498 Tennyson, Hallam Lord | 29 Wellington, Henry Duke of |
| 376 Tenterden, Charles Stuart Henry Lord | 366 Wemyss, Francis Richard Lord. (<i>Earl of Wemyss</i>) |
| 281 Teynham, Henry John Philip Sidney Lord | 413 Wenlock, Beilby Lord |
| 528 Thring, Henry Lord | 270 Wentworth, Ralph Gordon Lord. (<i>In another place as Earl of Lovelace</i>) |
| 321 Thurlow, Thomas John Lord | 437 Westbury, Richard Luttrell Pilkington Lord |
| 479 Tollemache, Wilbraham Frederic Lord | 31 Westminster, Hugh Richard Arthur Duke of |
| 290 Torphichen, James Walter Lord. (<i>Elected for Scotland</i>) | 64 Westmorland, Anthony Mildmay Julian Earl of |
| | 183 Wharnccliffe, Francis John Earl of |
| | 374 Wigan James Ludovic Lord. (<i>Earl of Crawford</i>) |
| | 268 Willoughby de Broke, Henry Lord |
| | 134 Wilton, Arthur George Earl of |

- 485 Wimborne, Ivor Bertie Lord
 34 Winchester, Henry William Montagu Marquess of
 236 Winchester, Randall Thomas Bishop of
 67 Winchelsea and Nottingham, Henry Stormont Earl of
 272 Windsor, Robert George Lord
 176 Winton, George Arnulph Earl of. (*Earl of Eglintoun*)
 227 Wolseley, Garnet Joseph Viscount
 462 Wolverton, Frederick Lord
 252 Worcester, John James Stewart Bishop of
 399 Worlingham, Archibald Brabazon Sparrow Lord. (*Earl of Gosford*)
 408 Wrottesley, Arthur Lord
 381 Wynford, Henry Molyneux Lord

Y

- 167 Yarborough, Chas. Alfred Worsley Earl of
 4 York, His Royal Highness George Frederick Ernest Albert Duke of
 9 York, William Dalrymple Archbishop of

Z

- 5 Zetland, Lawrence Marquess of

- 264 Zouche of Haryngworth, Robert Nathaniel Cecil George Lord

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The following Lords have Two Numbers, being Twice named in the Roll :

- Earl of Halsbury, as Lord High Chancellor, and as Earl of Halsbury. (Nos. 8 and 198.)
 Duke of Devonshire, as Lord President, and as Duke of Devonshire. (Nos. 10 and 20.)
 Viscount Cross, as Lord Privy Seal, and as Viscount Cross. (Nos. 11 and 228.)
 Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, as Lord Steward, and as Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery. (Nos. 56 and 60.)
 Earl of Lovelace, as Earl of Lovelace, and as Lord Wentworth. (Nos. 170 and 270.)
 Earl de Montalt, as Earl de Montalt, and as Viscount Hawarden. (Nos. 191 and 209.)
 Viscount Powerscourt, as Viscount Powerscourt, and as Lord Powerscourt. (Nos. 207 and 505.)
 Lord Hopetoun, as Lord Chamberlain, and as Lord Hopetoun. (Nos. 258 and 355.)

ROLL
OF THE
LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL
IN THE
SEVENTH SESSION OF THE TWENTY-SIXTH PARLIAMENT
OF
THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

63 VICTORIÆ 1900.

MEM.—According to the Usage of Parliament, when the House appoints a Select Committee, the Lords appointed to serve upon it are named in the Order of their Rank, beginning with the Highest; and so, when the House sends a Committee to a Conference with the Commons, the Lord highest in Rank is called first, and the rest go forth in like Order: But when the Whole House is called over for any Purpose, within the House, or for the Purpose of proceeding forth to Westminster Hall, or upon any public Solemnity, the Call begins invariably with the Junior Baron.

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|---|--|
| 1 His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales | 7 Frederick Archbishop of Canterbury |
| 2 His Royal Highness Alfred Ernest Albert Duke of Edinburgh | 8 Hardinge Stanley Earl of Halsbury, Lord High Chancellor |
| 3 His Royal Highness Arthur William Patrick Albert Duke of Connaught and Strathearn | 9 William Dalrymple Archbishop of York |
| 4 His Royal Highness George Frederick Ernest Albert Duke of York | 10 Spencer Compton Duke of Devonshire, Lord President of the Council |
| 5 His Royal Highness Leopold Charles Edward George Albert Duke of Albany | 11 Richard Assheton Viscount Cross, Lord Privy Seal |
| 6 His Royal Highness George William Frederick Charles Duke of Cambridge | 12 Henry Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal of England |
| | 13 Algernon Duke of Somerset |
| | 14 Charles Henry Duke of Richmond |

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|----|--|----|--|
| 15 | Augustus Charles Lennox Duke of Grafton | 44 | John Charles Marquess Camden |
| 16 | Henry Adelbert Wellington Fitzroy Duke of Beaufort | 45 | Henry Cyril Marquess of Anglesey |
| 17 | Charles Victor Albert Aubrey de Vere Duke of Saint Albans | 46 | George Henry Hugh Marquess of Cholmondeley |
| 18 | George Godolphin Duke of Leeds | 47 | Henry Augustus Marquess of Ailesbury |
| 19 | Herbrand Arthur Duke of Bedford | 48 | Frederick William John Marquess of Bristol |
| 20 | Spencer Compton Duke of Devonshire. (<i>In another place as Lord President of the Council</i>) | 49 | Archibald Marquess of Ailsa |
| 21 | Charles Richard John Duke of Marlborough | 50 | Constantine Charles Henry Marquess of Normanby |
| 22 | John James Robert Duke of Rutland | 51 | George Frederick Samuel Marquess of Ripon |
| 23 | Alfred Douglas Duke of Brandon | 52 | William Marquess of Abergavenny |
| 24 | William John Arthur Charles James Duke of Portland | 53 | Gavin Marquess of Breadalbane |
| 25 | William Angus Drogo Duke of Manchester | 54 | Frederick Temple Marquess of Dufferin and Ava |
| 26 | Henry Pelham Archibald Douglas Duke of Newcastle | 55 | Lawrence Marquess of Zetland |
| 27 | Henry George Duke of Northumberland | 56 | Sidney Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, <i>Lord Steward of the Household</i> |
| 28 | His Royal Highness Ernest Augustus William Adolphus George Frederick Duke of Cumberland and Teviotdale | 57 | Charles Henry John Earl of Shrewsbury |
| 29 | Henry Duke of Wellington | 58 | Frederick Arthur Earl of Derby |
| 30 | Cromartie Duke of Sutherland | 59 | Warner Francis John Plantagenet Earl of Huntingdon |
| 31 | Hugh Richard Arthur Duke of Westminster | 60 | Sidney Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery. (<i>In another place as Lord Steward of the Household</i>) |
| 32 | Alexander William George Duke of Fife | 61 | Henry Hugh Earl of Devon |
| 33 | George Douglas Duke of Argyll | 62 | Henry Molyneux Paget Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire |
| 34 | Henry William Montagu Marquess of Winchester | 63 | Rudolph Robert Basil Aloysius Augustine Earl of Denbigh |
| 35 | Henry Charles Keith Marquess of Lansdowne | 64 | Anthony Mildmay Julian Earl of Westmorland |
| 36 | John James Dudley Stuart Marquess Townshend | 65 | Montague Peregrine Albemarle Earl of Lindsey |
| 37 | Robert Arthur Talbot Marquess of Salisbury | 66 | William Earl of Stamford |
| 38 | Thomas Henry Marquess of Bath | 67 | Henry Stormont Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham |
| 39 | James Marquess of Abercorn (<i>Duke of Abercorn</i>) | 68 | Edwyn Francis Earl of Chesterfield |
| 40 | Hugh de Grey Marquess of Hertford | 69 | Edward George Henry Earl of Sandwich |
| 41 | John Patrick Marquess of Bute | 70 | George Devereux de Vere Earl of Essex |
| 42 | William Thomas Brownlow Marquess of Exeter | 71 | George James Earl of Carlisle |
| 43 | William George Spencer Scott Marquess of Northampton | 72 | William Henry Walter Earl of Doncaster. (<i>Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry</i>) |
| | | 73 | Anthony Earl of Shaftesbury |

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| 74 Randal Mowbray Thomas Earl of Berkeley | 103 Sidney Carr Earl of Buckinghamshire |
| 75 Montagu Arthur Earl of Abingdon | 104 William Thomas Spencer Earl Fitzwilliam |
| 76 Aldred Frederick George Beresford Earl of Scarborough | 105 Frederick George Earl of Guilford |
| 77 Arnold Allan Cecil Earl of Albemarle | 106 Albert Edward Philip Henry Earl of Hardwicke |
| 78 George William Earl of Coventry | 107 Henry Edward Earl of Ilchester |
| 79 Victor Albert George Earl of Jersey | 108 Gilbert George Reginald Earl De La Warr |
| 80 ——— Earl Poulett | 109 William Earl of Radnor |
| 81 John Francis Erskine Earl of Mar. (<i>Elected for Scotland</i>) | 110 John Poyntz Earl Spencer |
| 82 Sholto George Watson Earl of Morton. (<i>Elected for Scotland</i>) | 111 Seymour Henry Earl Bathurst |
| 83 Walter John Francis Earl of Mar and Kellie. (<i>Elected for Scotland</i>) | 112 Arthur Wills John Wellington Trumbull Blundell Earl of Hillsborough. (<i>Marquess of Downshire</i>) |
| 84 George Earl of Haddington. (<i>Elected for Scotland</i>) | 113 Edward Hyde Earl of Clarendon |
| 85 Frederick Henry Earl of Lauderdale. (<i>Elected for Scotland</i>) | 114 William David Earl of Mansfield |
| 86 David Stanley William Earl of Airlie. (<i>Elected for Scotland</i>) | 115 John James Hugh Henry Earl Strange. (<i>Duke of Atholl</i>) |
| 87 Robert Harris Carnwath Earl of Carnwath. (<i>Elected for Scotland</i>) | 116 William Henry Earl of Mount Edgumbe |
| 88 Ronald Ruthven Earl of Leven and Melville. (<i>Elected for Scotland</i>) | 117 Hugh Earl Fortescue |
| 89 Douglas Mackinnon Baillie Hamilton Earl of Dundonald. (<i>Elected for Scotland</i>) | 118 George Edward Stanhope Molyneux Earl of Carnarvon |
| 90 Sewallis Edward Earl Ferrers | 119 George Henry Earl Cadogan |
| 91 William Heneage Earl of Dartmouth | 120 James Edward Earl of Malmesbury |
| 92 George Montagu Earl of Tankerville | 121 Ponsonby William Earl of Drogheda. (<i>Elected for Ireland</i>) |
| 93 Charles Wightwick Earl of Aylesford | 122 John Vansittart Danvers Earl of Lanesborough. (<i>Elected for Ireland</i>) |
| 94 Francis Thomas De Grey Earl Cowper | 123 Lionel George Henry Seymour Earl of Portarlington. (<i>Elected for Ireland</i>) |
| 95 Arthur Philip Earl Stanhope | 124 Dermot Robert Wyndham Earl of Mayo. (<i>Elected for Ireland</i>) |
| 96 George Loveden William Henry Earl of Macclesfield | 125 Hugh Earl Annesley. (<i>Elected for Ireland</i>) |
| 97 Douglas Beresford Malise Ronald Earl Graham. (<i>Duke of Montrose</i>) | 126 George Earl of Lucan. (<i>Elected for Ireland</i>) |
| 98 William Frederick Earl Waldegrave | 127 Somerset Richard Earl of Belmore. (<i>Elected for Ireland</i>) |
| 99 Bertram Earl of Ashburnham | 128 James Francis Earl of Bandon. (<i>Elected for Ireland</i>) |
| 100 Charles Augustus Earl of Harrington | 129 James Francis Harry Earl of Rosslyn |
| 101 Newton Earl of Portsmouth | 130 William George Robert Earl of Craven |
| 102 Francis Richard Charles Guy Earl Brooke and Earl of Warwick | 131 William Hillier Earl of Onslow |
| | 132 Charles Earl of Romney |
| | 133 Walter John Earl of Chichester |

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| 134 | Arthur George Earl of Wilton | 169 | Thomas William Earl of Leicester |
| 135 | George Charles Earl of Powis | 170 | Ralph Gordon Earl of Lovelace |
| 136 | Horatio Earl Nelson | 171 | Charles William Francis Earl of Gainsborough |
| 137 | Lawrence Earl of Rosse. (<i>Elected for Ireland</i>) | 172 | Francis Charles Granville Earl of Ellesmere |
| 138 | Charles William Sydney Earl Manvers | 173 | Francis Edmund Cecil Earl of Strafford |
| 139 | Robert Horace Earl of Orford | 174 | Kenelm Charles Edward Earl of Cottenham |
| 140 | Albert Henry George Earl Grey | 175 | Henry Arthur Mornington Earl Cowley |
| 141 | Hugh Cecil Earl of Lonsdale | 176 | George Arnulph Earl of Winton (<i>Earl of Eglintoun</i>) |
| 142 | Dudley Francis Stuart Earl of Harrowby | 177 | William Humble Earl of Dudley |
| 143 | Henry Ulick Earl of Harewood | 178 | John Francis Stanley Earl Russell |
| 144 | Gilbert John Earl of Minto | 179 | John Earl of Kimberley |
| 145 | Alan Frederick Earl Cathcart | 180 | Vesey Earl of Dartrey |
| 146 | James Walter Earl of Verulam | 181 | William Ernest Earl of Feversham |
| 147 | Adelbert Wellington Brownlow Earl Brownlow | 182 | Henry George Earl of Ravensworth |
| 148 | Henry Cornwallis Earl of St. Germans | 183 | Francis John Earl of Wharfedale |
| 149 | Albert Edmund Earl of Morley | 184 | Thomas George Earl of Northbrook |
| 150 | George Cecil Orlando Earl of Bradford | 185 | Herbert John Earl Cairns |
| 151 | William Earl Beauchamp | 186 | Victor Alexander George Robert Earl of Lytton |
| 152 | John Earl of Eldon | 187 | Edward George Earl of Lathom |
| 153 | Richard William Penn Earl Howe | 188 | George Edward Earl Sondes |
| 154 | George Edward John Mowbray Earl of Stradbroke | 189 | William Waldegrave Earl of Selborne |
| 155 | William Stephen Earl Temple of Stowe | 190 | Walter Stafford Earl of Iddesleigh |
| 156 | Francis Charles Earl of Kilmorey (<i>Elected for Ireland</i>) | 191 | Cornwallis Earl de Montalt |
| 157 | Charles Stewart Earl Vane. (<i>Marquess of Londonderry</i>) | 192 | William Henry Forester Earl of Lonsborough |
| 158 | William Archer Earl Amherst | 193 | Gathorne Earl of Cranbrook |
| 159 | Frederick Archibald Vaughan Earl Cawdor | 194 | Gilbert Henry Earl of Ancaster |
| 160 | William George Earl of Munster | 195 | Charles Robert Earl Carrington |
| 161 | Robert Adam Philips Haldane Earl of Camperdown | 196 | Robert Offley Ashburton Earl of Crewe |
| 162 | Thomas Francis Earl of Lichfield | 197 | Wilbraham Earl Egerton |
| 163 | John George Earl of Durham | 198 | Hardinge Stanley Earl of Halsbury. (<i>In another place as Lord High Chancellor</i>) |
| 164 | Granville George Earl Granville | 199 | Robert Viscount Hereford |
| 165 | Henry Alexander Gordon Earl of Egingham | 200 | Byron Plantagenet Viscount Falkland. (<i>Elected for Scotland</i>) |
| 166 | Henry John Earl of Ducie | 201 | —— Viscount Bolingbroke and St. John |
| 167 | Charles Alfred Worsley Earl of Yarborough | 202 | Charles George Viscount Cobham |
| 168 | Henry John Earl Innes. (<i>Duke of Roxburghe</i>) | | |

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| 203 Evelyn Edward Thomas Viscount Falmouth | 234 Mandell Bishop of London |
| 204 George Master Viscount Torrington | 235 Brooke Foss Bishop of Durham |
| 205 Maurice Viscount Leinster. (<i>Duke of Leinster</i>) | 236 Randall Thomas Bishop of Winchester |
| 206 Francis Wheler Viscount Hood | 237 Charles John Bishop of Gloucester |
| 207 Mervyn Edward Viscount Powerscourt. (<i>Elected for Ireland</i>) | 238 John Charles Bishop of Liverpool |
| 208 Henry William Crosbie Viscount Bangor. (<i>Elected for Ireland</i>) | 239 Ernest Roland Bishop of Chichester |
| 209 Cornwallis Viscount Hawarden. (<i>Elected for Ireland.</i>) (<i>In another place as Earl de Montalt</i>) | 240 Richard Bishop of Llandaff |
| 210 Carnegie Parker Viscount St. Vincent | 241 William Bishop of Oxford |
| 211 Henry Viscount Melville | 242 George Bishop of Southwell |
| 212 William Wells Viscount Sidmouth | 243 William Boyd Bishop of Ripon |
| 213 Henry Edward Montagu Dorington Clotworthy Viscount Templetown. (<i>Elected for Ireland</i>) | 244 Edward Bishop of Lincoln |
| 214 John Campbell Viscount Gordon. (<i>Earl of Aberdeen</i>) | 245 Edward Henry Bishop of Exeter |
| 215 Edward Addington Hargreaves, Viscount Exmouth | 246 John Bishop of Salisbury |
| 216 John Luke George Viscount Hutchinson. (<i>Earl of Donoughmore</i>) | 247 Alwyne Bishop of Ely |
| 217 William Frederick Viscount Clancarty. (<i>Earl of Clancarty</i>) | 248 James Bishop of Manchester |
| 218 Francis Lynch Wellington Viscount Combermere | 249 Francis John Bishop of Chester |
| 219 Henry Charles Viscount Canterbury | 250 Alfred George Bishop of St. Asaph |
| 220 Rowland Richard Viscount Hill | 251 John Wogan Bishop of St. Albans |
| 221 Henry Charles Viscount Hardinge | 252 John James Stewart Bishop of Worcester |
| 222 Hugh Viscount Gough | 253 John Bishop of Truro |
| 223 Charles Lindley Viscount Halifax | 254 Angustus Bishop of Lichfield |
| 224 Alexander Nelson Viscount Bridport | 255 John Wareing Bishop of Carlisle |
| 225 William Henry Berkeley Viscount Portman | 256 John Bishop of Norwich |
| 226 Henry Robert Viscount Hampden | 257 George Wyndham Bishop of Bath and Wells |
| 227 Garnet Joseph Viscount Wolseley | 258 John Adrian Louis Lord Hopetoun (<i>Earl of Hopetoun</i>), <i>Lord Chamberlain of the Household</i> |
| 228 Richard Assheton Viscount Cross. (<i>In another place as Lord Privy Seal</i>) | 259 Dudley Charles Lord de Ros |
| 229 Arthur Wellesley Viscount Peel | 260 Charles Botolph Joseph Lord Mowbray |
| 230 Henry Thurstan Viscount Knutsford | 261 George Manners Lord Hastings |
| 231 Henry Viscount Llandaff | 262 Jack Southwell Lord de Clifford |
| 232 Reginald Baliol Viscount Esher | 263 Charles Henry Rolle Lord Clinton |
| 233 Evelyn Viscount Cromer | 264 Robert Nathaniel Cecil George Lord Zouche of Haryngworth |
| | 265 Rawdon George Grey Lord Grey de Ruthyn |
| | 266 Charles Edward Hastings Lord Botreaux. (<i>Earl of Loudoun</i>) |
| | 267 Ralph Francis Julian Lord Camoys |
| | 268 Henry Lord Willoughby de Broke |
| | 269 Hubert George Charles Lord Vaux of Harrowden |
| | 270 Ralph Gordon Lord Wentworth. (<i>In another place as Earl of Lovelace</i>) |

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| 271 | Alfred Thomas Townshend Lord Braye | 301 | George Francis Augustus Lord Vernon |
| 272 | Robert George Lord Windsor | 302 | Edward Henry Trafalgar Lord Digby |
| 273 | William Henry John Lord North | 303 | Martin Bladen Lord Hawke |
| 274 | Beauchamp Moubray Lord St. John of Bletso | 304 | Henry Thomas Lord Foley |
| 275 | Thomas Evelyn Lord Howard de Walden | 305 | Arthur de Cardonnel Lord Dinevor |
| 276 | Bernard Henry Philip Lord Petre | 306 | Thomas Lord Walsingham |
| 277 | John Fiennes Lord Saye and Sele | 307 | William Lord Bagot |
| 278 | John Francis Lord Arundell of Wardour | 308 | Charles Henry Lord Southampton |
| 279 | Edward Henry Stuart Lord Clifton. (<i>Earl of Darnley</i>) | 309 | John Richard Brinsley Lord Grant- ley |
| 280 | John Baptist Joseph Lord Dormer | 310 | George Bridges Harley Dennett Lord Rodney |
| 281 | Henry John Philip Sidney Lord Teynham | 311 | Arthur Herbert Tennyson Lord Somers |
| 282 | Fitzherbert Lord Stafford | 312 | Richard Henry Lord Berwick |
| 283 | George Frederick William Lord Byron | 313 | Edward Lennox Lord Sherborne |
| 284 | Lewis Henry Hugh Lord Clifford of Chudleigh | 314 | Henry De La Poer Lord Tyrone. (<i>Marquess of Waterford</i>) |
| 285 | Henry John Brinsley Lord Manners of Haddon. (<i>Marquess of Granby</i>) | 315 | Richard Henry Lord Carleton. (<i>Earl of Shannon</i>) |
| 286 | Henry de Vere Lord Barnard | 316 | Charles Lord Suffield |
| 287 | Horace Courtenay Gammell Lord Forbes. (<i>Elected for Scotland</i>) | 317 | Lloyd Lord Kenyon |
| 288 | Alexander William Frederick Lord Saltoun. (<i>Elected for Scotland</i>) | 318 | Charles Cornwallis Lord Bray- brooke |
| 289 | Charles William Lord Sinclair. (<i>Elected for Scotland</i>) | 319 | George Augustus Hamilton Lord Fisherwick. (<i>Marquess of Done- gall</i>) |
| 290 | James Walter Lord Torphichen. (<i>Elected for Scotland</i>) | 320 | Henry Charles Lord Gage. (<i>Vis- count Gage</i>) |
| 291 | Alexander Hugh Lord Balfour of Burley. (<i>Elected for Scotland</i>) | 321 | Thomas John Lord Thurlow |
| 292 | Walter Hugh Lord Polwarth. (<i>Elected for Scotland</i>) | 322 | William Morton Lord Auckland |
| 293 | Richard Edmund St. Lawrence Lord Boyle. (<i>Earl of Cork and Orrery</i>) | 323 | _____ Lord Mendip. (<i>Viscount Clifden</i>) |
| 294 | George Lord Hay. (<i>Earl of Kinnoul</i>) | 324 | Edmund Archibald Lord Stuart of Castle Stuart. (<i>Earl of Moray</i>) |
| 295 | Digby Wentworth Bayard Lord Middleton | 325 | Alan Plantagenet Lord Stewart of Garlies. (<i>Earl of Galloway</i>) |
| 296 | Debonnaire John Lord Monson | 326 | James George Henry Lord Salters- ford. (<i>Earl of Courtown</i>) |
| 297 | Walter William Brabazon Lord Ponsonby. (<i>Earl of Bessborough</i>) | 327 | William Lord Brodrick. (<i>Viscount Midleton</i>) |
| 298 | Alfred Nathaniel Holden Lord Scarsdale | 328 | Augustus Cholmondeley Lord Cal- thorpe |
| 299 | George Florance Lord Boston | 329 | Peter Robert Lord Gwydir |
| 300 | Augustus Arthur Lord Lovel and Holland. (<i>Earl of Egmont</i>) | 330 | William Thomas Lord Bolton |
| | | 331 | John Lord Lilford |

- 332 Thomas Lord Ribblesdale
 333 Edward Donough Lord Inchiquin.
(Elected for Ireland)
 334 Somerset Henry Lord Farnham.
(Elected for Ireland)
 335 John Thomas William Lord Massy.
(Elected for Ireland)
 336 Hamilton Matthew Fitzmaurice
 Lord Muskerry. *(Elected for
 Ireland)*
 337 Francis William Lord Kilmaine.
(Elected for Ireland)
 338 Luke Gerald Lord Clonbrock.
(Elected for Ireland)
 339 Charles Mark Lord Headley.
(Elected for Ireland)
 340 Edward Henry Churchill Lord
 Crofton. *(Elected for Ireland)*
 341 Hercules Edward Lord Langford
(Elected for Ireland)
 342 Dayrolles Blakeney Lord Ventry.
(Elected for Ireland)
 343 Henry O'Callaghan Lord Dunalley.
(Elected for Ireland)
 344 John Henry Lord Loftus. *(Mar-
 quess of Ely)*
 345 William Lord Carysfort. *(Earl of
 Carysfort)*
 346 George Ralph Lord Abercromby
 347 Charles Towry Hamilton Lord
 Ellenborough
 348 Augustus Frederick Arthur Lord
 Sandys
 349 Henry North Lord Sheffield. *(Earl
 of Sheffield)*
 350 William Macnaghten Lord Erskine
 351 John Thomas Lord Monteagle.
(Marquess of Sligo)
 352 Bernard Arthur William Patrick
 Hastings Lord Granard. *(Earl
 of Granard)*
 353 ——— Lord Gardner
 354 John Thomas Lord Manners
 355 John Adrian Louis Lord Hopetoun.
*(Earl of Hopetoun.) (In another
 place as Lord Chamberlain of the
 Household)*
 356 Albert Edward Lord Castlemaine.
(Elected for Ireland)
 357 Charles Lord Meldrum. *(Marquess
 of Huntly)*
 358 Lowry Egerton Lord Grinstead.
(Earl of Enniskillen)
 359 William Henry Edmond de Vere
 Sheaffe Lord Foxford. *(Earl of
 Limerick)*
- 360 Victor Albert Francis Charles Lord
 Churchill
 361 George Robert Canning Lord
 Harris
 362 Reginald Charles Edward Lord
 Colchester
 363 Robert Schomberg Lord Ker.
(Marquess of Lothian)
 364 Victor George Henry Francis Lord
 Minster. *(Marquess Conyngham)*
 365 James Edward William Theobald
 Lord Ormonde. *(Marquess of
 Ormonde)*
 366 Francis Richard Lord Wemyss.
(Earl of Wemyss)
 367 Thomas Lord Silchester. *(Earl of
 Longford)*
 368 Clotworthy John Eyre Lord Oriol.
(Viscount Massereene)
 369 Hugh Lord Delamere
 370 Cecil Theodore Lord Forester
 371 John William Lord Rayleigh
 372 Edric Frederick Lord Gifford
 373 Hubert George Lord Somerhill.
(Marquess of Clanricarde)
 374 James Ludovic Lord Wigan. *(Earl
 of Crawford)*
 375 Uchter John Mark Lord Ranfurly.
(Earl of Ranfurly)
 376 Charles Stewart Henry Lord Ten-
 terden
 377 William Lee Lord Plunket
 378 William Fredk. Lord Heytesbury
 379 Archibald Philip Lord Rosebery.
(Earl of Rosebery)
 380 Richard James Lord Clanwilliam
(Earl of Clanwilliam)
 381 Henry Molyneux Lord Wynford
 382 Charles Gore Lord Kilmarnock.
(Earl of Erroll)
 383 Arthur James Francis Lord Fin-
 gall. *(Earl of Fingall)*
 384 Charles William Hylton Philip
 Lord Sefton. *(Earl of Sefton)*
 385 Charles Lord Clements. *(Earl of
 Leitrim)*
 386 Geoffrey Thomas Lord Kenlis.
(Marquess of Headfort)
 387 Reginald Lord Chaworth. *(Earl
 of Meath)*
 388 Charles Adolphus Lord Dunmore.
(Earl of Dunmore)
 389 Augustus Frederick George War-
 wick Lord Poltimore

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| 390 Llewelyn Nevill Vaughan Lord Mostyn | 424 George Fitz-Roy Henry Lord Raglan |
| 391 Henry Spencer Lord Templemore | 425 Valentine Augustus Lord Kenmare. (<i>Earl of Kenmare</i>) |
| 392 Valentine Frederick Lord Cloncurry | 426 Henry Lord Belper |
| 393 James St. Vincent Lord De Saumarez | 427 Richard Wogan Lord Talbot de Malahide |
| 394 Thomas Lord Denman | 428 Robert Wellesley Lord Ebury |
| 395 James Yorke MacGregor Lord Abinger | 429 Charles Compton William Lord Chesham |
| 396 Philip Lord De L'Isle and Dudley | 430 Frederic Augustus Lord Chelmsford |
| 397 Francis Denzil Edward Lord Ashburton | 431 John Lord Churston |
| 398 Edward George Percy Lord Hatherton | 432 Henry Lord Leconfield |
| 399 Archibald Brabazon Sparrow Lord Worlingham. (<i>Earl of Gosford</i>) | 433 Godfrey Charles Lord Tredegar |
| 400 Hallyburton George Lord Strathe-den | 434 Fitz Patrick Henry Lord Lyveden |
| 401 Geoffrey Dominick Augustus Frederick Lord Oranmore and Browne. (<i>Elected for Ireland</i>) | 435 Henry Charles Lord Brougham and Vaux |
| 402 Simon Joseph Lord Lovat | 436 Arthur Fitz-Gerald Lord Kinnaird |
| 403 William Bateman Lord Bateman | 437 Richard Luttrell Pilkington Lord Westbury |
| 404 Algernon Hawkins Thomond Lord Kintore. (<i>Earl of Kintore</i>) | 438 Charles Paget Fitzhardinge Lord Fitzhardinge |
| 405 Derrick Warner William Lord Rossmore | 439 Luke Lord Annaly |
| 406 Robert Shapland George Julian Lord Carew | 440 John Gaspard Le Marchant Lord Romilly |
| 407 William Ashley Webb Lord De Mauley | 441 James Herbert Gustavus Meredyth Lord Meredyth. (<i>Lord Athlumney</i>) |
| 408 Arthur Lord Wrottesley | 442 Windham Thomas Lord Kenry. (<i>Earl of Dunraven and Mount-Earl</i>) |
| 409 Charles Douglas Richard Lord Sudeley | 443 Henry Power Charles Stanley Lord Monck. (<i>Viscount Monck</i>) |
| 410 Paul Sanford Lord Methuen | 444 John Major Lord Hartismere. (<i>Lord Henniker</i>) |
| 411 Henry Edward John Lord Stanley of Alderley | 445 Hylton George Hylton Lord Hylton |
| 412 William Henry Lord Leigh | 446 George Sholto Gordon Lord Penrhyn |
| 413 Beilby Lord Wenlock | 447 Gustavus Russell Lord Brancepeth. (<i>Viscount Boyne</i>) |
| 414 William Lord Lurgan | 448 John Henry Lord Kesteven |
| 415 Thomas Spring Lord Monteagle of Brandon | 449 Arthur Lord Ormathwaite |
| 416 John Reginald Upton Lord Seaton | 450 Edward Lord O'Neill |
| 417 John Manley Arbuthnot Lord Keane | 451 Robert William Lord Napier |
| 418 John Lord Oxenfoord. (<i>Earl of Stair</i>) | 452 Jenico William Joseph Lord Gormanston. (<i>Viscount Gormanston</i>) |
| 419 George Crespigny Brabazon Lord Vivian | 453 Thomas Kane Lord Rathdonnell. (<i>Elected for Ireland</i>) |
| 420 Henry Lord Congleton | 454 John Hamilton Lord Lawrence |
| 421 Victor Alexander Lord Elgin. (<i>Earl of Elgin and Kincardine</i>) | 455 John Lord Dunning. (<i>Lord Rollo</i>) |
| 422 Arthur Lord de Freyne | 456 James Lord Balinhard. (<i>Earl of Southesk</i>) |
| 423 Edward Burtenshaw Lord Saint Leonards | |

- 457 William Lord Hare. (*Earl of Listowel*)
 458 Francis Edward Lord Howard of Glossop
 459 Bernard Edward Barnaby Lord Castletown
 460 John Emerich Edward Lord Acton
 461 Thomas Charles Lord Robartes
 462 Frederick Lord Wolverton
 463 Algernon William Fulke Lord Greville
 464 Thomas Towneley Lord O'Hagan
 465 William Lord Sandhurst
 466 William John George Lord Ettrick. (*Lord Napier*)
 467 Sidney James Lord Somerton. (*Earl of Normanton*)
 468 Henry Campbell Lord Aberdare
 469 Henry James Lord Moncrieff
 470 Bernard John Seymour Lord Coleridge
 471 Thomas William Gaston Lord Emly
 472 Thomas Francis Lord Cottesloe
 473 Herbert Perrott Murray Lord Hampton
 474 Charles Alexander Lord Douglas. (*Earl of Home*)
 475 Arthur George Maule Lord Ramsey. (*Earl of Dalhousie*)
 476 John Henry Lord Fermanagh. (*Earl Erne*)
 477 William Richard Lord Harlech
 478 Henry Gerard Lord Alington
 479 Wilbraham Frederic Lord Toller-mache
 480 William Cansfield Lord Gerard
 481 Lionel Sackville Lord Sackville
 482 Charles Bowyer Lord Norton
 483 Percy Lord Shute. (*Viscount Barrington*)
 484 Lawrence Hesketh Lord Haldon
 485 Ivor Bertie Lord Wimborne
 486 Arthur Edward Lord Ardilaun
 487 Charles Wallace Alexander Napier Lord Lamington
 488 Arthur William Lord Trevor
 489 Montagu William Lord Rowton
 490 Edward Lord Brabourne
 491 Arthur Oliver Villiers Lord Ampt-hill
 492 William Montagu Lord Tweeddale. (*Marquess of Tweeddale*)
 493 William Ulick Tristram Lord Howth. (*Earl of Howth*)
- 494 Donald James Lord Reay
 495 Harcourt Lord Derwent
 496 Henry James Lord Hothfield
 497 Edward Lord Tweedmouth
 498 Hallam Lord Tennyson
 499 James Lord Strathspey. (*Earl of Seafield*)
 500 John William Lord Monk Bretton
 501 Walter Henry Lord Northbourne
 502 Arthur Saunders William Charles Fox Lord Sudley. (*Earl of Arran*)
 503 John Robert William Lord de Vesci. (*Viscount de Vesci*)
 504 Marmaduke Francis Lord Herries
 505 Mervyn Edward Lord Powerscourt. (*In another place as Viscount Powerscourt*)
 506 Frederic Lord Northington. (*Lord Henley*)
 507 Nathaniel Mayer Lord Rothschild
 508 John Lord Revelstoke
 509 Robert Lord Monkswell
 510 Arthur Lord Hobhouse
 511 Ralph Robert Wheeler Lord Lingen
 512 Edward Lord Ashbourne
 513 Rowland Lord Saint Oswald
 514 Robert James Lord Wantage
 515 Robert Wilfrid Lord Deramore
 516 Henry John Lord Montagu of Beau-lieu
 517 Sidney Herbert Lord Elphinstone
 518 Charles John Lord Colville of Cul-ross
 519 Richard Farrer Lord Herschell
 520 Charles William Lord Hillingdon
 521 Charles Lord Hindlip
 522 Edmund Lord Grimthorpe
 523 Richard de Aquila Lord Stalbridge
 524 William Lord Kensington
 525 Michael Arthur Lord Burton
 526 John Glencairn Carter Lord Hamil-ton of Dalzell
 527 Thomas Lord Brassey
 528 Henry Lord Thring
 529 Edward Lord Macnaghten. (*A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary*)
 530 Robert Lord Connemara
 531 Claude Lord Bowes. (*Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorn*)
 532 George Edmund Milnes Lord Monckton. (*Viscount Galway*)
 533 John Lord Saint Levan
 534 James Douglas Lord Magheramorne

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| 535 | William George Lord Armstrong | 580 | Hercules Arthur Temple Lord Rosmead |
| 536 | George Limbrey Lord Basing | 581 | Alexander Smith Lord Kinnear |
| 537 | William Henry Lord de Ramsey | 582 | Joseph Lord Lister |
| 538 | William Meriton Lord Cheylesmore | 583 | David Lord Fairlie. (<i>Earl of Glasgow</i>) |
| 539 | Egerton Lord Addington | 584 | Hugh Richard Lord Dawnay. (<i>Viscount Down</i>) |
| 540 | John Savile Lord Savile | 585 | Henry Ludlow Lord Ludlow |
| 541 | Michael Lord Morris. (<i>A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary</i>) | 586 | Hans Wellesley Lord Holm Patrick |
| 542 | William Ventris Lord Field | 587 | John Lord Inverclyde |
| 543 | Edward Cecil Lord Iveagh | 588 | Donald Alexander Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal |
| 544 | George Lord Mount Stephen | 589 | William Wallace Lord Newlands |
| 545 | Samuel Lord Masham | 590 | Horace Brand Lord Farquhar |
| 546 | Frederick Sleigh Lord Roberts of Kandahar | 591 | Josslyn Francis Lord Muncaster |
| 547 | Arthur William Acland Lord Hood of Avalon | 592 | Arthur Lawrence Lord Hali-burton |
| 548 | William Lord Kelvin | 593 | Horatio Herbert Lord Kitchener of Khartoum |
| 549 | Henry John Lord Rookwood | 594 | Philip Henry Wodehouse Lord Currie |
| 550 | Alexander Burns Lord Shand | 595 | Joseph Russell Lord Glanusk |
| 551 | George Lord Ashcombe | 596 | Henry Lord Brampton |
| 552 | Archibald Campbell Lord Blythswood | 597 | Robert Thornhaugh Lord Cranworth |
| 553 | Thomas Lord Crawshaw | 598 | Julian Lord Pauncefote |
| 554 | William Amburst Lord Amherst of Hackney | 599 | James Patrick Bannerman Lord Robertson. (<i>A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary</i>) |
| 555 | Thomas Wodehouse Lord Newton | 600 | Henry Stafford Lord Northcote |
| 556 | Henry Lyle Lord Dunleath | 601* | John Lord Avebury |
| 557 | John Allan Lord Llangattock | | |
| 558 | George James Lord Playfair | | |
| 559 | Cyril Lord Battersea | | |
| 560 | Ernest Ambrose Lord Swansea | | |
| 561 | Thomas Cecil Lord Farrer | | |
| 562 | John Campbell Lord Overtoun | | |
| 563 | Cecil Geo. Savile Lord Hawkesbury | | |
| 564 | Arthur Lord Stanmore | | |
| 565 | Stuart Lord Rendel | | |
| 566 | Reginald Earle Lord Welby | | |
| 567 | Charles Lord Russell of Killowen | | |
| 568 | Horace Lord Davey. (<i>A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary</i>) | | |
| 569 | Henry Brougham Lord Loch | | |
| 570 | Sydney James Lord Wandsworth | | |
| 571 | James Lord Ashton | | |
| 572 | Herbert Coultoun Lord Burghclere | | |
| 573 | Henry Lord James | | |
| 574 | David Robert Lord Rathmore | | |
| 575 | Henry Lord Pirbright | | |
| 576 | Algernon Lord Glenesk | | |
| 577 | Henry Hucks Lord Aldenham | | |
| 578 | Edward Lord Heneage | | |
| 579 | John Wingfield Lord Malcolm of Poltalloch | | |

* This number is in excess of the total Number of Lords Spiritual and Temporal, the discrepancy being caused by the following Lords being twice named in the Roll :

Earl of Halsbury as Lord High Chancellor and as Earl of Halsbury (Nos. 8 and 198)
Duke of Devonshire as Lord President and as Duke of Devonshire (Nos. 10 and 20)
Viscount Cross as Lord Privy Seal and as Viscount Cross (Nos. 11 and 228)
Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery as Lord Steward and as Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery (Nos. 56 and 60)
Earl of Lovelace as Earl of Lovelace and as Lord Wentworth (Nos. 170 and 270)
Earl de Montalt as Earl de Montalt and as Viscount Hawarden (Nos. 191 and 209)
Viscount Powerscourt as Viscount Powerscourt and as Lord Powerscourt (Nos. 207 and 505)
Lord Hopetoun as Lord Chamberlain and as Lord Hopetoun (Nos. 258 and 355)

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MEMBERS

IN THE

SEVENTH SESSION OF THE TWENTY-SIXTH PARLIAMENT

OF

THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE FOURTEENTH OF
QUEEN VICTORIA.

(Compiled at the Opening of the Session.)

A

Abraham, William (Glamorgan, Rhondda)
Abraham, William (Cork Co., N. East)
Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir A., Bt. (Somerset,
Wellington)
Aird, John (Paddington, N.)
Allan, William (Gateshead)
Allen, William (Newcastle-under-Lyme)
Allhusen, Aug. Henry E. (Salisbury)
Allison, Robert A. (Cumberland, Eskdale)
Allsopp, Hon. George H. (Worcester)
Ambrose, Robert (Mayo, West)
Anson, Sir William R., Bt. (Oxford Uni-
versity)
Anstruther, Henry T. (St. Andrews
Burghs)
Arch, Joseph (Norfolk, N.W.)
Archdale, Edward M. (Fermanagh, N.)
Arnold, Alfred (Halifax)
Arnold-Forster, Hugh O. (Belfast, West)
Arrol, Sir William (Ayrshire, South)
Asher, Alexander (Elgin Burghs)
Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Ellis (Sheffield,
Ecclesall)
Ashton, Thomas Gair (Beds, Luton)
Asquith, Rt. Hon. Herbert H. (Fife, East)

Atherley-Jones, Llewellyn (Durham,
N.W.)
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John (Londonderry,
North)
Austin, Sir John, Bt. (York, W.R.,
Osgoldcross)
Austin, Michael (Limerick, West)

B

Bagot, Capt. Josceline F. (Westmoreland,
Kendal)
Bailey, James (Newington, Walworth)
Baillie, James E. B. (Inverness)
Bainbridge, E. (Lincoln, Gainsborough)
Baird, John G. A. (Glasgow, Central)
Baker, Sir John (Portsmouth)
Balcarres, Lord (Lancashire, Chorley)
Baldwin, Alfred (Worcester, Bewdley)
Balfour, Rt. Hon. Arthur J. (Manchester,
East)
Balfour, Rt. Hon. Gerald William (Leeds,
Central)
Banbury, Fred. George (Camberwell,
Peckham)
Banes, Major George E. (West Ham,
South)

- Barlow, John Emmott (Somerset, Frome) !
 Barnes, Fred. Gorell (Kent, Faversham)
 Barry, Rt. Hon. Arthur H. Smith-
 (Hunts, Huntingdon)
 Barry, Edward (Cork Co., South)
 Barry, Sir Francis Tress, Bt. (Windsor)
 Bartley, George C. T. (Islington, N.)
 Bathurst, Hon. Allen B. (Gloucester,
 Cirencester)
 Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire, Chester-
 field)
 Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir M. H., Bt. (Bristol,
 W.)
 Beach, Rt. Hon. William W. B. (Hants,
 Andover)
 Beaumont, Wentworth C. B. (Northum-
 berland, Hexham)
 Beckett, Ernest W. (York, N.R., Whitby)
 Begg, F. Faithfull (Glasgow, St. Rollox)
 Bemrose, Sir Henry Howe (Derby)
 Bentinck, Lord Henry (Nottingham, S.)
 Bethell, Commander Geo. R. (York, E.R.,
 Holderness)
 Bhornaggee, Sir M. M. (Bethnal Green,
 N.E.)
 Biddulph, Michael (Herefordshire, Ross)
 Bigwood, James (Middlesex, Brentford)
 Bill, Charles (Staffordshire, Leek)
 Billson, Alfred (Halifax)
 Birrell, Augustine (Fife, West)
 Blake, Edward (Longford, S.)
 Blakiston-Houston, J. (Down, North)
 Blundell, Col. H. B. H. (Lancashire, Ince)
 Bolitho, Thomas Bedford (Cornwall, St.
 Ives)
 Bolton, Thomas Dolling (Derbyshire, N.
 East)
 Bond, Edward (Nottingham, E.)
 Bonsor, H. Cosmo O. (Surrey, Wimble-
 don)
 Boscawen, Arth. S. T. Griffith (Kent,
 Tunbridge)
 Boulnois, Edmund (Marylebone, E.)
 Bousfield, William R. (Hackney, N.)
 Bowles, Major Henry F. (Middlesex, En-
 field)
 Bowles, Thomas Gibson (Lynn Regis)
 Brassey, Albert (Oxon, Banbury)
- Brigg, John (York, W.R., Keighley)
 Broadhurst, Henry (Leicester)
 Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John (Surrey,
 Guildford)
 Brookfield, Arthur M. (Sussex, Rye)
 Brown, Alex. Hargreaves (Shropshire,
 Wellington)
 Brunner, Sir John T., Bt. (Cheshire,
 Northwich)
 Bryce, Rt. Hon. James (Aberdeen, South)
 Brymer, Wm. Ernest (Dorset, South)
 Buchanan, Thomas R. (Aberdeenshire,
 East)
 Bullard, Sir Harry (Norwich)
 Burdett-Coutts, W. L. A. B. (West-
 minster)
 Burns, John (Battersea)
 Burt, Thomas (Morpeth)
 Butcher, John George (York)
 Buxton, Sydney C. (Tower Hamlets,
 Poplar)
- C
- Caldwell, James (Lanark, Mid)
 Cameron, Sir Charles, Bt. (Glasgow,
 Bridgeton)
 Cameron, Robert (Durham, Houghton-le-
 Spring)
 Campbell, Rt. Hon. James A. (Glasgow
 and Aberdeen Universities)
 Campbell, James H. M. (Dublin, St.
 Stephen's Green)
 Campbell-Bannerman, Rt. Hon. Sir H.
 (Stirling Burghs)
 Carew, J. Laurence (Dublin, College
 Green)
 Carlile, William Walter (Bucks, N.)
 Carmichael, Sir T. D. Gibson, Bt. (Edin-
 burgh, Midlothian)
 Carson, Rt. Hon. Edward (Dublin Uni-
 versity)
 Carvill, Patrick G. H. (Newry)
 Causton, Richard Knight (Southwark,
 West)
 Cavendish, Richard F. (Lancashire, North
 Lonsdale)
 Cavendish, Victor C. W. (Derbyshire,
 West)
 Cawley, Frederick (Lancs, Prestwich)
 Cayzer, Sir Charles Wm. (Barrow-in
 Furness)

Cecil, Evelyn (Herts, Hertford)
 Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
 Chaloner, Capt. Richard G. W. (Wilts, Westbury)
 Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. (Birmingham, W.)
 Chamberlain, J. Austen (Worcestershire, East)
 Channing, Francis A. (Northampton, East)
 Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry (Lincolnshire, Sleaford)
 Charrington, Spencer (Tower Hamlets, Mile End)
 Chelsea, Viscount (Bury St. Edmunds)
 Clancy, John J. (Dublin Co., North)
 Clare, Octavius Leigh (Lancashire, Eccles)
 Clark, Dr. Gavin B. (Caithness)
 Clarke, Sir Edward (Plymouth)
 Clough, Walter Owen (Portsmouth)
 Cochrane, Hon. Thos. H. (Ayrshire, North)
 Coddington, Sir William, Bt. (Blackburn)
 Coghill, Douglas H. (Stoke-upon-Trent)
 Cohen, Benjamin L. (Islington, E.)
 Collery, Bernard (Sligo, North)
 Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse (Birmingham, Bordesley)
 Colomb, Sir John (Great Yarmouth)
 Colston, Chas. Edw. H. A. (Gloucester, Thornbury)
 Colville, John (Lanark, N.E.)
 Commins, Andrew (Cork Co., S. East)
 Compton, Lord Alwyne F. (Beds, Biggleswade)
 Condon, Thomas J. (Tipperary, E.)
 Cook, Frederick Lucas (Lambeth, Kennington)
 Cooke, C. W. Radcliffe (Hereford)
 Corbet, William J. (Wicklow, East)
 Corbett, Arch. Cameron (Glasgow, Tradeston)
 Cornwallis, F. S. Wykeham (Maidstone)
 Cotton-Jodrell, Col. E. T. D. (Cheshire, Wirral)
 Courtney, Rt. Hon. Leonard H. (Cornwall, Bodmin)
 Cox, Irwin Edward B. (Middlesex, Harrow)
 Cranborne, Viscount (Rochester)

Crean, Eugene (Queen's Co., Ossory)
 Crilly, Daniel (Mayo, North)
 Cripps, Charles Alfred (Gloucester, Stroud)
 Crombie, John William (Kincardineshire)
 Cross, Alexander (Glasgow, Camlachie)
 Cross, Herbert Shepherd (Bolton)
 Cruddas, William Donaldson (Newcastle-on-Tyne)
 Cubitt, Hon. Henry (Surrey, Reigate)
 Curran, Thomas B. (Donegal, N.)
 Curran, Thomas (Sligo, South)
 Currie, Sir Donald (Perthshire, West)
 Curzon, Viscount (Bucks, Wycombe)

D

Dalbiac, Major Philip H. (Camberwell, N.)
 Dalkeith, Earl of (Roxburgh)
 Dalrymple, Sir Charles, Bt. (Ipswich)
 Daly, James (Monaghan, South)
 Dalziel, James H. (Kirkcaldy Burghs)
 Davenport, Wm. Bromley- (Cheshire, Macclesfield)
 Davies, Col. Sir Horatio David (Chatham)
 Davies, M. Vaughan- (Cardigan)
 Davitt, Michael (Mayo, South)
 Denny, Col. John M. (Kilmarnock Burghs)
 Dewar, Arthur (Edinburgh, South)
 Dickinson, Robt. E. (Somerset, Wells)
 Dickson-Poynder, Sir J., Bt. (Wilts, Chippenham)
 Digby, J. Kenelm Wingfield- (Dorset, North)
 Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir C. W., Bt. (Gloucester, Forest of Dean)
 Dillon, John (Mayo, East)
 Disraeli, Coningsby R. (Cheshire, Altrincham)
 Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. D., Bt. (Middlesex, Uxbridge)
 Donelan, Capt. A. J. C. (Cork, East)
 Donkin, Richard Sim (Tynemouth)
 Doogan, P. C. (Tyrone, East)
 Dorington, Sir John E., Bt. (Gloucester, Tewkesbury)
 Doughty, George (Great Grimsby)
 Douglas, Rt. Hon. Aretas Akers (Kent, St. Augustine's)
 Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark, North-west)
 Douglas-Pennant, Hon. Ed. S. (Northants South)

Doxford, Sir William Theodore (Sunderland)
 Drage, Geoffrey (Derby)
 Drucker, G. C. Adolphus (Northampton)
 Duckworth, James (Lancashire, Middleton)
 Duncombe, Hon. Hubert V. (Cumberland, Egremont)
 Dunn, Sir William, Bt. (Paisley)
 Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir W. H., Bt. (Kent, Dartford)

E

Edwards, Owen Morgan (Merionethshire)
 Egerton, Hon. Alan de Tatton (Cheshire, Knutsford)
 Elliot, Hon. Arthur R. D. (Durham)
 Ellis, John Edward (Nottingham, Rushcliffe)
 Emmott, Alfred (Oldham)
 Engledew, Charles John (Kildare, North)
 Esmonde, Sir T. Grattan, Bt. (Kerry, West)
 Evans, Samuel Thomas (Glamorgan, Mid)
 Evans, Sir Francis H. (Southampton)
 Evershed, Sydney (Staffordshire, Burton)

F

Fardell, Sir T. George (Paddington, S.)
 Farquharson, Dr. Robert (Aberdeenshire, West)
 Farrell, James P. (Cavan, West)
 Farrell, Thomas Joseph (Kerry, South)
 Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn E. (Hunts, Ramsey)
 Fenwick, Charles (Northumberland, Wansbeck)
 Ferguson, Ronald C. Monro (Leith Burghs)
 Fergusson, Rt. Hon. Sir J., Bt. (Manchester, N.E.)
 Ffrench, Peter (Wexford, South)
 Field, Adm. Edward (Sussex, Eastbourne)
 Field, William (Dublin, St. Patrick)
 Finch, George H. (Rutland)
 Finlay, Sir Robert B. (Inverness Burghs)
 Finucane, John (Limerick, East)
 Firbank, Joseph Thomas (Hull, East)
 Fisher, William Hayes (Fulham)
 Fison, Frederick William (York, W.R., Doncaster)

FitzGerald, Sir Robt. U. Penrose, Bt. (Cambridge)
 Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond G. Petty (Wilts, Cricklade)
 FitzWygram, Gen. Sir Fred. W., Bt. (Hants, Fareham)
 Flannery, Sir J. Fortescue (Yorkshire, Shipley)
 Flavin, Michael Joseph (Kerry, North)
 Fletcher, Sir Henry, Bt. (Sussex, Lewes)
 Flower, Ernest (Bradford, W.)
 Flynn, James C. (Cork, North)
 Folkestone, Viscount (Wilts, Wilton)
 Forster, Henry Wm. (Kent, Sevenoaks)
 Foster, Col. William Henry (Lancashire, Lancaster)
 Foster, Harry Seymour (Suffolk, Lowestoft)
 Foster, Sir B. Walter (Derby, Ilkeston)
 Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir H. H. (Wolverhampton, East)
 Fox, Dr. Joseph Francis (King's County, Tullamore)
 Fry, Lewis (Bristol, N.)

G

Galloway, William Johnson (Manchester, S.W.)
 Garfit, William (Boston)
 Gedge, Sydney (Walsall)
 Gibbons, John L. (Wolverhampton, S.)
 Gibbs, Hon. Alban George H. (London)
 Gibbs, Hon. Vicary (Herts, St. Albans)
 Gibney, James (Meath, North)
 Giles, Charles Tyrrell (Cambridge, Wisbech)
 Gilhooly, James (Cork Co., West)
 Gilliat, John Saunders (Lancs., Widnes)
 Gladstone, Rt. Hon. Herbert J. (Leeds, West)
 Goddard, Daniel Ford (Ipswich)
 Godson, Sir Augustus F. (Kidderminster)
 Gold, Charles (Essex, Saffron Walden)
 Goldsworthy, Maj.-Gen. W. T. (Hammer-smith)
 Gordon, Hon. John Edward (Elgin and Nairn)
 Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir J. Eldon (Cambridge University)
 Goschen, Rt. Hon. George J. (St. George's, Hanover Square)

- Goschen, George J., jun. (Sussex, East Grinstead)
 Goulding, Edward A. (Wilts, Devizes)
 Gourley, Sir Edward T. (Sunderland)
 Graham, Henry R. (St. Pancras, West)
 Gray, Ernest (West Ham, North)
 Green, Walford Davis (Wednesbury)
 Greene, Henry David (Shrewsbury)
 Greene, Walter Raymond (Cambs., Chesterton)
 Gretton, John (Derbyshire, South)
 Greville, Capt. Hon. Ronald H. F. (Bradford, East)
 Grey, Sir Edward, Bt. (Northumberland, Berwick)
 Griffith, Ellis J. (Anglesey)
 Gull, Sir W. Cameron, Bt. (Devon, Barnstaple)
 Gully, Rt. Hon. William C. (Carlisle)
 Gunter, Col. Robert (York, W.R., Barkston Ash)
 Gurdon, Sir W. Brampton (Norfolk, North)
 Guthrie, Walter Murray (Tower Hamlets, Bow, etc.)
- H
- Haldane, Richard B. (Haddington)
 Hall, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles (Finsbury, Holborn)
 Halsey, Thomas F. (Herts, Watford)
 Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord George (Middlesex, Ealing)
 Hammond, John (Carlow)
 Hamond, Sir Charles F. (Newcastle-upon-Tyne)
 Hanbury, Rt. Hon. Robert W. (Preston)
 Hanson, Sir Reginald, Bt. (London)
 Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Sir W. G. Vernon (Monmouthshire, W.)
 Hardy, Laurence (Kent, Ashford)
 Hare, Thomas L. (Norfolk, S.W.)
 Harrington, Timothy (Dublin, Harbour)
 Harwood, George (Bolton)
 Haslett, Sir James H. (Belfast, North)
 Hatch, Ernest F. George (Lancashire, Gorton)
 Hayden, John P. (Roscommon, South)
 Hayne, Rt. Hon. Chas. Seale- (Devon, Ashburton)
 Hazell, Walter (Leicester)
 Healy, Maurice (Cork)
 Healy, Thomas J. (Wexford, North)
 Healy, Timothy M. (Louth, North)
 Heath, James (Staffordshire, N.W.)
 Heaton, J. Henniker (Canterbury)
 Hedderwick, Thomas Chas. H. (Wick Burghs)
 Helder, Augustus (Whitehaven)
 Hemphill, Rt. Hon. C. Hare (Tyrone, N.)
 Henderson, Alexander (Staffordshire, West)
 Hermon-Hodge, Robert T. (Oxon, Henley)
 Hickman, Sir Alfred (Wolverhampton, W.)
 Hill, Capt. Arthur (Down, West)
 Hill, Rt. Hon. A. Staveley (Staffordshire, Kingswinford)
 Hill, Col. Sir E. Stock (Bristol, South)
 Hoare, Edw. Brodie (Hampstead)
 Hoare, Sir Samuel, Bt. (Norwich)
 Hobhouse, Henry (Somerset, East)
 Hcgan, James Francis (Tipperary, Mid)
 Holden, Sir Angus, Bt. (York, E.R., Buckrose)
 Holland, William H. (York, W.R., Rotherham)
 Hornby, Sir William Henry, Bt. (Blackburn)
 Horniman, Frederick John (Penryn and Falmouth)
 Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry, Bt. (Manchester, N.W.)
 Houston, Robert P. (Liverpool, West Toxteth)
 Howard, Joseph (Middlesex, Tottenham)
 Howell, Wm. Tudor (Denbigh Boroughs)
 Howorth, Sir Henry H. (Salford, South)
 Hozier, Hon. James H. C. (Lanark, South)
 Hubbard, Hon. Evelyn (Lambeth, Brixton)
 Hudson, George B. (Herts, Hitchin)
 Hughes, Col. Edwin (Woolwich)
 Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C. (Montgomery)
 Hutchinson, Major G. W. Grice- (Aston Manor)
 Hutton, Alfred E. (York, W.R., Morley)
 Hutton, John (Yorkshire, Richmond)

J

Jackson, Rt. Hon. William L. (Leeds, North)
 Jacoby, James Alfred (Derbyshire, Mid)
 Jameson, Major J. Eustace (Clare, West)
 Jebb, Richard Claverhouse (Cambridge University)
 Jeffreys, Arthur F. (Hants, North)
 Jenkins, Sir John Jones (Carmarthen Boroughs)
 Jessel, Capt. Herbert M. (St. Pancras, South)
 Johnson Ferguson, Jabez E. (Leicester, Loughborough)
 Johnston, William (Belfast, South)
 Johnstone, John Heywood (Sussex, Horsham)
 Joicey, Sir James, Bt. (Durham, Chester-le-Street)
 Jones, David Brynmor (Swansea District)
 Jones, William (Carnarvon, Arfon)
 Jordan, Jeremiah (Fermanagh, South)

K

Kay-Shuttleworth, Rt. Hon. Sir U., Bt. (Lancashire, Clitheroe)
 Kearley, Hudson E. (Devonport)
 Kemp, George (Lancashire, Heywood)
 Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir J. H., Bt. (Devon, Honiton)
 Kenyon, James (Bury, Lancashire)
 Kenyon-Slaney, Col. Wm. (Shropshire, Newport)
 Keswick, William (Surrey, Epsom)
 Kilbride, Denis (Galway, N.)
 Kimber, Henry (Wandsworth)
 King, Sir H. Seymour (Hull, Central)
 Kinloch, Sir John G. S., Bt. (Perthshire, East)
 Kitson, Sir James, Bt. (York, W.R., Colne Valley)
 Knowles, Lees (Salford, West)

L

Labouchere, Henry (Northampton)
 Lafone, Alfred (Southwark, Bermondsey)
 Lambert, George (Devon, South Molton)

Langley, Batty (Sheffield, Attercliffe)
 Laurie, L.-Gen. John W. (Pembroke and Haverfordwest)
 Lawrence, Sir Edwin Durning-, Bt. (Cornwall, Truro)
 Lawrence, William F. (Liverpool, Abercromby)
 Lawson, John Grant (York, N.R., Thirsk)
 Lawson, Sir Wilfrid, Bt. (Cumberland, Cockermouth)
 Lea, Sir Thomas, Bt. (Londonderry, S.)
 Lecky, Rt. Hon. William E. H. (Dublin University)
 Lees, Sir Elliott, Bt. Birkenhead)
 Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Lancashire, Accrington)
 Leigh-Bennett, Henry C. (Surrey, Chertsey)
 Leighton, Stanley (Shropshire, Oswestry)
 Leng, Sir John (Dundee)
 Leuty, Thomas R. (Leeds, East)
 Lewis, John Herbert (Flint Boroughs)
 Llewellyn, Evan Henry (Somerset, North)
 Llewellyn, Sir J. T. Dillwyn-, Bt. (Swansea Town)
 Lloyd-George, David (Carnarvon, etc.)
 Lockwood, Lt. - Col. Amelius (Essex, Epping)
 Loder, Gerald W. E. (Brighton)
 Logan, John William (Leicester, Harborough)
 Long, Col. Charles W. (Worcestershire, Evesham)
 Long, Rt. Hon. Walter H. (Liverpool, West Derby)
 Lopes, Henry Y. Buller (Grantham)
 Lorne, Rt. Hon. Marquess of (Manchester, S.)
 Lough, Thomas (Islington, W.)
 Lowe, Francis W. (Birmingham, Edgbaston)
 Lowles, John (Shoreditch, Haggerston)
 Lowther, Rt. Hon. James William (Cumberland, Penrith)
 Lowther, Rt. Hon. James (Kent, Thanet)
 Loyd, Archie Kirkman (Berks, Abingdon)
 Lucas-Shadwell, William (Hastings)
 Luttrell, H. C. Fownes (Devon, Tavistock)
 Lyell, Sir Leonard, Bt. (Orkney and Shetland)
 Lyttelton, Hon. Alfred (Warwick and Leamington)

M

- Macaleese, Daniel (Monaghan, North)
 Macartney, W. Ellison (Antrim, South)
 Macdona, J. Cumming (Southwark, Rotherhithe)
 MacDonnell, Dr. Mark A. (Queen's County, Leix)
 MacIver, David (Liverpool, Kirkdale)
 Maclean, James M. (Cardiff)
 Maclure, Sir John W., Bt. (Lancashire, Stretford)
 MacNeill, J. G. Swift (Donegal, South)
 McArthur, Charles (Liverpool, Exchange)
 McArthur, William A. (Cornwall, St. Austell)
 McCalmont, Col. James (Antrim, East)
 McCalmont, Harry L. B. (Cambridge, Newmarket)
 McCartan, Michael (Down, South)
 McCarthy, Justin (Longford, North)
 McCrae, George (Edinburgh, East)
 McDermott, Patrick (Kilkenny, N.)
 McEwan, William (Edinburgh, Central)
 McGhee, Richard (Louth, South)
 M'Hugh, Edward (Armagh, South)
 M'Hugh, Patrick A. (Leitrim, North)
 McIver, Sir Lewis, Bt. (Edinburgh, West)
 McKenna, Reginald (Monmouth)
 McKillop, James (Stirlingshire)
 McLaren, Charles P. Bright (Leicester, Bosworth)
 McLeod, John (Sutherland)
 Maddison, Frederick (Sheffield, Brightside)
 Malcolm, Ian (Suffolk, Stowmarket)
 Mandeville, Francis (Tipperary, South)
 Manners, Lord Edward William (Leicestershire, Melton)
 Maple, Sir J. Blundell, Bt. (Camberwell, Dulwich)
 Mappin, Sir Frederick T., Bt. (York, W.R., Hallamshire)
 Marks, Harry H. (Tower Hamlets, St. George's)
 Martin, Richard Biddulph (Worcester, Droitwich)
 Massey-Mainwaring, Hon. W. F. B. (Finsbury, Central)
 Maxwell, Rt. Hon. Sir Herbert E., Bt. (Wigton)
 Mellor, Col. John James (Lancashire Radcliffe)
 Mellor, Rt. Hon. John W. (York, W.R., Sowerby)
 Melville, Beresford Valentine (Stockport)
 Mendl, Sigismund, F. (Plymouth)
 Meysey-Thompson, Sir H., Bt. (Stafford, Handsworth)
 Middlemore, John T. (Birmingham, N.)
 Milbank, Sir Powlett C. J., Bt. (Radnor)
 Mildmay, Francis B. (Devon, Totnes)
 Milner, Sir Fred G., Bt. (Notts, Bassetlaw)
 Milton, Viscount (Wakefield)
 Milward, Col. Victor (Warwick, Stratford-upon-Avon)
 Minch, Matthew J. (Kildare, South)
 Molloy, Bernard C. (King's Co., Birr)
 Monckton, Edward Philip (Northants, North)
 Monk, Charles James (Gloucester)
 Montagu, Hon. John Scott (Hants, New Forest)
 Montagu, Sir Saml., Bt. (Tower Hamlets, Whitechapel)
 Moon, Edward Robert P. (St. Pancras, North)
 Moore, Arthur J. (Londonderry)
 Moore, William (Antrim, North)
 More, Robert Jasper (Shropshire, Ludlow)
 Morgan, Col. Hon. Fred. C. (Monmouthshire, S.)
 Morgan, John Lloyd (Carmarthen, West)
 Morgan, W. Pritchard (Merthyr Tydvil)
 Morley, Charles (Brecknock)
 Morley, Rt. Hon. John (Montrose, etc.)
 Morrell, George Herbert (Oxon, Woodstock)
 Morris, Samuel (Kilkenny, South)
 Morrison, Walter (York, W.R., Skipton)
 Morton, Arthur H. A. (Deptford)
 Morton, Edward J. C. (Devonport)
 Moss, Samuel (Denbighshire, East)
 Moulton, John Fletcher (Cornwall, Launceston)
 Mount, William G. (Berks, Newbury)
 Muntz, Philip Albert (Warwickshire, Tamworth)

Murnaghan, George (Tyrone, Mid.)
 Murray, Rt. Hon. Andrew Graham
 (Buteshire)
 Murray, Charles James (Coventry)
 Murray, Col. C. Wyndham (Bath)
 Myers, William Henry (Winchester)

N

Newark, Viscount (Notts, Newark)
 Newdigate, Francis Alex. (Warwickshire,
 Nuneaton)
 Nicholson, William G. (Hants, Peters-
 field)
 Nicol, Donald N. (Argyll)
 Norton, Capt. Cecil W. (Newington,
 West)
 Nussev, Thomas Willans (Pontefract)

O

O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
 O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
 O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary, North)
 O'Connor, Arthur (Donegal, East)
 O'Connor, James (Wicklow, West)
 O'Connor, Thomas P. (Liverpool, Scot-
 land)
 O'Keeffe, Francis A. (Limerick)
 O'Kelly, James (Roscommon, North)
 Oldroyd, Mark (Dewsbury)
 O'Malley, William (Galway, Connemara)
 O'Neill, Hon. R. Torrens (Antrim, Mid)
 Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay (Ayr Burghs)

P

Palmer, Sir Charles M., Bt. (Durham,
 Jarrow)
 Palmer, George William (Reading)
 Parkes, Ebenezer (Birmingham, Central)
 Parnell, John Howard (Meath, South)
 Paulton, James M. (Durham, Bishop
 Auckland)
 Pearson, Sir Weetman D., Bt. (Colchester)
 Pease, Alfred Edward (Yorkshire, Cleve-
 land)
 Pease, Herbert P. (Darlington)
 Pease, Joseph A. (Northumberland, Tyne-
 side)
 Pease, Sir Joseph W., Bt. (Durham,
 Barnard Castle)

Pender, Sir James, Bt. (Northants, Mid)
 Penn, John (Lewisham)
 Percy, Earl (Kensington, South)
 Perks, Robert W. (Lincolnshire, Louth)
 Philipps, John W. (Pembroke)
 Phillpotts, Capt. Arthur S. (Devon,
 Torquay)
 Pickard, Benjamin (York, W.R., Nor-
 manton)
 Pickersgill, Edward H. (Bethnal Green,
 S.W.)
 Pierpoint, Robert (Warrington)
 Pilkington, Sir George A. (Lancashire,
 Southport)
 Pilkington, Lt.-Col. Richard (Lancashire,
 Newton)
 Pinkerton, John (Galway)
 Pirie, Duncan Vernon (Aberdeen, North)
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick (Salford, North)
 Plunkett, Rt. Hon. Horace C. (Dublin
 Co., South)
 Pollock, Harry Fred (Lincoln, Spalding)
 Powell, Sir Francis Sharp, Bt. (Wigan)
 Power, Patrick J. (Waterford, East)
 Pretymann, Capt. Ernest Geo. (Suffolk,
 Woodbridge)
 Price, Robert John (Norfolk, East)
 Priestley, Briggs (York, W.R., Pudsey)
 Priestley, Sir William O. (Edinburgh and
 St. Andrews Universities)
 Provand, Andrew D. (Glasgow, Black-
 friars)
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward (Mont-
 gomery Boroughs)
 Purvis, Robert (Peterborough)
 Pym, C. Guy (Bedford)

Q

Quilter, Sir Cuthbert, Bt. (Suffolk, Sud-
 bury)

R

Randell, David (Glamorgan, Gower)
 Rankin, Sir James, Bt. (Herefordshire,
 Leominster)
 Rasch, Major Fred. C. (Essex, S. East)
 Reckitt, Harold James (Lincolnshire,
 Brigg)
 Redmond, John E. (Waterford)

Redmond, William H. K. (Clare, East)
 Reid, Sir Robert T. (Dumfries Burghs)
 Renshaw, Charles B. (Renfrew, West)
 Rentoul, James A. (Down, East)
 Richards, Henry Chas. (Finsbury, East)
 Richardson, Joseph (Durham, S.E.)
 Richardson, Sir Thomas (Hartlepool)
 Rickett, J. Ccmpton (Scarborough)
 Ridley, Rt. Hon. Sir M. White, Bt.
 (Lancashire, Blackpool)
 Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Chas. T. (Croydon)
 Roberts, John Bryn (Carnarvonshire,
 Eifion)
 Roberts, John Herbert (Denbighshire,
 West)
 Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
 Robertson, Herbert (Hackney, S.)
 Robinson, Brooke (Dudley)
 Robson, William Snowdon (South Shields)
 Roche, Hon. James (Kerry, East)
 Roche, John (Galway, East)
 Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye (Islington, South)
 Rothschild, Hon. Lionel W. (Bucks,
 Aylesbury)
 Round, James (Essex, Harwich)
 Royds, Clement Molyneux (Rochdale)
 Runciman, Walter (Oldham)
 Russell, Gen. F. S. (Cheltenham)
 Russell, Thomas W. (Tyrone, South)
 Rutherford, John (Lancashire, Darwen)
 Ryder, J. H. Dudley (Gravesend)

S

Samuel, Harry S. (Tower Hamlets, Lime-
 house)
 Samuel, Jonathan (Stockton)
 Sandys, Col. Thomas M. (Lancashire,
 Bootle)
 Sassoon, Sir Edward, Bt. (Hythe)
 Saunderson, Col. Rt. Hon. E. J. (Armagh,
 North)
 Savory, Sir Joseph, Bt. (Westmoreland,
 Appleby)
 Schwann, Charles E. (Manchester, North)
 Scoble, Sir Andrew R. (Hackney, Central)
 Scott, Charles Prestwich (Lancashire,
 Leigh)
 Scott, Sir Samuel E., Bt. (Marylebone)
 Seely, Charles Hilton (Lincoln)
 Seton-Karr, Henry (St. Helens)

Sharpe, Wm. E. Thompson (Kensington,
 North)
 Shaw, Charles Edward (Stafford)
 Shaw, Thomas (Hawick Burghs)
 Shaw-Stewart, M. Hugh (Renfrew, East)
 Shee, James John (Waterford, West)
 Sheehy, David (Galway, South)
 Sidebotham, Joseph W. (Cheshire, Hyde)
 Sidebottom, Tom Harrop (Stalybridge)
 Sidebottom, Wm. (Derbyshire, High Peak)
 Simeon, Sir J. S. Barrington, Bt. (South-
 ampton)
 Sinclair, Capt. John (Forfar)
 Sinclair, Louis (Essex, Romford)
 Skewes-Cox, Thomas (Surrey, Kingston)
 Smith, Abel Henry (Christchurch)
 Smith, James Parker (Lanark, Partick)
 Smith, Samuel (Flintshire)
 Smith, Hon. W. Fred. D. (Strand, West-
 minster)
 Soames, Arthur W. (Norfolk, South)
 Souttar, Robinson (Dumfriesshire)
 Spencer, Ernest (West Bromwich)
 Spicer, Albert (Monmouth Boroughs)
 Stanhope, Hon. Philip J. (Burnley)
 Stanley, Hon. Arthur (Lancashire, Orms-
 kirk)
 Stanley, Edward J. (Somerset, Bridg-
 water)
 Stanley, Sir Henry M. (Lambeth, N.)
 Stanley, Lord (Lancs., Westhoughton)
 Steadman, William C. (Tower Hamlets,
 Stepney)
 Stephens, Henry Charles (Middlesex,
 Hornsey)
 Stevenson, Francis S. (Suffolk, Eye)
 Stewart, Sir Mark J. McTaggart, Bt.
 (Kirkcudbright)
 Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M., Bt. (Glas-
 gow, College)
 Stock, James Henry (Liverpool, Walton)
 Stone, Sir John Benjamin (Birmingham, E.)
 Strachey, Edward (Somerset, South)
 Strauss, Arthur (Cornwall, Camborne)
 Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley (Essex,
 Maldon)
 Stuart, James (Shoreditch, Hoxton)
 Sturt, Hon. Humphrey N. (Dorset, East)
 Sullivan, Donal (Westmeath, South)
 Sullivan, Timothy D. (Donegal, West)
 Sutherland, Sir T. (Greenock)

T

Talbot, Rt. Hon. John G. (Oxford University)
 Talbot, Lord Edmund (Sussex, Chichester)
 Tanner, Charles K. Deane (Cork Co. Mid)
 Tennant, Harold John (Berwickshire)
 Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
 Thomas, Alfred (Glamorgan, E.)
 Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr Tydvil)
 Thorburn, Sir Walter (Peebles and Selkirk)
 Thornton, Percy M. (Clapham)
 Tollemache, Henry J. (Cheshire, Eddisbury)
 Tomlinson, William E. M. (Preston)
 Trevelyan, Charles P. (York, W.R., Elland)
 Tritton, Charles E. (Lambeth, Norwood)
 Tuite, James (Westmeath, North)
 Tully, Jasper (Leitrim, South)

U

Ure, Alexander (Linlithgow)
 Usborne, Thomas (Essex, Chelmsford)

V

Valentia, Viscount (Oxford)
 Verney, Hon. Rich. Greville (Warwickshire, Rugby)
 Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. Howard (Sheffield, Central)
 Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)

W

Wallace, Robert (Perth)
 Walrond, Rt. Hon. Sir Wm. H., Bt. (Devon, Tiverton)
 Walton, John Lawson (Leeds, South)
 Walton, Joseph (York, W.R., Barnsley)
 Wanklyn, Jas. Leslie (Bradford, Central)
 Ward, Hon. Robert Arthur (Cheshire, Crewe)
 Warde, Lt.-Col. Charles E. (Kent, Medway)
 Warner, T. Courtenay T. (Stafford, Lichfield)
 Warr, Augustus F. (Liverpool, East Toxteth)
 Wason, Eugene (Clackmannan and Kinross)
 Webster, Sir Richard E. (Isle of Wight)
 Wedderburn, Sir Wm., Bt. (Banffshire)
 Weir, James Galloway (Ross and Cromarty)

Welby, Lieut.-Col. A. C. Earle (Taunton)
 Wentworth, B. C. Vernon- (Brighton)
 Wharton, Rt. Hon. J. Lloyd (York, W.R., Ripon)
 Whiteley, George (Stockport)
 Whiteley, Herbert (Ashton-under-Lyne)
 Whitmore, Charles A. (Chelsea)
 Whittaker, Thomas P. (York, W.R., Spen Valley)
 Williams, John Carvell (Notts, Mansfield)
 Williams, Joseph Powell- (Birmingham, S.)
 Williams, Col. Robert (Dorset, West)
 Willoughby de Eresby, Lord (Lincolnshire, Horncastle)
 Willox, Sir John Archibald (Liverpool, Everton)
 Wills, Sir William H., Bt. (Bristol, East)
 Wilson, Charles H. (Hull, West)
 Wilson, Frederick W. (Norfolk, Mid)
 Wilson, Henry Joseph (York, W.R., Holmfirth)
 Wilson, John (Falkirk Burghs)
 Wilson, John (Lanark, Govan)
 Wilson, John (Durham, Mid)
 Wilson, John William (Worcestershire, North)
 Wilson, Joseph Havelock (Middlesbrough)
 Wilson-Todd, William H. (York, N.R., Howdenshire)
 Wodehouse, Rt. Hon. Edmond R. (Bath)
 Wolff, Gustavus Wilhelm (Belfast, East)
 Woodall, William (Hanley)
 Woodhouse, Sir James T. (Huddersfield)
 Woods, Samuel (Essex, Walthamstow)
 Wortley, Rt. Hon. Charles B. Stuart- (Sheffield, Hallam)
 Wrightson, Thomas (St. Pancras, East)
 Wylie, Alexander (Dumbartonshire)
 Wyndham, George (Dover)
 Wyndham-Quin, Maj. W. H. (Glamorgan South)
 Wyvill, Marmaduke D'Arcy (York, W.R. Otley)

Y

Yerburgh, Robert A. (Chester)
 Young, Comr. Oliver (Berks, Wokingham)
 Young, Samuel (Cavan, East)
 Younger, William (Lincolnshire, Stamford)
 Yoxall, James Henry (Nottingham, West)

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF CONSTITUENCIES,

WITH

NAMES OF MEMBERS.

(Compiled at the opening of the Session.)

ENGLAND—COUNTIES (234 Members).

BEDFORDSHIRE (2)

| | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----------------------|
| North, or Biggleswade | ... | ... | ... | Compton, Lord Alwyne. |
| South, or Luton | ... | ... | ... | Ashton, T. Gair. |

BERKSHIRE (3)

| | | | | |
|--------------------|-----|-----|-----|----------------------|
| East, or Wokingham | ... | ... | ... | Young, Capt. Oliver. |
| North, or Abingdon | ... | ... | ... | Loyd, A. K. |
| South, or Newbury | ... | ... | ... | Mount, W. G. |

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE (3)

| | | | | |
|----------------------|-----|-----|-----|------------------------|
| Mid, or Aylesbury... | ... | ... | ... | Rothschild, Hon. L. W. |
| North, or Buckingham | ... | ... | ... | Carlile, W. W. |
| South, or Wycombe | ... | ... | ... | Curzon, Viscount. |

CAMBRIDGESHIRE (3)

| | | | | |
|----------------------|-----|-----|-----|---------------------|
| East, or Newmarket | ... | ... | ... | M'Calmont, H. L. B. |
| North, or Wisbech... | ... | ... | ... | Giles, C. T. |
| West, or Chesterton | ... | ... | ... | Greene, W. R. |

CHESHIRE (8)

| | | | | |
|--------------|-----|-----|-----|-------------------------------|
| Altrincham | ... | ... | ... | Disraeli, Coningsby R. |
| Crewe | ... | ... | ... | Ward, Hon. R. A. |
| Eddisbury | ... | ... | ... | Tollemache, H. J. |
| Hyde | ... | ... | ... | Sidebotham, J. W. |
| Knutsford | ... | ... | ... | Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton. |
| Macclesfield | ... | ... | ... | Davenport, W. B. |
| Northwich | ... | ... | ... | Brunner, Sir J. T. |
| Wirral | ... | ... | ... | Cotton-Jodrell, Col. E. T. D. |

CORNWALL (6)

| | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----|-----|-----|--------------------------|
| Mid, or St. Austell | ... | ... | ... | M'Arthur, W. A. |
| North-East, or Launceston | ... | ... | ... | Moulton, J. F. |
| North-West, or Camborne | ... | ... | ... | Strauss, A. |
| South-East, or Bodmin | ... | ... | ... | Courtney, Rt. Hon. L. H. |
| Truro | ... | ... | ... | Lawrence, Sir E., Bt. |
| West, or St. Ives | ... | ... | ... | Bolitho, T. B. |

CUMBERLAND (4)

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------------------|
| Cockermouth | ... | ... | ... | ... | Lawson, Sir Wilfrid, Bt. |
| Mid, or Penrith | ... | ... | ... | ... | Lowther, Rt. Hon. J. W. |
| North, or Eskdale | ... | ... | ... | ... | Allison, R. A. |
| West, or Egremont | ... | ... | ... | ... | Duncombe, Hon. H. V. |

DERBYSHIRE (7)

| | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------------------------|
| Chesterfield | ... | ... | ... | ... | Bayley, Thomas. |
| High Peak | ... | ... | ... | ... | Sidebottom, W. |
| Ilkeston | ... | ... | ... | ... | Foster, Sir B. W. |
| Mid... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Jacoby, J. A. |
| North-East | ... | ... | ... | ... | Bolton, T. D. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | Gretton, J. |
| West | ... | ... | ... | ... | Cavendish, Victor C. W. |

DEVONSHIRE (8)

| | | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------------------------|
| East, or Honiton | ... | ... | ... | ... | Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir J. H., Bt. |
| Mid, or Ashburton | ... | ... | ... | ... | Hayne, Rt. Hon. C. Seale |
| North-East, or Tiverton | ... | ... | ... | ... | Walrond, Col. Rt. Hon. Sir W. H. |
| North, or South Molton | ... | ... | ... | ... | Lambert, G. |
| North-West, or Barnstaple | ... | ... | ... | ... | Gull, Sir W. Cameron, Bt. |
| South, or Totnes | ... | ... | ... | ... | Mildmay, F. Bingham. |
| Torquay | ... | ... | ... | ... | Philpotts, Captain A. S. |
| West, or Tavistock | ... | ... | ... | ... | Luttrell, H. C. F. |

DORSETSHIRE (4)

| | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------------------|
| East | ... | ... | ... | ... | Sturt, Hon. H. N. |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | Digby, J. K. W. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | Brymer, W. E. |
| West | ... | ... | ... | ... | Williams, Col. R. |

DURHAM (8)

| | | | | | |
|--------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------------------------|
| Barnard Castle | ... | ... | ... | ... | Pease, Sir Joseph W., Bt. |
| Bishop Auckland | ... | ... | ... | ... | Paulton, J. M. |
| Chester-le-Street | ... | ... | ... | ... | Joicey, Sir James, Bt. |
| Houghton-le-Spring | ... | ... | ... | ... | Cameron, Robert. |
| Jarrow | ... | ... | ... | ... | Palmer, Sir C. Mark, Bt. |
| Mid... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Wilson, John. |
| North-West | ... | ... | ... | ... | Atherley-Jones, L. |
| South-East | ... | ... | ... | ... | Richardson, Joseph. |

ESSEX (8)

| | | | | | |
|----------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------------------|
| East or Maldon | ... | ... | ... | ... | Strutt, Hon. C. H. |
| Mid or Chelmsford | ... | ... | ... | ... | Usborne, T. |
| North-East, or Harwich | ... | ... | ... | ... | Round, J. |
| North, or Saffron Walden | ... | ... | ... | ... | Gold, C. |
| South-East | ... | ... | ... | ... | Rasch, Major F. C. |
| South, or Romford | ... | ... | ... | ... | Sinclair, Louis. |
| South-West, or Walthamstow | ... | ... | ... | ... | Woods, Samuel. |
| West, or Epping | ... | ... | ... | ... | Lockwood, Lt.-Col. A. R. M. |

GLOUCESTERSHIRE (5)

| | | | | | |
|----------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------------------------|
| East, or Cirencester | ... | ... | ... | ... | Bathurst. Hon. A. B. |
| Forest of Dean | ... | ... | ... | ... | Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir C. W., Bt. |
| Mid, or Stroud | ... | ... | ... | ... | Cripps, C. A. |
| North, or Tewkesbury | ... | ... | ... | ... | Dorington, Sir J. E., Bt. |
| South, or Thornbury | ... | ... | ... | ... | Colston, C. E. H. A. |

HAMPSHIRE (5)

| | | | | | |
|----------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------------------------|
| East, or Petersfield | ... | ... | ... | ... | Nicholson, W. G. |
| New Forest | ... | ... | ... | ... | Montague, Hon. J. W. E. D. Scott. |

HAMPSHIRE (5)—*cont.*

| | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----|-----|-----|---------------------------------|
| North, or Basingstoke | ... | ... | ... | Jeffreys, A. F. |
| South, or Fareham... | ... | ... | ... | Fitz Wygram, Gen. Sir F. W. Bt. |
| West, or Andover | ... | ... | ... | Beach, Rt. Hon W. W. Bramston. |

HEREFORDSHIRE (2)

| | | | | |
|----------------------|-----|-----|-----|-------------------------|
| North, or Leominster | ... | ... | ... | Rankin, Sir Jas., Bart. |
| South, or Ross | ... | ... | ... | Biddulph, Michael. |

HERTFORDSHIRE (4)

| | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----|-----|-----|---------------------|
| East, or Hertford | ... | ... | ... | Cecil, Evelyn. |
| Mid, or St. Albans... | ... | ... | ... | Gibbs, Hon. Vicary. |
| North, or Hitchin | ... | ... | ... | Hudson, G. B. |
| West, or Watford | ... | ... | ... | Halsey, T. F. |

HUNTINGDONSHIRE (2)

| | | | | |
|----------------------|-----|-----|-----|------------------------------|
| North, or Ramsey | ... | ... | ... | Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn E. |
| South, or Huntingdon | ... | ... | ... | Barry, Rt. Hon. A. H. Smith. |

ISLE OF WIGHT (1)

| | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------------|
| ... | ... | ... | ... | Webster, Sir R. E. |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------------|

KENT (8)

| | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|-----|-----|---------------------------------|
| East, or St. Augustine's | ... | ... | ... | Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers. |
| Isle of Thanet | ... | ... | ... | Lowther, Rt. Hon. James. |
| Mid, or Medway | ... | ... | ... | Warde, Lt.-Col. C. E. |
| North-East, or Faversham | ... | ... | ... | Barnes, F. Gorell. |
| North-West, or Dartford | ... | ... | ... | Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir W. Hart, Bt. |
| South, or Ashford | ... | ... | ... | Hardy, Laurence. |
| South-West, or Tunbridge | ... | ... | ... | Boscawen A. Griffith. |
| West, or Sevenoaks | ... | ... | ... | Forster, H. W. |

LANCASHIRE, NORTH (4)

| | | | | |
|----------------|-----|-----|-----|---------------------------------|
| Blackpool | ... | ... | ... | Ridley, Rt. Hon. Sir M. W., Bt. |
| Chorley | ... | ... | ... | Balcarres, Lord. |
| Lancaster | ... | ... | ... | Foster, Col. W. H. |
| North Lonsdale | ... | ... | ... | Cavendish, Richd. F. |

LANCASHIRE, NORTH-EAST (4)

| | | | | |
|------------|-----|-----|-----|--------------------------------------|
| Accrington | ... | ... | ... | Leese, Sir J. F. |
| Clitheroe | ... | ... | ... | Kay-Shuttleworth. Rt. Hon. Sir U. J. |
| Darwen | ... | ... | ... | Rutherford, John. |
| Rossendale | ... | ... | ... | _____ |

LANCASHIRE, SOUTH-EAST (8)

| | | | | |
|-------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-------------------------|
| Eccles | ... | ... | ... | Clare, O. L. |
| Gorton | ... | ... | ... | Hatch, E. F. G. |
| Heywood | ... | ... | ... | Kemp, G. |
| Middleton | ... | ... | ... | Duckworth, J. |
| Prestwich | ... | ... | ... | Cawley, F. |
| Radcliffe-cum-Farnworth | ... | ... | ... | Mellor, Col. J. J. |
| Stretford | ... | ... | ... | Maclure, Sir J. W., Bt. |
| Westhoughton | ... | ... | ... | Stanley, Lord. |

LANCASHIRE, SOUTH-WEST (7)

| | | | | |
|--------------|-----|-----|-----|----------------------------------|
| Bootle | ... | ... | ... | Sandys, Col. T. M. |
| Ince... | ... | ... | ... | Blundell, Col. H. B. Hollinshed. |
| Leigh | ... | ... | ... | Scott, C. P. |
| Newton | ... | ... | ... | Pilkington, Lt.-Col. R. |
| Ormskirk | ... | ... | ... | Stanley, Hon. Arthur. |
| Southport... | ... | ... | ... | Pilkington, Sir G. A. |
| Widnes | ... | ... | ... | Gilliat, J. S. |

LEICESTERSHIRE (4)

| | | | | |
|----------------------|-----|-----|-----|---------------------|
| East, or Melton | ... | ... | ... | Manners, Lord E. W. |
| Mid, or Loughborough | ... | ... | ... | Ferguson, J. E. J. |
| South, or Harborough | ... | ... | ... | Logan, J. W. |
| West, or Bosworth | ... | ... | ... | McLaren, C. B. B. |

LINCOLNSHIRE (7)

| | | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----------------------------|
| East Lindsey, or Louth | ... | ... | ... | Perks, R. W. |
| Holland, or Spalding | ... | ... | ... | Pollock, H. F. |
| North Kesteven, or Sleaford | ... | ... | ... | Chaplin, Rt. Hon. H. |
| North Lindsey, or Brigg | ... | ... | ... | Reckitt, H. J. |
| South Kesteven, or Stamford | ... | ... | ... | Younger, W. |
| South Lindsey, or Horncastle | ... | ... | ... | Willoughby de Eresby, Lord. |
| West Lindsey, or Gainsborough | ... | ... | ... | Bainbridge, Emerson. |

MIDDLESEX (7)

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------------------------------|
| Brentford | ... | ... | ... | ... | Bigwood, J. |
| Ealing | ... | ... | ... | ... | Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord George. |
| Enfield | ... | ... | ... | ... | Bowles, Captain H. F. |
| Harrow | ... | ... | ... | ... | Cox, J. E. Bainbridge. |
| Hornsey | ... | ... | ... | ... | Stephens, H. C. |
| Tottenham | ... | ... | ... | ... | Howard, J. |
| Uxbridge | ... | ... | ... | ... | Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. D., Bt. |

MONMOUTHSHIRE (3)

| | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------------------------|
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | McKenna, R. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | Morgan, Col. Hon. F. C. |
| West | ... | ... | ... | ... | Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Sir W. Vernon. |

NORFOLK (6)

| | | | | | |
|------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------------------|
| East | ... | ... | ... | ... | Price, R. J. |
| Mid... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Wilson, F. W. |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | Gurdon, Sir W. B. |
| North-West | ... | ... | ... | ... | Arch, Joseph |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | Soames, A. W. |
| South-West | ... | ... | ... | ... | Hare, T. L. |

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE (4)

| | | | | | |
|--------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------------------|
| East | ... | ... | ... | ... | Channing, F. A. |
| Mid... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Pender, Sir James, Bt. |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | Monckton, E. P. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | Douglas-Pennant, Hon. E. S. |

NORTHUMBERLAND (4)

| | | | | | |
|--------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------------------------|
| Berwick-upon-Tweed | ... | ... | ... | ... | Grey, Sir Edward, Bt. |
| Hexham | ... | ... | ... | ... | Beaumont, Wentworth C. B. |
| Tyneside | ... | ... | ... | ... | Pease, J. A. |
| Wansbeck | ... | ... | ... | ... | Fenwick, C. |

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE (4)

| | | | | | |
|------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|------------------------|
| Bassetlaw | ... | ... | ... | ... | Milner, Sir F. G., Bt. |
| Mansfield | ... | ... | ... | ... | Williams, J. Carvell. |
| Newark | ... | ... | ... | ... | Newark, Viscount. |
| Rushcliffe | ... | ... | ... | ... | Ellis, J. E. |

OXFORDSHIRE (3)

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------------------|
| Mid, or Woodstock | ... | ... | ... | ... | Morrell, G. H. |
| North, or Banbury | ... | ... | ... | ... | Brassey, Albert. |
| South, or Henley | ... | ... | ... | ... | Hermon-Hodge, R. T. |

RUTLAND (1)

| | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------|
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Finch, G. H. |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------|

SHROPSHIRE (4)

| | | | | |
|--------------------|-----|-----|-----|------------------------|
| Mid, or Wellington | ... | ... | ... | Brown, A. H. |
| North, or Newport | ... | ... | ... | Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W. |
| South, or Ludlow | ... | ... | ... | More, R. J. |
| West, or Oswestry | ... | ... | ... | Leighton, Stanley. |

SOMERSETSHIRE (7)

| | | | | |
|---------------------|-----|-----|-----|------------------------------|
| Bridgwater | ... | ... | ... | Stanley, E. J. |
| East | ... | ... | ... | Hobhouse, Henry. |
| Frome | ... | ... | ... | Barlow, J. E. |
| North | ... | ... | ... | Llewellyn, Evan H. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | Strachey, E. |
| Wells | ... | ... | ... | Dickinson, Robert E. |
| West, or Wellington | ... | ... | ... | Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir A. F. |

STAFFORSHIRE (7)

| | | | | |
|--------------|-----|-----|-----|------------------------------|
| Burton | ... | ... | ... | Evershed, Sydney. |
| Handsworth | ... | ... | ... | Meysey-Thompson, Sir H., Bt. |
| Kingswinford | ... | ... | ... | Hill, Rt. Hon. A. Staveley. |
| Leek | ... | ... | ... | Bill, Charles. |
| Lichfield | ... | ... | ... | Warner, T. Courtenay T. |
| North-West | ... | ... | ... | Heath, James. |
| West | ... | ... | ... | Henderson, Alexander. |

SUFFOLK (5)

| | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----|-----|-----|------------------------------|
| North-East, or Eye | ... | ... | ... | Stevenson, F. S. |
| North, or Lowestoft | ... | ... | ... | Foster, H. Seymour. |
| North-West, or Stowmarket | ... | ... | ... | Malcolm, Ian. |
| South-East, or Woodbridge | ... | ... | ... | Pretymann, Capt. E. G. |
| South, or Sudbury | ... | ... | ... | Quilter, Sir Cuthbert, Bart. |

SURREY (6)

| | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|-----|-----|------------------------------|
| Kingston | ... | ... | ... | Skewes-Cox, T. |
| Mid, or Epsom | ... | ... | ... | Keswick, W. |
| North-East, or Wimbledon | ... | ... | ... | Bonsor, H. C. O. |
| North-West, or Chertsey | ... | ... | ... | Leigh-Bennett, H. C. |
| South-East, or Reigate | ... | ... | ... | Oubitt, Hon. Henry. |
| South-West, or Guildford | ... | ... | ... | Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John. |

SUSSEX (6)

| | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----|-----|-----|------------------------|
| East, or Rye | ... | ... | ... | Brookfield, A. M. |
| Mid, or Lewes | ... | ... | ... | Fletcher, Sir Hy., Bt. |
| North, or East Grinstead | ... | ... | ... | Goschen, G. J., jun. |
| North-West, or Horsham | ... | ... | ... | Johnstone, J. H. |
| South, or Eastbourne | ... | ... | ... | Field, Admiral E. |
| South-West, or Chichester | ... | ... | ... | Talbot, Lord Edward. |

WARWICKSHIRE (4)

| | | | | |
|----------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----------------------|
| North-East, or Nuneaton | ... | ... | ... | Newdigate, F. A. |
| North, or Tamworth | ... | ... | ... | Muntz, P. A. |
| South-East, or Rugby | ... | ... | ... | Verney, Hon. R. G. |
| South-West, or Stratford-on-Avon | ... | ... | ... | Milward, Col. Victor. |

WESTMORELAND (2)

| | | | | |
|-------------------|-----|-----|-----|-------------------------|
| North, or Appleby | ... | ... | ... | Savory, Sir Joseph, Bt. |
| South, or Kendal | ... | ... | ... | Bagot, Capt. J. F. |

WILTSHIRE (5)

| | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----|-----|-----|---------------------------------|
| East, or Devizes | ... | ... | ... | Goulding, E. A. |
| North, or Cricklade | ... | ... | ... | Fitzmaurice, Lord E. G. Petty- |
| North-West, or Chippenham | ... | ... | ... | Dickson-Poynder, Sir J. P., Bt. |
| South, or Wilton | ... | ... | ... | Folkestone, Viscount. |
| West, or Westbury | ... | ... | ... | Chaloner, Capt. R. G. W. |

WORCESTERSHIRE (5)

| | | | | | |
|----------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------------------------|
| East | ... | ... | ... | ... | Chamberlain, J. Austen. |
| Mid, or Droitwich... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Martin, R. Biddulph. |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | Wilson, J. W. |
| South, or Evesham... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Long, Col. C. Wigram. |
| West, or Bewdley | ... | ... | ... | ... | Baldwin, Alfred. |

YORKSHIRE, EAST RIDING (3)

| | | | | | |
|---------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------------------|
| Buckrose | ... | ... | ... | ... | Holden, Sir Angus, Bt. |
| Holderness... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Bethell, Commander G. R. |
| Howdenshire | ... | ... | ... | ... | Wilson-Todd, W. H. |

YORKSHIRE, NORTH RIDING (4)

| | | | | | |
|----------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------------------|
| Cleveland | ... | ... | ... | ... | Pease, A. E. |
| Richmond | ... | ... | ... | ... | Hutton, John. |
| Thirsk and Malton... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Lawson, J. Grant. |
| Whitby | ... | ... | ... | ... | Beckett, E. W. |

YORKSHIRE, WEST RIDING (N.) (5)

| | | | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------------------|
| Elland | ... | ... | ... | ... | Trevelyan, C. P. |
| Keighley | ... | ... | ... | ... | Brigg, John. |
| Shipley | ... | ... | ... | ... | Flannery, Sir J. Fortescue. |
| Skipton | ... | ... | ... | ... | Morrison, Walter. |
| Sowerby | ... | ... | ... | ... | Mellor, Rt. Hon. J. W. |

YORKSHIRE, WEST RIDING (S.) (8)

| | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|------------------------|
| Barnsley | ... | ... | ... | ... | Walton, Joseph. |
| Colne Valley | ... | ... | ... | ... | Kitson, Sir J. B., Bt. |
| Doncaster | ... | ... | ... | ... | Fison, F. W. |
| Hallamshire | ... | ... | ... | ... | Mappin, Sir F. T., Bt. |
| Holmfirth | ... | ... | ... | ... | Wilson, H. J. |
| Morley | ... | ... | ... | ... | Hutton, A. E. |
| Normanton | ... | ... | ... | ... | Pickard, B. |
| Rotherham... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Holland, H. W. |

YORKSHIRE, WEST RIDING (E.) (6)

| | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------------------|
| Barkston Ash | ... | ... | ... | ... | Gunter, Col. R. |
| Osgoldcross | ... | ... | ... | ... | Austin, Sir John, Bt. |
| Otley | ... | ... | ... | ... | Wyvill, M. D'Arcy. |
| Pudsey | ... | ... | ... | ... | Priestley, Briggs. |
| Ripon | ... | ... | ... | ... | Wharton, Rt. Hon. J. Lloyd. |
| Spenn Valley | ... | ... | ... | ... | Whittaker, T. P. |

ENGLAND—METROPOLITAN BOROUGHES (62 Members).**BATTERSEA AND CLAPHAM (2)**

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------------|
| Battersea | ... | ... | ... | ... | Burns, John. |
| Clapham | ... | ... | ... | ... | Thornton, Percy M. |

BETHNAL GREEN (2)

| | | | | | |
|---------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------------|
| North-East... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Bhownaggee, Sir M. M. |
| South-West | ... | ... | ... | ... | Pickersgill, E. H. |

CAMBERWELL (3)

| | | | | | |
|---------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------------------------|
| Dulwich | ... | ... | ... | ... | Maple, Sir J. Blundell. |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | Dalbiac, Major P. H. |
| Peckham | ... | ... | ... | ... | Banbury, F. G. |

CHELSEA (1)

| | | | | | |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------|
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Whitmore, C. A. |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------|

| | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|---|
| CROYDON (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Ritchie, Rt. Hon. C. T. |
| DEPTFORD (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Morton, A. H. A. |
| FINSBURY (3) | | | | | |
| Central | ... | ... | ... | ... | Massey-Mainwaring, Hon. W. F. B. |
| East | ... | ... | ... | ... | Richards, H. C. |
| Holborn | ... | ... | ... | ... | Hall, Rt Hon. Sir Charles. |
| FULHAM (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Flaeuer, W. Hayes |
| GREENWICH (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Cecil, Lord Hugh. |
| HACKNEY (3) | | | | | |
| Central | ... | ... | ... | ... | Scoble, Sir Andrew R. |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | Bousfield, W. R. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | Robertson, Herbert |
| HAMMERSMITH (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Goldsworthy, Major-Gen. W. T. |
| HAMPSTEAD (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Hoare, E. Brodie. |
| ISLINGTON (4) | | | | | |
| East | ... | ... | ... | ... | Cohen, B. L. |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | Bartley, G. C. T. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | Rollit, Sir A. K. |
| West | ... | ... | ... | ... | Lough, Thomas. |
| KENSINGTON (2) | | | | | |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | Sharpe, W. E. T. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | Perey, Earl. |
| LAMBETH (4) | | | | | |
| Brixton | ... | ... | ... | ... | Hubbard, Hon. Evelyn. |
| Kennington | ... | ... | ... | ... | Cook, F. L. |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | Stanley, Sir Henry M. |
| Norwood | ... | ... | ... | ... | Tritton, C. E. |
| LEWISHAM (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Penn, John |
| LONDON, CITY (2) | ... | ... | ... | ... | { Hanson, Sir Reginald, Bt. Gibbs, Hon. A. G. H. |
| MARYLEBONE (2) | | | | | |
| East... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Boulnois, Edmund |
| West | ... | ... | ... | ... | Scott, Sir S. E., Bt. |
| NEWINGTON (2) | | | | | |
| Walworth | ... | ... | ... | ... | Bailey, Jas. |
| West | ... | ... | ... | ... | Norton, Capt. C. W. |
| PADDINGTON (2) | | | | | |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | Aird, John. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | Fardell, Sir T. G. |
| ST. GEORGE'S, HANOVER SQUARE (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Goschen, Rt. Hon. G. J. |
| ST. PANCAS (4) | | | | | |
| East | ... | ... | ... | ... | Wrighton, Thos. |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | Moon, E. R. P. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | Jessel, Capt. H. M. |
| West | ... | ... | ... | ... | Graham, H. R. |
| SHOREDITCH (2) | | | | | |
| Haggerston | ... | ... | ... | ... | Lowles, John. |
| Hoxton | ... | ... | ... | ... | Stuart, Jas. |

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|--------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------------------------------|
| SOUTHWARK (3) | | | | | |
| Bermondsey | ... | ... | ... | ... | Lafone, Alfred. |
| Rotherhithe | ... | ... | ... | ... | Macdona, J. Cumming. |
| West | ... | ... | ... | ... | Causton, R. K. |
| STRAND (1) | | | | | Smith, Hon. W. F. D. |
| TOWER HAMLETS (7) | | | | | |
| Bow and Bromley | ... | ... | ... | ... | Guthrie, W. M. |
| Limehouse | ... | ... | ... | ... | Samuel, Harry S. |
| Mile End | ... | ... | ... | ... | Charrington, Spencer. |
| Poplar | ... | ... | ... | ... | Buxton, Sydney C. |
| St. George's | ... | ... | ... | ... | Marks, Harry H. |
| Stepney | ... | ... | ... | ... | Steadman, W. C. |
| Whitechapel | ... | ... | ... | ... | Montagu, Sir Samuel, Bt. |
| WANDSWORTH (1) | | | | | Kimber, Hy. |
| WEST HAM (2) | | | | | |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | Gray, Ernest. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | Banes, Major G. E. |
| WESTMINSTER (1) | | | | | Burdett-Coutts, W. Ashmead B. |
| WOOLWICH (1) | | | | | Hughes, Col. Edwin. |

ENGLAND—PROVINCIAL CITIES AND BOROUGHS (164 Members).

| | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|---|
| ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE (1) | | | | | Whiteley, H. |
| ASTON MANOR (1) | | | | | Hutchinson, Capt. G. W. Grice- |
| BARROW-IN-FURNESS (1). | | | | | Cayzer, Sir C. W. |
| BATH, CITY (2) | | | | | Murray, Col. C. Wyndham. Wodehouse, Rt. Hon. E. R. |
| BEDFORD (1) | | | | | Pym, C. Guy. |
| BIRKENHEAD (1) | | | | | Lees, Sir Elliott, Bt. |
| BIRMINGHAM, CITY (7) | | | | | |
| Bordesley | ... | ... | ... | ... | Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse. |
| Central | ... | ... | ... | ... | Parke, Ebenezer. |
| East | ... | ... | ... | ... | Stone, Sir J. Benjamin. |
| Edgbaston | ... | ... | ... | ... | Lowe, F. W. |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | Middlemore, J. T. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | Williams, J. Powell. |
| West | ... | ... | ... | ... | Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. Joseph. |
| BLACKBURN (2) | | | | | { Hornby, Sir W. H., Bt. Coddington, Sir W., Bt. |
| BOLTON (2) | | | | | { Cross, H. S. Harwood, G. |
| BOSTON (1) | | | | | Garfit, W. |
| BRADFORD, CITY (3) | | | | | |
| Central | ... | ... | ... | ... | Wanklyn, J. L. |
| East | ... | ... | ... | ... | Greville, Capt. Hon. R. H. Fulke. |
| West | ... | ... | ... | ... | Flower, Ernest. |
| BRIGHTON (2) | | | | | { Loder, Gerald W. E. Wentworth, Bruce C. Vernon. |

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|----------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|--|
| BRISTOL, CITY (4) | | | | | |
| East | ... | ... | ... | ... | Wills, Sir W. H., Bt. |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | Fry, Lewis. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | Hill, Sir E. Stock. |
| West | ... | ... | ... | ... | Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir M. H. |
| BURNLEY (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Stanhope, Hon. Philip J. |
| BURY (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Kenyon, Jas. |
| BURY ST. EDMUNDS (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Chelsea, Visct. |
| CAMBRIDGE (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | FitzGerald, Sir R. Penrose, Bt. |
| CANTERBURY, CITY (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Heaton, J. Henniker. |
| CARLISLE, CITY (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Gully, Rt. Hon. W. C. (SPEAKER). |
| CHATHAM (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Davies, Sir Horatio D. |
| CHELTENHAM (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Russell, Gen. F. S. |
| CHESTER, CITY (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Yerburgh, R. A. |
| CHRISTCHURCH (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Smith, Abel H. |
| COLCHESTER (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Pearson, Sir Weetman D., Bt. |
| COVENTRY (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Murray, C. J. |
| DARLINGTON (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Pease, Herbt. P. |
| DERBY (2) | ... | ... | ... | ... | { Benrose, Sir H. H. { Drage, Geoffrey. |
| DEVONPORT (2) | ... | ... | ... | ... | { Kearley, H. E. { Morton, E. J. C. |
| DEWSBURY (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Oldroyd, Mark. |
| DOVER (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Wyndham, George. |
| DUDLEY (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Robinson, Brooke. |
| DURHAM, CITY (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Elliot, Hon. Arthur R. D. |
| EXETER, CITY (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Vincent, Sir Edgar |
| GATESHEAD (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Allan, William. |
| GLOUCESTER, CITY (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Monk, C. J. |
| GRANTHAM (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Lopes, H. Y. Buller. |
| GRAVESEND (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Ryder, J. H. Dudley. |
| GRIMSBY, GREAT (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Doughty, G. |
| HALIFAX (2) | ... | ... | ... | ... | { Arnold, Alfred. { Billson, Alfred. |
| HANLEY (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Woodall, William. |
| HARTLEPOOL (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Richardson, Sir T. |
| HASTINGS (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Lucas-Shadwell, W. . |
| HEREFORD, CITY (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Cooke, C. W Radcliffe. |
| HUDDERSFIELD (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Woodhouse Sir J. T. |

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| HULL, CITY (3) | | | | | | |
| Central | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | King, Sir H. Seymour. |
| East | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Firbank, J. T. |
| West | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Wilson, C. H. |
| HYTHE (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Sassoon, Sir Edward, Bt |
| IPSWICH (2) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | { Goddard, D. F. Dalrymple, Sir Chas., Bt. |
| KIDDERMINSTER (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Godson, Sir Augustus F. |
| LEEDS, CITY (5) | | | | | | |
| Central | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Balfour, Rt. Hon. G. W. |
| East | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Leuty, T. R. |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Jackson, Rt. Hon. W. L. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Walton, John Lawson |
| West | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Gladstone, Rt. Hon. Herbert J. |
| LEICESTER (2) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | { Broadhurst, Henry. Hazell, Walter. |
| LINCOLN, CITY (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Seely, C. H. |
| LIVERPOOL, CITY (9) | | | | | | |
| Abercromby | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Lawrence, W. F. |
| East Toxteth | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Warr, A. F. |
| Everton | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Wilcox, Sir J. A. |
| Exchange | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | M'Arthur, Charles. |
| Kirkdale | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | MacIver, David. |
| Scotland | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | O'Connor, T. P. |
| Walton | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Stock, J. H. |
| West Derby | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Long, Rt. Hon. W. H. |
| West Toxteth | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Houston, R. P. |
| LYNN REGIS (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Bowles, T. Gibson. |
| MAIDSTONE (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Cornwallis, F. S. Wykeham. |
| MANCHESTER, CITY (6) | | | | | | |
| East | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Schwann, C. E. |
| North-East | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Fergusson, Rt. Hon. Sir J., Bt. |
| North-West | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Houldsworth, Sir W. H., Bt. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Lorne, Rt. Hon. Marquess of. |
| South-West | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Galloway, W. J. |
| MIDDLESBROUGH (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Wilson, J. Havelock. |
| MONMOUTH DISTRICT (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Spicer, Albert. |
| MORPETH (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Burt, Thomas. |
| NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Allen, Wm. |
| NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, CITY (2) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | { Hamond, Sir C. F. Cruddas, W. D. |
| NORTHAMPTON (2) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | { Labouchere, Henry. Drucker, G. C. A. |
| NORWICH, CITY (2) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | { Hoare, Sir Samuel, Bt Bullard, Sir Harry. |

LIST OF CONSTITUENCIES.

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| | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------------------------------------|
| NOTTINGHAM, CITY (3) | | | | | |
| East | ... | ... | ... | ... | Bond, Edward. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | Bentinck, Dord H. |
| West | ... | ... | ... | ... | Yoxall, J. H. |
| OLDHAM (2) | | | | | |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | { Emmott, Alfred. |
| | | | | | { Runciman, Walter. |
| OXFORD, CITY (1) | | | | | |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | Valentia, Viscount. |
| PENRYN AND FALMOUTH (1) | | | | | |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | Horniman, F. J |
| PLYMOUTH (2) | | | | | |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | { Clarke, Sir Edward |
| | | | | | { Mendl, Sigismund F. |
| PONTEFRAC T (1) | | | | | |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | Nussey, T. Willans. |
| PORTSMOUTH (2) | | | | | |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | { Baker, Sir John. |
| | | | | | { Clough, W. O. |
| PRESTON (2) | | | | | |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | { Hanbury, Rt. Hon. R. W. |
| | | | | | { Tomlinson, W. E. M. |
| READING (1) | | | | | |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | Palmer, G. W. |
| ROCHDALE (1) | | | | | |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | Royds, C. M. |
| ROCHESTER, CITY (1) | | | | | |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | Cranborne, Viscount. |
| ST. HELENS (1) | | | | | |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | Seton-Karr, Henry. |
| SALFORD (3) | | | | | |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | Platt-Higgins, F. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | Howarth, Sir H. H. |
| West | ... | ... | ... | ... | Knowles, Lees. |
| SALISBURY, CITY (1) | | | | | |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | Allhusen, A. H. E. |
| SCARBOROUGH (1) | | | | | |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | Rickett, J. Compton. |
| SHEFFIELD, CITY (5) | | | | | |
| Attercliffe | ... | ... | ... | ... | Langley, Batty. |
| Brightside | ... | ... | ... | ... | Maddison, F. |
| Central | ... | ... | ... | ... | Vincent, Col. Sir C. E. Howard. |
| Ecclesall | ... | ... | ... | ... | Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir Ellis. |
| Hallam | ... | ... | ... | ... | Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart. |
| SHREWSBURY (1) | | | | | |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | Greene, H. D. |
| SOUTHAMPTON (2) | | | | | |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | { Simeon, Sir J. S. Barrington, Bt. |
| | | | | | { Evans, Sir Francis H |
| SOUTH SHIELDS (1) | | | | | |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | Robson, W. S. |
| STAFFORD (1) | | | | | |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | Shaw, C. E. |
| STALYBRIDGE (1) | | | | | |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | Sidebottom, T. H. |
| STOCKPORT (2) | | | | | |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | { Whiteley, George. |
| | | | | | { Melville, B. V. |
| STOCKTON (1) | | | | | |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | Samuel, Jonathan. |
| STOKE-UPON-TRENT (1) | | | | | |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | Coghill, D. H. |
| SUNDERLAND (2) | | | | | |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | { Doxford, Sir W. T. |
| | | | | | { Gourley, Sir E. T. |

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|----------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|----------------------------|
| TAUNTON (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Welby, Lt.-Col. A. C. E. |
| TYNEMOUTH (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Donkin, R. S. |
| WAKEFIELD, CITY (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Milton, Viscount. |
| WALSALL (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Gedge, Sydney |
| WARRINGTON (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Pierpoint, Robert. |
| WARWICK AND LEAMINGTON (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Lyttelton, Hon. Alfred |
| WEDNESBURY (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Green W. D. |
| WEST BROMWICH (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Spencer, J. Ernest. |
| WHITEHAVEN (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Helder, Augustus. |
| WIGAN (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Powell, Sir F. S., Bt. |
| WINCHESTER, CITY (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Myers, W. H. |
| WINDSOR (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Barry, Sir F. T., Bt. |
| WOLVERHAMPTON (3) | | | | | |
| East | ... | ... | ... | ... | Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir H. H. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | Gibbons, J. L. |
| West | ... | ... | ... | ... | Hickman, Sir Alfred |
| WORCESTER, CITY (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Allsopp, Hon. G. H. |
| YARMOUTH, GREAT (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Colomb, Sir John. |
| YORK, CITY (2) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Butcher, J. G. |

WALES—COUNTIES (19 Members).

| | | | | | |
|---------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|---------------------------|
| ANGLESEY (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Griffiths, Ellis J. |
| BRECKNOCKSHIRE (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Morley, Charles. |
| CARDIGANSHIRE (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Davies, M. Vaughan. |
| CARMARTHENSHIRE (2) | | | | | |
| East | ... | ... | ... | ... | Thomas, Abel. |
| West | ... | ... | ... | ... | Morgan, J. Lloyd. |
| CARNARVONSHIRE (2) | | | | | |
| North or Arfon | ... | ... | ... | ... | Jones, William. |
| South or Eifion | ... | ... | ... | ... | Roberts, J. Bryn |
| DENBIGHSHIRE (2) | | | | | |
| East | ... | ... | ... | ... | Moss, Samuel. |
| West | ... | ... | ... | ... | Roberts, J. H. |
| FLINTSHIRE (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Smith, Samuel. |
| GLAMORGANSHIRE (5) | | | | | |
| East | ... | ... | ... | ... | Thomas, Alfred. |
| Mid... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Evans, S. T. |
| Rhondda | ... | ... | ... | ... | Abraham, William. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | Wyndham-Quin, Major W. H. |
| West, or Gower | ... | ... | ... | ... | Randell, David. |
| MERIONETHSHIRE (1) | ... | ... | ... | ... | Edwards, O. M. |

| | | | | |
|-------------------------|-----|-----|-----|----------------------------|
| MONTGOMERYSHIRE (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | Humphreys-Owen, A. C. |
| PEMBROKESHIRE (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | Philipps, J. Wynford. |
| RADNORSHIRE (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | Milbank, Sir P. C. J., Bt. |

WALES—BOROUGHES (11 Members).

| | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|--|
| CARDIFF DISTRICT (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | Maclean, J. M. |
| CARMARTHEN DISTRICT (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | Jenkins, Sir J. J. |
| CARNARVON DISTRICT (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | Lloyd-George, David. |
| DENBIGH DISTRICT (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | Howell, W. T. |
| FLINT DISTRICT (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | Lewis, J. H. |
| MERTHYR TYDVIL (2) ... | ... | ... | ... | { Thomas, D. A. Morgan, W. Pritchard. |
| MONTGOMERY DISTRICT (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | Pryce-Jones, Lieut.-Col. E. |
| PEMBROKE AND HAVERFORDWEST DISTRICT (1) | ... | ... | ... | Laurie, Lieut.-Col. J. W. |
| SWANSEA (2) | | | | |
| District ... | ... | ... | ... | Jones, D. Brynmor. |
| Town ... | ... | ... | ... | Llewelyn, Sir J. T. Dillwyn, Bt. |

SCOTLAND—COUNTIES (39 Members).

| | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------------------------------|
| ABERDEENSHIRE (2) | | | | | |
| East ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Buchanan, T. R. |
| West ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Farquharson, Dr. R. |
| ARGYLLSHIRE (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Nicol, Donald N. |
| AYRSHIRE (2) | | | | | |
| North ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Cochrane, Hon. T. H. |
| South ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Arrol, Sir William. |
| BANFFSHIRE (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Wedderburn, Sir W., Bt. |
| BERWICKSHIRE (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Tennant, H. J. |
| BUTESHIRE (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Murray, Rt. Hon. A. Graham. |
| CAITHNESS-SHIRE (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Clark, Dr. G. B. |
| CLACKMANNAN AND KINROSS (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Wason, Eugene. |
| DUMBARTONSHIRE (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Wylie, Alexander. |
| DUMFRIESSHIRE (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Souttar, Robinson. |
| EDINBURGH (MIDLOTHIAN) (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Carmichael, Sir T. D. Gibson. |
| ELGIN AND NAIRN (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Gordon, Hon. J. E. |
| FIFESHIRE (2) | | | | | |
| East ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Asquith, Rt. Hon. H. H. |
| West ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Birrell, Augustine. |
| FORFARSHIRE (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Sinclair, Capt. J. |

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|-----------------------------|-----|-----|-----|----------------------------------|
| HADDINGTONSHIRE (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | Haldane, R. B. |
| INVERNESS-SHIRE (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | Baillie, J. E. B. |
| KINCARDINESHIRE (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | Crombie, J. W. |
| KIRKCUDBRIGHTSHIRE (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | Stewart, Sir Mark J. McT., Bt. |
| LANARKSHIRE (6) | | | | |
| Govan ... | ... | ... | ... | Wilson, John. |
| Mid ... | ... | ... | ... | Caldwell, J. |
| North-East ... | ... | ... | ... | Colville, J. |
| North-West ... | ... | ... | ... | Douglas, C. M. |
| Partick ... | ... | ... | ... | Smith, J. Parker. |
| South ... | ... | ... | ... | Hozier, Hon. J. H. C. |
| LINLITHGOWSHIRE (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | Ure, Alex. |
| ORKNEY AND SHETLAND (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | Lyell, Sir Leonard, Bt. |
| PEEBLES AND SELKIRK (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | Thorburn, Sir Walter. |
| PERTHSHIRE (2) | | | | |
| East ... | ... | ... | ... | Kinloch, Sir J. G. S., Bt. |
| West ... | ... | ... | ... | Currie, Sir Donald. |
| RENFREWSHIRE (2) | | | | |
| East ... | ... | ... | ... | Shaw-Stewart, M. H. |
| West ... | ... | ... | ... | Renshaw, C. B. |
| ROSS AND CROMARTY (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | Weir, J. G. |
| ROXBURGHSHIRE (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | Dalkeith, Earl of. |
| STIRLINGSHIRE (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | McKillop, J. |
| SUTHERLANDSHIRE (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | McLeod, John. |
| WIGTONSHIRE (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | Maxwell, Rt. Hon. Sir H. E., Bt. |

SCOTLAND—CITIES AND BURGHS (31 Members).

| | | | | | |
|---------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|---|
| ABERDEEN, CITY (2) | | | | | |
| North ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Pirie, D. V. |
| South ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Bryce, Rt. Hon. James. |
| AYR DISTRICT (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Orr-Ewing, C. L. |
| DUMFRIES DISTRICT (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Reid, Sir R. T. |
| DUNDEE (2) ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | { Robertson, Edmund. Leng, Sir John. |
| EDINBURGH, CITY (4) | | | | | |
| Central ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | McEwan, William. |
| East ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | McCrae, George. |
| South ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Dewar, Arthur. |
| West ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | McIver, Sir Lewis, Bt. |
| ELGIN DISTRICT (1) ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Asher, Alexander. |
| FALKIRK DISTRICT (1)... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Wilson, John. |

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|---|------------------------------------|
| GLASGOW, CITY (7) | Provand, A. D. |
| Blackfriars and Hutchesontown | Cameron, Sir Chas., Bt. |
| Bridgeton | Cross, Alexander. |
| Camlachie | Baird, J. G. A. |
| Central | Stirling-Maxwell, Sir J. M. |
| College | Begg, J. Faithfull. |
| St. Rollox | Corbett, A. Cameron. |
| Tradeston | |
| GREENOCK (1) | Sutherland, Sir T. |
| HAWICK DISTRICT (1) | Shaw, Thomas. |
| INVERNESS DISTRICT (1) | Finlay, Sir R. B. |
| KILMARNOCK DISTRICT (1) | Denny, Col. J. McA. |
| KIRKCALDY DISTRICT (1) | Dalziel, J. H. |
| LEITH DISTRICT (1) | Ferguson, R. C. Munro. |
| MONTROSE DISTRICT (1) | Morley, Rt. Hon. J. |
| PAISLEY (1) | Dunn, Sir Wm., Bt. |
| PERTH CITY (1) | Wallace, Robert. |
| ST. ANDREW'S DISTRICT (1) | Anstruther, H. T. |
| STIRLING DISTRICT (1) | Campbell-Bannerman, Rt. Hn. Sir H. |
| WICK DISTRICT (1) | Hedderwick, T. C. H. |

IRELAND—COUNTIES (85 Members).

| | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| ANTRIM (4) | |
| East | McCalmont, Col. J. |
| Mid... .. | O'Neill, Hon. R. T. |
| North | Moore, William. |
| South | Macartney, W. G. F. |
| ARMAGH COUNTY (3) | |
| Mid... .. | — — — |
| North | Saunderson, Col. Rt. Hon. E. J. |
| South | McHugh, Edward. |
| CARLOW COUNTY (1) | Hammond, John |
| CAVAN (2) | |
| East | Young, Samuel. |
| West | Farrell, J. P. |
| CLARE (2) | |
| East | Redmond, W. H. K. |
| West | Jameson, Major J. E. |
| CORK, COUNTY (7) | |
| East | Donelan, Captain A. J. C. |
| Mid... .. | Tanner, Dr. C. K. D. |
| North | Flynn, J. C. |
| North-East | Abraham, Wm. |
| South | Barry, Edward. |
| South-East | Commins, A. |
| West | Gilhooly, J. |

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|--------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----------------------------|
| DONEGAL (4) | | | | | | |
| East | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | O'Connor, Arthur. |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Curran, T. B. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | MacNeill, J. G. Swift. |
| West | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Sullivan, T. D. |
| DOWN (4) | | | | | | |
| East | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Rentoul, J. A. |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Blakiston-Houston, J. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | M'Cartan, Michael. |
| West | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Hill, Captain Arthur. |
| DUBLIN, COUNTY (2) | | | | | | |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Clancy, J. J. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Plunkett, Rt. Hon. H. C. |
| FERMANAGH (2) | | | | | | |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Archdale, E. M. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Jordan, Jeremiah. |
| GALWAY, COUNTY (4) | | | | | | |
| Connemara... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | O'Malley, William. |
| East | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Roche, John. |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Kilbride, Denis. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Sheehy, David. |
| KERRY (4) | | | | | | |
| East | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Roche, Hon. J. B. Burke. |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Flavin, M. J. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Farrell, T. J. |
| West | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Esmonde, Sir T. H. G., Bt. |
| KILDARE (2) | | | | | | |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Engledew, C. J. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Minch, Matthew J. |
| KILKENNY COUNTY (2) | | | | | | |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | M'Dermott, Patrick. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Morris, Samuel. |
| KING'S COUNTY (2) | | | | | | |
| Birr | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Molloy, B. C. |
| Tullamore | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Fox, Dr. J. F. |
| LEITRIM (2) | | | | | | |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | M'Hugh, Patrick A. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Tully, Jasper. |
| LIMERICK, COUNTY (2) | | | | | | |
| East | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Finucane, John. |
| West | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Austin, Michael. |
| LONDONDERRY, COUNTY (2) | | | | | | |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Lea, Sir Thomas, Bt. |
| LONGFORD, COUNTY (2) | | | | | | |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | M'Carthy, Justin. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Blake, Edward. |
| LOUTH (2) | | | | | | |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Healy, T. M. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | M'Ghee, Richard. |

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|------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------------------|
| MAYO (4) | | | | | |
| East | ... | ... | ... | ... | Dillon, John. |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | Crilly, Daniel. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | Davitt, Michael. |
| West | ... | ... | ... | ... | Ambrose, Robert. |
| MEATH (2) | | | | | |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | Gibney, James. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | Parnell, John H. |
| MONAGHAN (2) | | | | | |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | Macaleese, Daniel. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | Daly, Jas. |
| QUEEN'S COUNTY (2) | | | | | |
| Leix... | ... | ... | ... | ... | MacDonnell, Dr. M. A. |
| Ossory | ... | ... | ... | ... | Crean, Eugene. |
| ROSCOMMON (2) | | | | | |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | O'Kelly, Jas. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | Hayden, J. P. |
| SLIGO, COUNTY (2) | | | | | |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | Collery, Bernard. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | Curran, Thomas. |
| TIPPERARY (4) | | | | | |
| East | ... | ... | ... | ... | Condon, T. J. |
| Mid... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Hogan, J. F. |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | O'Brien, P. J. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | Mandeville, Francis. |
| TYRONE (4) | | | | | |
| East | ... | ... | ... | ... | Doogan, P. C. |
| Mid... | ... | ... | ... | ... | Murnaghan, George. |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | Hemphill, Rt. Hon. C. H. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | Russell, T. W. |
| WATERFORD, COUNTY (2) | | | | | |
| East | ... | ... | ... | ... | Power, P. J. |
| West | ... | ... | ... | ... | Shee, J. J. |
| WESTMEATH (2) | | | | | |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | Tuite, James. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | Sullivan Donal. |
| WEXFORD (2) | | | | | |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | Healy, Thos. J |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | Ffrench, Peter. |
| WICKLOW (2) | | | | | |
| East | ... | ... | ... | ... | Corbet, W. J. |
| West | ... | ... | ... | ... | O'Connor, James. |

IRELAND—CITIES AND BOROUGHS (16 Members)

| | | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----------------------|
| BELFAST, CITY (4) | | | | | |
| East | ... | ... | ... | ... | Wolff, G. W. |
| North | ... | ... | ... | ... | Haslett, Sir Jas. H. |
| South | ... | ... | ... | ... | Johnston, Wm. |
| West | ... | ... | ... | ... | Arnold-Forster, H. O. |
| CORK, CITY (2)... | | | | | |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | { O'Brien, J. F. X. |
| | | | | | { Healy, Maurice. |

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|------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------------|
| DUBLIN, CITY (4) | | | | | |
| College Green | ... | ... | ... | ... | Carew, J. L. |
| Dublin Harbour | ... | ... | ... | ... | Harrington, T. |
| St. Patrick's | ... | ... | ... | ... | Field, William. |
| St. Stephen's Green | ... | ... | ... | ... | Campbell, J. H. M. |
| GALWAY, TOWN (1) | | | | | Pinkerton, John. |
| KILKENNY (1) | | | | | O'Brien, Patrick. |
| LIMERICK, CITY (1) | | | | | O'Keefe, F. A. |
| LONDONDERRY, CITY (1) | | | | | Moore, A. J. |
| NEWRY (1) | | | | | Carvill, P. G. H. |
| WATERFORD (1) | | | | | Redmond, J. E. |

UNIVERSITIES (9 Members).**ENGLAND :—**

| | | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|-----|-----|---|---------------------------|
| Cambridge University (2) | ... | ... | ... | { | Jebb, R. C. |
| London University (1) | ... | ... | ... | { | Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir J. E. |
| Oxford University (2) | ... | ... | ... | { | Anson, Sir W. R., Bart. |
| | | | | { | Talbot, Rt. Hon. J. G. |

SCOTLAND :—

| | |
|--|--------------------------|
| Edinburgh and St. Andrews Universities (1) | Priestley, Sir W. O. |
| Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities (1) | Campbell, Rt. Hon. J. A. |

IRELAND :—

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----|-----|-----|---|--------------------------|
| Dublin University (2) | ... | ... | ... | { | Carson, Rt. Hon. E. H. |
| | | | | { | Lecky, Rt. Hon. W. E. H. |

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ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

Moved—

“That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty in reply to the Gracious Speech from the Throne.”—(*The Duke of Somerset.*)

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| EXPLOSIVES (EXPLOSION AT UPTON TOWANS FACTORY, GWITHIAN)— Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department by Captain J. H. Thomson, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Explosives, on the circumstances attending an explosion of blasting gelatine which occurred in a mixing house of the Factory of the National Explosives Company, Limited, at Upton Towans, Gwithian, near Hayle, Cornwall, on the 19th October, 1899. (December 5.) | 48 |

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| RAILWAYS (CONTINUOUS BRAKES)—Return by Railway Companies of the United Kingdom for the six months ending 30th June, 1899. (December 21.) | 48 |
| POST OFFICE (PARCEL POST WITH EGYPT)—Agreement concerning the exchange of postal parcels concluded between the Post Office of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the Postal Administration of Egypt. (December 29.) | 48 |
| METROPOLITAN WATER SUPPLY (ROYAL COMMISSION)—Final Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the subject of the water supply within the limits of the Metropolitan Water Companies; with index to the First and Final Reports of the Commissioners. (January 6.) | 48 |
| INDIA (TRADE)—Statement of the trade of British India with British Possessions and Foreign Countries for the five years 1894-95 to 1898-99. (January 9.) | 48 |
| FACTORY AND WORKSHOP—Annual Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops for the year 1898. Part II.—Reports. (January 11.) | 48 |
| JUDICIAL STATISTICS (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1869—Report on the Judicial Statistics of Scotland for the year 1898. (January 11.) | 49 |
| ACCIDENTS TO RAILWAY SERVANTS (ROYAL COMMISSION)—Report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the causes of the accidents, fatal and non-fatal, to servants of railway companies and of truck owners. Part I.—Report. (January 24.) The same were ordered to lie on the Table | 49 |

RETURNS, REPORTS, &c.

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| NATAL—Correspondence relating to the defence of Natal | 49 |
| CANADA—AUSTRALIA—Further correspondence relating to the proposed construction of a cable across the Pacific Ocean (in continuation of [C.-9283], May, 1899) | 49 |
| SOUTH AFRICA—Further correspondence relating to Affairs in South Africa (in continuation of [C.-9530], October, 1899) | 49 |
| WAGES AND EFFECTS OF DECEASED SEAMEN—Account of the sums received and paid in respect of the wages and effects of deceased seamen in the year ended 31st March, 1899 | 49 |
| METROPOLITAN WATER SUPPLY (ROYAL COMMISSION)—Minutes of Evidence taken before Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the subject of the water supply within the limits of the Metropolitan Water Companies. Volume I. | 49 |
| TRADE REPORTS, 1900 (ANNUAL SERIES)—No. 2375. Prussia (Finances, 1897-1900). No. 2375. Italy (Southern Italy). Presented [by Command], and ordered to lie on the Table | 49 |

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UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE ACT, 1877.—I. Statute made by the Governing Body of Pembroke College, Oxford, on 3rd March, 1899, amending Clause 9 of Statute II. and Clause 3 of Statute VIII. of the Statutes of that College. II. Statute made by the Governing Body of Worcester College, Oxford, at a meeting held on the 22nd of February, 1899, and continued by adjournment the 8th March, 1899, amending Statute III., 10 of the Statutes of that College. III. Statute made by the Governing Body of Brasenose College, Oxford, the 15th March, 1899, altering Statutes III. and XVI. of the Statutes of that College. Laid before the House [pursuant to Act], and to be printed 49

COLLEGE CHARTER ACT, 1871—Application received from Mason University College, of the City of Birmingham, for the establishment of a university at that city, which was submitted to the Queen in Council and referred by Her Majesty for the consideration and report of a Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council, 14th July, 1899; together with a copy of the draft of the charter applied for. Laid before the House [pursuant to Act], and to be printed. (No. 2.) 50

TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION ACTS—Minutes of Committee of Council on Education sanctioning the subjects to be taught under Clause 8 of the Act of 1889 for counties of—I. Dorset (second minute). II. East Suffolk (sixth minute). III. Norfolk (eighth minute). IV. Yorks, North Riding (seventh minute). V. Berks (fourth minute). VI. Sussex (Western Division) (third minute). VII. Oxford (fifth minute). VIII. Devon (seventh minute) 50

LUNACY—Report to the Lord Chancellor of visits made, patients seen, and miles travelled by visitors of lunatics, between 1st April, 1899, and 30th September, 1899 50

COUNTY COURTS ACT, 1888—Order of the Lord Chancellor, dated 15th December, 1899, under Section 45 of the Act, ordering that William Henry Whitelock, Registrar of the County Court of Warwickshire holden at Birmingham, shall not practise as a solicitor, and that Section 20 of the Supreme Court of Judicature (Officers) Act, 1879, shall not apply to the office of the said Mr. William Henry Whitelock 51

INDIA (LOANS RAISED IN INDIA)—Return of all loans raised in India under the provisions of any Acts of Parliament chargeable on the revenues of India outstanding at the commencement of the half-year ended on the 30th September, 1899, with the rates of interest and total amount payable thereon, &c. 51

RAMSGATE HARBOUR—Statement of the receipts and payments made by the Board of Trade for the year ended 31st March, 1899, together with an account of the receipt and issue of stores 51

SEAMEN'S SAVINGS BANKS, MONEY ORDERS, AND TRANSMISSION OF WAGES—Account of all deposits received and repaid by the Board of Trade, under the authority of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, during the year ended 20th November, 1898, and of the interest thereon; statement showing the number and amount of seamen's money orders issued and paid, at ports in the United Kingdom and at ports abroad, from 1855 to 31st March, 1899; also, statement showing the receipts and payments in connection with the transmission of seamen's wages from 1878 to 31st March, 1899 ... 51

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| LIGHTHOUSES ABROAD —Account showing the dues received, and expenditure incurred in the construction, repair, and maintenance of lighthouses in British Possessions abroad during the year 1898–99 | 51 |
| FACTORY AND WORKSHOP —1. (Manufacture of bichromate or chromate of potassium, or sodium):—Special rules with regard to the employment of persons in chemical works in which is carried on the manufacture of bichromate or chromate of potassium or sodium. 2. (Use of phosphorus in the manufacture of matches): Special rules with regard to the employment of persons in lucifer match factories in which white or yellow phosphorus is used | 51 |
| MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS —1. Charter of Incorporation of the Borough of Pudsey, Yorks, dated 13th November, 1899. 2. Charter of Incorporation of the Borough of Swindon, Wilts, dated 22nd January, 1900 | 52 |
| PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS, 1853 to 1891 (CONDITIONAL LICENCES) —Licences granted by Her Majesty to—I. Sarah Jane Cook, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison. II. Rose Ann Casey, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison. III. Elizabeth Franklin, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison. IV. Fanny Honey, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison. V. Jeanne Marie Dubosq, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison. VI. William Tunney. VII. Margaret Dearnley, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison. VIII. Dewhannah Jones, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison. IX. Emily Lazenby, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison | 52 |
| UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1899 —I. Annual Statistical Report to the Secretary for Scotland by—1. The University Court of the University of Aberdeen; 2. The University Court of the University of Edinburgh; 3. The University Court of the University of Glasgow. II. Abstract of Accounts for the year ending 31st August, 1899, being the annual report of the state of the finances of the—1. University of Aberdeen; 2. University of Edinburgh | 53 |
| PRISONS (SCOTLAND) —Rule made by the Secretary for Scotland appointing the police cells at Falkirk, in the county of Stirling, to be a legal prison for the detention of prisoners for a period not exceeding fourteen days before or during or after trial | 53 |
| LUNACY (SCOTLAND) —General rules made by the Midlothian and Peebles District Lunacy Board for the government of the Midlothian and Peebles District Asylum. Laid before the House [pursuant to Act], and ordered to lie on the Table | 53 |

House adjourned at a quarter before Seven of the clock.

COMMONS: TUESDAY, 30TH JANUARY, 1900.

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners by Black Rod.

The House went, and having returned:—

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| NEW WRITS (RECESS) —Mr. SPEAKER acquainted the House that he had issued during the Recess Warrants for New Writs:—Clackmannan and Kinross (Combined Counties)—in the room of the Right Hon. John Blair Balfour, Lord Justice General and Lord President of the Court of Session in Scotland. County of Somerset (Wells Division)—in the room of the Hon. Hylton George Hylton Jolliffe, called up to the House of Peers | 54 |
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NEW WRITS—York Borough—in the room of Rear Admiral Lord Charles Beresford (Chiltern Hundreds). London University—in the room of the Right Hon. Sir John Lubbock, baronet, called up to the House of Peers. Mid Armagh—in the room of Dumbarton Plunket Barton, esquire, Judge of Her Majesty's High Court of Justice in Ireland 54

NEW MEMBERS SWORN—Walter Murray Guthrie, esquire—for Tower Hamlets (Bow and Bromley Division). Sir Edgar Vincent, K.C.M.G.—for Exeter Borough. Robert Edmund Dickinson, esquire—for County of Somerset (Wells Division). Eugene Wason, esquire—for Clackmannan and Kinross (Combined Counties) 54

ELECTIONS—Ordered, That all Members who are returned for two or more places in any part of the United Kingdom do make their election for which of the places they will serve, within one week after it shall appear that there is no question upon the return for that place ; and if anything shall come in question touching the return or election of any Member, he is to withdraw during the time the matter is in debate ; and that all Members returned upon double returns do withdraw till their returns are determined. Resolved, That no Peer of the Realm, except such Peers of Ireland as shall for the time being be actually elected, and shall not have declined to serve, for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, hath any right to give his vote in the election of any Member to serve in Parliament ... 54

Motion made and Question proposed—

“That it is a high infringement of the liberties and privileges of the Commons of the United Kingdom for any Lord of Parliament, or other Peer or Prelate, not being a Peer of Ireland at the time elected, and not having declined to serve for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, to concern himself in the election of Members to serve for the Commons in Parliament, except only any Peer of Ireland, at such elections in Great Britain respectively, where such Peer shall appear as a candidate, or by himself, or any others, be proposed to be elected ; or for any Lord Lieutenant or Governor of any county to avail himself of any authority derived from his commission, to influence the election of any Member to serve for the Commons in Parliament.”—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

Amendment proposed—

“To leave out the words from the word ‘kingdom,’ in line 2, to the word ‘for,’ in line 8.”—(*Mr. James Lowther.*)

Question put—

“That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question.”

The House divided :—Ayes, 337 ; Noes, 101. (Division List, No. 1.)

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved, That it is a high infringement of the liberties and privileges of the Commons of the United Kingdom for any Lord of Parliament, or other Peer or Prelate, not being a Peer of Ireland at the time elected, and not having declined to serve for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, to concern himself in the election of Members to serve for the Commons in Parliament, except only any Peer of Ireland, at such elections in Great Britain respectively where such Peer shall appear as a candidate, or by himself, or any others, be proposed to be elected ; or for any Lord Lieutenant or Governor of any county to avail himself of any authority derived from his commission, to influence the election of any Member to serve for the Commons in Parliament.

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| Resolved, That if it shall appear that any person hath been elected or returned a Member of this House, or endeavoured so to be, by bribery, or any other corrupt practices, this House will proceed with the utmost severity against all such persons as shall have been wilfully concerned in such bribery or other corrupt practices | 59 |
| WITNESSES—Resolved, That if it shall appear that any person hath been tampering with any witness, in respect of his evidence to be given to this House, or any Committee thereof, or directly or indirectly hath endeavoured to deter or hinder any person from appearing or giving evidence, the same is declared to be a high crime or misdemeanour; and this House will proceed with the utmost severity against such offender. | |
| Resolved, That if it shall appear that any person hath given false evidence in any case before this House, or any Committee thereof, this House will proceed with the utmost severity against such offender ... | 60 |
| METROPOLITAN POLICE—Ordered, That the Commissioners of the Police of the Metropolis do take care that, during the Session of Parliament, the passages through the streets leading to this House be kept free and open, and that no obstruction be permitted to hinder the passage of Members to and from this House, and that no disorder be allowed in Westminster Hall, or in the passages leading to this House, during the sitting of Parliament, and that there be no annoyance therein or thereabouts; and that the Sergeant at Arms attending this House do communicate this Order to the Commissioners aforesaid | 60 |
| VOTES AND PROCEEDINGS—Ordered, That the Votes and Proceedings of this House be printed being first perused by Mr. Speaker; and that he do appoint the printing thereof; and that no person but such as he shall appoint do presume to print the same | 61 |
| PRIVILEGES—Ordered, That a Committee of Privileges be appointed | 61 |
| OUTLAWRIES BILL—Read the first time; to be read a second time | 61 |
| JOURNAL—Ordered, that the Journal of this House, from the end of the last session to the end of the present session, with an Index thereto, be printed | 61 |

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS (RECESS).

The following Papers, presented by Command of Her Majesty during the Recess, were delivered to the Librarian of the House of Commons during the Recess, pursuant to the Standing Order of the 14th August, 1889 :—

1. Crofter and Cottar Colonisation Scheme—Copy of Tenth Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to carry out a Scheme of Colonisation in the Dominion of Canada of Crofters and Cottars from the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland, with Appendices.

2. Judicial Statistics (Scotland)—Copy of Report of the Judicial Statistics of Scotland for the year 1898.

3. East India (Trade)—Copy of Review and Tables relating to the Trade of British India with British Possessions and Foreign Countries for the five years 1894-5 to 1898-9.

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4. Public Records (Ireland)—Copy of Appendix to Thirteenth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records and Keeper of the State Papers in Ireland. An Index to the Act or Grant Books and Original Wills of the Diocese of Dublin from 1800 to 1858.

5. Evictions (Ireland)—Copy of Return for the quarter ended 30th September, 1899.

6. Irish Land Commission (Judicial Rents)—Copy of Returns of Judicial Rents fixed during March, 1899.

7. Irish Land Commission (Judicial Rents)—Copy of Returns of Judicial Rents fixed during April and May, 1899.

8. Irish Land Commission (Proceedings)—Copy of Return of Proceedings of the Commission during the month of September, 1899.

9. Irish Land Commission (Proceedings)—Copy of Return of Proceedings of the Commission during the month of October, 1899.

10. Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888—Copy of Returns made to the Board of Trade in pursuance of section 39, sub-section (2), of the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, in respect of the canals and navigations in the United Kingdom, for the year 1898.

11. Railways (Continuous Brakes)—Copy of Return by the Railway Companies of the United Kingdom on the progress made in the use of Continuous Brakes, etc., for the six months ending the 30th June, 1899.

12. Meteorology—Copy of Report of the Meteorological Council to the Royal Society for the year ending the 31st March, 1899.

13. Peterhead Harbour—Copy of Reports respecting Peterhead Harbour Works.

14. Post Office (Parcel Post with Egypt)—Copy of Agreement concerning the Exchange of Postal Parcels concluded between the Post Office of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the Postal Administration of Egypt.

15. Colonial Reports (Annual)—Copies of Reports, Nos. 277 (Bahamas, Annual Report for 1898), 278 (British Honduras, Annual Report for 1898), 279 (Mauritius and Rodrigues, Annual Report for 1898), 280 (Grenada, Annual Report for 1898), 281 (St. Vincent, Annual Report for 1898), 282 (Hong Kong, Annual Report for 1898), 283 (Jamaica, Annual Report for 1898-9), 284 (Lagos, Annual Report for 1899), 285 (Seychelles, Annual Report for 1898), 286 (Christmas and Cocos Keeling Islands, Annual Report for 1899), and 287 (Straits Settlements, Annual Report for 1898).

16. South Africa—Copy of Correspondence relating to the despatch of Colonial Military Contingents to South Africa.

17. Mines (Explosion at Llest Colliery)—Copy of Reports to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Home Department by Mr. Chester Jones, Barrister-at-Law, and Mr. J. T. Robson, Her Majesty's Inspector of Mines, on the circumstances attending an explosion which occurred at the Llest Colliery, Pontyrhyl, on the 18th August, 1899.

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18. Explosions (Upton Towans, Gwithian)—Copy of Report by Captain J. H. Thomson, R.A., Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Explosives, to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Home Department, on the circumstances attending an Explosion of Blasting Gelatine which occurred in a mixing house of the factory of the National Explosives Company, Limited, at Upton Towans, Gwithian, near Hayle, Cornwall, on the 19th October, 1899.

19. Metropolitan Water Supply (Royal Commission)—Copy of Final Report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the subject of the Water Supply within the limits of the Metropolitan Water Companies, with Index to the First and Final Reports of the Commissioners.

20. Factories and Workshops—Copy of Annual Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops for the year 1898, Part II., Reports.

21. Accidents to Railway Servants (Royal Commission)—Copy of the Report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the causes of the accidents, fatal and non-fatal, to Servants of Railway Companies and of Truck Owners, Part I., Report.

22. Accidents to Railway Servants (Royal Commission)—Copy of Report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the causes of the accidents, fatal and non-fatal, to Servants of Railway Companies and of Truck Owners, Part II., Minutes of Evidence and Appendices.

23. Treaty Series (No. 18, 1899)—Copy of Convention for the Exchange of Money Orders between the United States of America and the Colony of British Honduras. Signed at Washington, 20th February, 1899.

24. Treaty Series (No. 19, 1899)—Copy of Exchange of Notes between the United Kingdom and the United States of America, providing for the Establishment of a Provisional Boundary between the Dominion of Canada and the Territory of Alaska, in the Region about the Head of Lynn Canal, 20th October, 1899.

25. Treaty Series (No. 20, 1899)—Copy of Additional Articles to the Convention of 11th July, 1896, between Great Britain and Italy respecting the Exchange of Parcels by Parcel Post. Signed at Rome, 28th October, 1899.

26. Treaty Series (No. 1, 1900)—Copy of Exchange of Notes between the United Kingdom and France respecting the Waiver of Consular Fee on the Issue of Certificates of Origin.

27. Treaty Series (No. 2, 1900)—Copy of Agreement between the United Kingdom and France for the Exchange of Press Telegrams by night at reduced rates. Signed at Paris, 8th November, 1899. Ratifications exchanged at Paris, 16th December, 1899.

28. Treaty Series (No. 3, 1900)—Copy of Declaration between the United Kingdom and France prolonging for one year the Declaration of 11th December, 1888, regulating the Telegraphic Communication between the two Countries. Signed at London, 20th March, 1899. Ratifications exchanged at Paris, 30th December, 1899.

29. Germany (No. 1, 1899)—Copy of Despatch to Her Majesty's Charge d'Affaires at Berlin, inclosing Copies of the Convention and Declaration between Great Britain and Germany of 14th November, 1899, for the Settlement of the Samoa and other questions.

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30. Trade Reports (Annual Series)—Copies of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, No. 2363 to 2374.

31. Trade Reports (Miscellaneous Series)—Copies of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Miscellaneous Series, Nos. 517 to 520.

Ordered, That the said Papers do lie upon the Table 61

RETURNS, REPORTS, &c.

METROPOLITAN WATER SUPPLY (ROYAL COMMISSION)—Copy presented,—of Minutes of Evidence taken before the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the subject of the Water Supply within the limits of the Metropolitan Water Companies, Volume 1 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 65

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS (CONDITIONAL LICENCES)—Copy presented,—of Conditional Licence granted to Jeanne Marie Dubosq, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison.

Copy presented,—of Conditional Licence granted to Fanny Honey, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison.

Copy presented,—of Conditional Licence granted to Elizabeth Lazenby, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison.

Copy presented,—of Conditional Licence granted to Margaret Dearnley, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison.

Copy presented,—of a Conditional Licence to be at large granted to William Tunney.

Copy presented,—of Conditional Licence granted to Rose Ann Casey, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison.

Copy presented,—of Conditional Licence granted to Dewhannah Jones, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison.

Copy presented,—of Conditional Licence granted to Sarah Jane Cook, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison.

Copy presented,—of Conditional Licence granted to Elizabeth Franklin, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison 65

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS (NEW CHARTERS)—Copy presented,—of Charter of Incorporation of the Borough of Pudsey, Yorks, dated 13th November, 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Charter of Incorporation of the Borough of Swindon, Wilts, dated 22nd January, 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table ... 66

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACTS (MANUFACTURE OF BICHROMATE OR CHROMATE OF POTASSIUM OR SODIUM)—Copy presented,—of Special Rules with regard to the employment of persons in Chemical Works in which is carried on the manufacture of Bichromate or Chromate of Potassium or Sodium [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 67

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACTS (USE OF PHOSPHORUS IN THE MANUFACTURE OF MATCHES)—Copy presented,—of Special Rules with regard to the employment of persons in Lucifer Match Factories in which White or Yellow Phosphorus is used [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 66

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| SOUTH 'AFRICA—Copy presented,—of Further Correspondence relating to Affairs in South Africa [by Command]; to lie upon the Table | 67 |
| NATAL—Copy presented,—of Correspondence relating to the Defence of Natal [by Command]; to lie upon the Table | 67 |
| PACIFIC CABLE (CANADA-AUSTRALIA)—Copy presented,—of Further Correspondence relating to the proposed construction of a Cable across the Pacific Ocean [by Command]; to lie upon the Table | 67 |
| WAGES AND EFFECTS OF DECEASED SEAMEN—Account presented,—of the Sums received and paid in respect of the Wages and Effects of Deceased Seamen in the year ended 31st March, 1899 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table | 67 |
| RAMSGATE HARBOUR—Copy presented,—of Statement of the Receipts and Payments for the year ended 31st March, 1899, together with an Account of the Receipt and Issue of Stores [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 1.] | 67 |
| LIGHTHOUSES ABROAD—Account presented,—showing the Dues received and Expenditure incurred in the construction, repair, and maintenance of Lighthouses in British Possessions Abroad during the year 1898-9 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 2.] | 67 |
| SEAMEN'S SAVINGS BANKS (MONEY ORDERS AND TRANSMISSION OF WAGES)—Accounts presented,—of all Deposits received and repaid during the year ended 20th November, 1898, and Statement as to Money Orders issued and paid from 1855 to 31st March, 1899, and of Receipts and Payments in connection with the transmission of Seamen's Wages from 1878 to 31st March, 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 3.] | 67 |
| UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE ACT, 1877 (OXFORD)—Copy presented,—of a Statute made by the Governing Body of Brasenose College, Oxford, on 15th March, 1899, altering Statutes III. and XVI. of the Statutes of that College [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 4.] | 68 |
| Copy presented,—of a Statute made by the Governing Body of Pembroke College, Oxford, on 3rd March, 1899, amending Clause 9 of Statute II. and Clause III. of Statute VIII. of the Statutes of that College [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 5.] | 68 |
| Copy presented,—of a Statute made by the Governing Body of Worcester College, Oxford, at a meeting held on 22nd February, 1899, and continued by adjournment on 8th March, 1899, amending Statute III. 10 of the Statutes of that College [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 6.] | 68 |
| COLLEGE CHARTER ACT, 1871 (UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM)—Copy presented,—of an Application received from Mason University College of the City of Birmingham for the establishment of a University at that City; which was submitted to the Queen in Council and referred by Her Majesty for the consideration and report of a Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council on the 14th July, 1899; together with a Copy of the Draft of the Charter applied for [by Act]; to lie upon the Table | 68 |

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| TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION ACT, 1889—Copies presented,—of Minutes sanctioning the subjects to be taught under Clause 8 of the Act for the following counties:—County of East Suffolk (Sixth Minute), dated 12th October, 1899. County of Berkshire (Fourth Minute), dated 12th October, 1899. County of Norfolk (Eighth Minute), dated 31st October, 1899. County of Dorset (Second Minute), dated 9th November, 1899. County of the North Riding of Yorkshire (Seventh Minute), dated 9th November, 1899. County of Oxford (Fifth Minute), dated 20th November, 1899. County of Sussex (Western Division) (Third Minute), dated 27th November, 1899. County of Devon (Seventh Minute), dated 4th January, 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table | 68 |
| LUNACY (SCOTLAND)—Copy presented,—of General Rules made by the Midlothian and Peebles District Lunacy Board for the government of the Midlothian and Peebles District Asylum [by Act]; to lie upon the Table | 69 |
| UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN—Copy presented,—of Annual Statistical Report by the University Court of the University of Aberdeen for 1898–9 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table and to be printed. [No. 7.] | |
| Copy presented,—of Abstract of Accounts of the University for the year ending 15th September, 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 8.] | 69 |
| UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH—Copy presented,—of Report on the State of the Finances of the University, made by the University Court, for the year to 31st August, 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 9.] | |
| Copy presented,—of Annual Statistical Report by the University Court of the University of Edinburgh for the year 1898–9 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 10.] | 69 |
| UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW—Copy presented,—of Annual Statistical Report by the University Court of the University of Glasgow for 1898–9 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 11.] | 69 |
| PRISONS (SCOTLAND)—Copy presented,—of Rule made by the Secretary for Scotland appointing the police cells at Falkirk, in the county of Stirling, to be a legal Prison for the detention of prisoners, for a period not exceeding fourteen days before or during or after trial [by Act]; to lie upon the Table. | |
| EAST INDIA (WARS ON OR BEYOND THE BORDERS OF BRITISH INDIA)—Return presented,—relative thereto [Address 17th March, 1898; <i>Mr. John Morley</i>]; to lie upon the Table. | |
| EAST INDIA (LOANS RAISED IN INDIA)—Copy presented,—of Return of all Loans raised in India, chargeable on the Revenues of India, outstanding at the commencement of the half-year ending on the 30th September, 1899, etc. [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 12.] | |
| SALISBURY PLAIN (PROPERTY PURCHASED)—Return presented,—relative thereto [Address 26th October, 1899; <i>Mr. Thomas Bayley</i>]; to lie upon the Table. | |
| TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES)—Copies presented,—of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 2365 and 2376 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table. | |

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PAPERS LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.—1. County Courts Act, 1888, and Supreme Court of Judicature (Officers) Act, 1879.—Copy of Order made by the Lord Chancellor, dated 26th September, 1899, directing that the Registrar of the County Court of Warwickshire, held at Birmingham, shall not practise as a solicitor, and that section 20 of the Supreme Court of Judicature (Officers) Act, 1879, shall not apply to the office of Registrar of the said County Court.

2. Lunacy.—Copy of Report to the Lord Chancellor of the number of visits made, the number of patients seen, and the number of miles travelled by the Visitors of Lunatics between 1st April, 1899, and 30th September, 1899 [by Act].

RESIGNATION OF THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.—MR. SPEAKER acquainted the House that he had received a letter from Sir Reginald Francis Douce Palgrave, K.C.B., the Clerk of the House, acquainting him that he desired to resign the Patent whereby Her Majesty assigned to him the office of Clerk of the House of Commons.

The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) ... 71

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH—First Day's Debate.

Motion made and Question proposed—

“That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, as followeth:—

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament.”
—(Captain Pretymann.)

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Amendment proposed—

“At the end of the Question to add the words, ‘But we humbly express our regret at the want of knowledge, foresight, and judgment displayed by Your Majesty's advisers, alike in their conduct of South African affairs since 1895 and in their preparations for the war now proceeding.’”—(Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice.)

Question proposed, “That those words be there added.”

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"That the ballot for the precedence of the said Bills and Motion be taken on the third day of the session at a convenient time and place to be appointed by Mr. Speaker, and that the introduction and First Reading of Bills on the fourth day be taken before Questions and as soon after Three o'clock as Mr. Speaker may deem convenient."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour*.)

Amendment proposed --

"In line 4, after the word 'names,' to insert the words, 'together with the name of the Bill or motion for which they desire precedence.'"—(*Mr. Duncombe*.)

Question proposed -- "That those words be there inserted."

DISCUSSION :--

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Amendment, by leave, withdrawn

Main Question put, and agreed to.

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That the ballot for the precedence of the said Bills and Motions be taken on the third day of the session at a convenient time and place to be appointed by Mr. Speaker, and that the introduction and First Reading of Bills on the fourth day be taken before Questions and as soon after three o'clock as Mr. Speaker may deem convenient.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH. [Second Day's Debate.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment [30th January] to Question [30th January]. "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, as followeth :—

Most Gracious Sovereign :—

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament." — (*Captain Petyman.*)

And which Amendment was, "At the end of the Question, to add the words—

'But we humbly express our regret at the want of knowledge, foresight, and judgment displayed by Your Majesty's advisers, alike in their conduct of South African affairs since 1895 and in their preparations for the war now proceeding.' " — (*Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added."

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Motion made and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn." — (*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

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Question put, and agreed to.

House adjourned at half-past Five of the clock.

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Copy presented,—of Order in Council of 7th October, 1899, entitled The East Africa Order in Council, 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

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Copy presented,—of Order in Council of 27th December, 1899, entitled The Northern Nigeria Order in Council, 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

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| <i>Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs)</i> | <i>...</i> |

Resolved, *unanimé contradictoire*, That Mr. Speaker be requested to convey to Sir Reginald Francis Douce Palgrave, K.C.B., on his retirement from the office of Clerk of this House, the assurance of its sincere appreciation of the valuable aid it has derived from his intimate acquaintance with the law and custom of Parliament, acquired during upwards of forty-six years of devoted service in different offices, of which thirty-one have been passed at the Table, where his accurate knowledge and ready advice have rendered constant assistance to the House and its Members in the conduct of its ever-increasing business.—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

PUBLIC BUSINESS.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.—[Third Day's Debate.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment [30th January] to Question [30th January], "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, as followeth :—

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."
(*Captain Pretyman.*)

And which Amendment was, "At the end of the Question to add the words—

'But we humbly express our regret at the want of knowledge, foresight, and judgment displayed by Your Majesty's advisers, alike in their conduct of South African affairs since 1895 and in their preparations for the war now proceeding.'—(*Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added."

DEBATE resumed :—

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| <i>Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) ...</i> | 296 | <i>Mr. Philipps (Pembroke) ...</i> | 349 |
| <i>The Under Secretary of State for War (Mr. Wyndham, Dover) ...</i> | 316 | <i>Mr. Vicary Gibbs (Herts, St. Albans) ...</i> | 355 |
| <i>Mr. Arnold-Forster (Belfast, W.) ...</i> | 342 | <i>Mr. Mendl (Plymouth) ...</i> | 361 |
| | | <i>Mr. Bartley (Islington, N.) ...</i> | 367 |
| | | <i>Sir Edward Grey (Northumberland, Berwick) ...</i> | 373 |

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

DISCUSSION :—

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| <i>The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) ...</i> | 391 | <i>Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs) ...</i> | 391 |
| | | <i>Mr. Stuart (Shoreditch, Hoxton)...</i> | 392 |

Question put.

The House divided—Ayes, 135 ; Noes, 155. (Division List No. 2.)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added."

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| <i>Sir Fortescue Flannery (Yorkshire, Shipley) ...</i> | 392 |
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It being midnight, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed to-morrow.

Adjourned at one minute after Twelve of the clock.

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LORDS: FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 2ND 1900.

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| ROLL OF THE LORDS | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 401 |
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RETURNS, REPORTS, &c.

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| SUPERANNUATION—Treasury Minutes declaring that the under-mentioned persons were appointed to the offices set against their names without a Civil Service certificate through inadvertence on the part of the heads of their departments, namely :—I. John Brooks, engineman, Post Office, London, Post Office Department, 30th April, 1859. II. Joseph Hill, shell moulder, Royal Laboratory, War Office Department, 26th May, 1859. III. Marianna Prince, postmistress, Bridport, Post Office Department, 11th January, 1865. IV. Bryan McDonald, rural postman, Carrick-on-Suir, Post Office Department, 23rd April, 1875. V. William Cleaver, postman, Bath, Post Office Department, 24th July, 1876. VI. George William Seaborne, postmaster, Shoreham, Post Office Department, 18th December, 1877. VII. James Simpson, postmaster, Alnwick, Post Office Department, 25th June, 1873 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 401 |
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| FRIENDLY SOCIETIES (INDUSTRIAL AND PROVIDENT SOCIETIES AND TRADE UNIONS):—Reports of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies for 1899 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 401 |
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| LOAN SOCIETIES—Abstract of accounts of loan societies in England and Wales to 31st December, 1898, furnished to the Central Office for the Registry of Friendly Societies. Laid before the House [pursuant to Act], and ordered to lie on the Table | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 401 |
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| Land Charges Bill [Lords]—A Bill to amend the law relating to charges on land to matters connected therewith—Was presented by the Lord Chancellor; read the first time, and to be printed. (No. 4.) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 402 |
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| STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE—Appointed: The Lords following, with the Chairman of Committees, were named of the Committee—Duke of Bedford; Duke of Marlborough; Duke of Northumberland; Marquess of Lansdowne; Earl Derby; Earl Denbigh; Earl Chesterfield; Earl Jersey; Earl Lauderdale; Earl Waldegrave; Earl Cadogan; Earl Belmore; Earl Harrowby; Earl Amherst; Earl Camperdown; Earl de Montalt; Earl Carrington; Earl Crewe; Viscount Sidmouth; Viscount Knutsford; Lord Hopetoun (Earl Hopetoun) (Lord Chamberlain); Lord Clinton; Lord Zouche of Haryngworth; Lord Balfour; Lord Boyle (Earl of Cork and Orrery); Lord Ribblesdale; Lord Churchill; Lord Colchester; Lord Wigan (Earl Crawford); Lord Poltimore; Lord Kintore (Earl Kintore); Lord Belper; Lord Brougham and Vaux; Lord Fermanagh (Earl Erne); Lord Sudley (Earl Arran); Lord de Vesci (Viscount de Vesci); Lord Herries; Lord Monkswell; Lord Colville of Culross; Lord Welby. All Petitions relating to Standing Orders which shall be presented during the present Session referred to the Committee unless otherwise ordered | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 402 |
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| STANDING COMMITTEE—Ordered, That a Standing Committee be appointed for the consideration of such Public Bills as may be committed to it by the House | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 403 |
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| COMMITTEE OF SELECTION FOR THE STANDING COMMITTEE Appointed: The Lords following, with the Chairman of Committees, were named of the Committee:—Earl Cowper, Earl Stanhope, Earl Waldegrave, Lord Balfour, Lord Boyle (Earl of Cork and Orrery), Lord Ribblesdale, Lord Kintore (Earl of Kintore), Lord Colville of Culross | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 403 |
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| HOUSE OF LORDS OFFICES —Select Committee appointed : The Lords following, with the Lord Chancellor, the Lord President, the Lord Privy Seal, and the Chairman of Committees, were named of the Committee :—Duke of Richmond, Duke of Northumberland, Marquess of Salisbury, Marquess of Ripon, Marquess of Breadalbane, Earl Chesterfield, Earl Waldegrave, Earl Mount Edgcumbe, Earl Belmore, Earl Harrowby, Earl Cawdor, Earl Camperdown, Earl Kimberley, Earl de Montalt, Earl Cranbrook, Earl Ancaster, Viscount Peel, Viscount Knutsford, Lord Hopetoun (Earl Hopetoun) (Lord Chamberlain), Lord Balfour, Lord Boyle (Earl of Cork and Orrery), Lord Ribblesdale, Lord Churchill, Lord Colchester, Lord Rosebery (Earl Rosebery), Lord Belper, Lord Rowton, Lord Tweedmouth, Lord Colville of Culross, Lord Macnaghten, Lord Welby. The Committee to meet on Friday next, at half past three o'clock | 403 |
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| COMMITTEE OF SELECTION —The Lords following, viz. :—Earl of Chesterfield, Earl Waldegrave, Lord Ribblesdale, Lord Colville of Culross, with the Chairman of Committees, were appointed a Committee to select and propose to the House the names of the Five Lords to form a Select Committee for the consideration of each opposed Private Bill | 404 |
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QUESTION.

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| SOUTH AFRICAN WAR —MAPS AND SURVEYS—Question, Lord Saltoun ; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (The Marquess of Lansdowne) | 404 |
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House adjourned at a Quarter before Five of the Clock.

COMMONS: FRIDAY, 2ND FEBRUARY 1900.*PETITIONS.*

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| GOVERNMENT PROPERTY (EXEMPTION FROM RATES) —Petition from Lambeth for alteration of Law ; to lie upon the Table | 407 |
| INEBRIATES ACTS, 1879 TO 1899 —Petition from Moston for alteration of Law ; to lie upon the Table | 407 |
| RATING OF WOODLANDS —Petition from Hartlepool for alteration of Law ; to lie upon the Table | 407 |
| Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday Bill - Petitions in favour from Trimley, Brandeston, and Knoddishall ; to lie upon the Table | 408 |

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| LAND TRANSFER ACT, 1897 —Paper [presented 1st February] to be printed. [No. 29.] | 408 |
| TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES) —Copy presented,—of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, No. 2377 [by Command] : to lie upon the Table | 408 |

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| PAPERS LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE --1. Friendly Societies, Workmen's Compensation Schemes, Industrial and Provident Societies, and Trade Unions.--Reports of the Chief Registrar for the year ending 31st December, 1899 [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 30.] | |
| 2. Loan Societies.--Abstract of Accounts of Loan Societies in England and Wales to 31st December, 1898, furnished to the Central Office for the Registry of Friendly Societies [by Act] | 408 |

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| ADJOURNMENT. --Resolved, That this House, at its rising this day, do adjourn till Monday next. <i>(Sir William Walrond)</i> | 408 |
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NEW BILLS.

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| BOILERS REGISTRATION AND INSPECTION --Bill to provide for the Registration and Inspection of Boilers, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Fenwick, Mr. John Wilson (Durham), Mr. Woods, Mr. William Allan, Mr. J. Samuel, Mr. Joseph Walton, and Mr. Provand | 408 |
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| Boilers Registration and Inspection Bill --"To provide for the Registration and Inspection of Boilers," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 7th March, and to be printed. [Bill 1.]... .. | 408 |
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| SUNDAY CLOSING (MONMOUTHSHIRE) --Bill to extend to and include Monmouthshire in the Sunday Closing (Wales) Act, 1881, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Spicer, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. McKenna, Mr. Lloyd-George, and Mr. Herbert Roberts | 409 |
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| Sunday Closing (Monmouthshire) Bill --"To extend to and include Monmouthshire in the Sunday Closing (Wales) Act, 1881," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 14th March, and to be printed. [Bill 2.] | 409 |
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| MERCHANT SHIPPING (LIABILITY OF SHIPOWNERS) --Bill to amend the Merchant Shipping Act with respect to the Liability of Shipowners, ordered to be brought in by Sir Donald Currie, Mr. Charles McArthur, Sir Francis Evans, Mr. Warr, Sir Charles Cayzer, Colonel Denny, Sir John Leng, and Mr. W. F. Lawrence | 409 |
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| Merchant Shipping (Liability of Shipowners) Bill --"To amend the Merchant Shipping Act with respect to the Liability of Shipowners," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 21st March, and to be printed. [Bill 3.] | 409 |
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| WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT (1897) AMENDMENT --Bill to amend the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897, ordered to be brought in by Colonel Chaloner, Mr. Goulding, Lord Willoughby de Eresby, Mr. H. S. Foster, Mr. Strutt, Mr. Giles, Mr. Carlile, and Sir Cameron Gull | 409 |
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| Workmen's Compensation Act (1897) Amendment Bill --"To amend the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 4th April, and to be printed. [Bill 4.]... .. | 409 |
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| CORPORAL PUNISHMENT --Bill to amend the Law relating to Corporal Punishment, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Wharton, Sir John Dorington, Mr. Halsey, Sir Mark Stewart, Mr. Jeffreys, and Sir John William Maclure | 409 |
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Corporal Punishment Bill—"To amend the Law relating to Corporal Punishment," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 28th March, and to be printed. [Bill 5.] ... 410

MINES (EIGHT HOURS)—Bill to restrict the hours of labour in Mines to Eight Hours a day from bank to bank, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Herbert Lewis, Mr. William Abraham, Mr. Thomas Bayley, Mr. Birrell, Sir Walter Foster, Mr. Jacoby, Colonel Mellor, Mr. Pickard, Mr. Ernest Spencer, Sir Albert Rolitt, Mr. Woods, and Mr. Yoxall ... 410

Mines (Eight Hours) Bill—"To restrict the hours of labour in Mines to Eight Hours a day from bank to bank," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 28th February, and to be printed. [Bill 6.] ... 410

BEER RETAILERS' AND SPIRIT GROCERS' LICENCES (IRELAND)—Bill to amend the laws relating to Beer Retailers' and Spirit Grocers' Licences in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. J. H. M. Campbell, Mr. Samuel Young, Mr. Clancy, Mr. T. M. Healy, and Mr. William Moore ... 410

Beer Retailers' and Spirit Grocers' Licences (Ireland) Bill—"To amend the laws relating to Beer Retailers' and Spirit Grocers' Licences in Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 11th April, and to be printed. [Bill 7.] ... 410

MIDWIVES—Bill to secure the better training of Midwives, and to regulate their practice, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Tatton Egerton, Sir William Hart Dyke, Mr. Schwann, Mr. Hazell, Mr. Heywood Johnstone, Mr. Bonsor, Mr. Flower, and Mr. Tennant ... 410

Midwives Bill—"To secure the better training of midwives, and to regulate their practice," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 28th February, and to be printed. [Bill 8.] ... 410

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT (1897) AMENDMENT (NO. 2)—Bill to amend the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Giles, Mr. Goulding, Colonel Chaloner, Lord Willoughby de Eresby, Mr. Harry Foster, Mr. Strutt, Sir Cameron Gull, and Mr. Carlile ... 411

Workmen's Compensation Act (1897) Amendment (No. 2) Bill—"To amend the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 25th April, and to be printed. [Bill 9.] ... 411

REGISTRATION OF FIRMS—Bill for the Registration of Firms, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Emmott, Mr. Monk, Mr. Oldroyd, Sir James Rankin, and Mr. Philip Stanhope ... 411

Registration of Firms Bill—"For the Registration of Firms," presented and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 2nd May, and to be printed. [Bill 10.] ... 411

EVICTED TENANTS (IRELAND)—Bill for the restoration to their holdings of certain Evicted Tenants in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Crean, Mr. Dillon, Mr. John Redmond, Mr. T. M. Healy, and Mr. Patrick Aloysius M'Hugh ... 411

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Evicted Tenants (Ireland) Bill—"For the restoration to their holdings of certain Evicted Tenants in Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 21st February, and to be printed. [Bill 11.] 411

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY—Bill to prohibit the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Robert Cameron, Mr. Charles Wilson, Mr. Perks, Sir Edward Gourley, Mr. Pickard, Mr. Compton Rickett, Mr. Firbank, Sir Frederick Mappin, Mr. John Wilson (Mid Durham), Mr. Fenwick, Mr. Woods, and Mr. Bainbridge 411

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday Bill—"To prohibit the sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 11th April, and to be printed. [Bill 12.] 412

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (SCOTLAND)—Bill to make further provision for Local Government in Counties in Scotland; and for other purposes, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Nicol, Mr. Hozier, Captain Sinclair, Sir Mark Stewart, Mr. Colville, and Sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael... .. 412

Local Government (Scotland) Bill—"To make further provision for Local Government in Counties in Scotland; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 14th March, and to be printed. [Bill 13.] 412

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT (1897) EXTENSION Bill to extend the benefits of the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897, to agricultural labourers, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Harry Foster, Mr. Goulding, Mr. Strutt, Lord Willoughby de Eresby, Colonel Chaloner, Sir Cameron Gull, Mr. Carlile, and Mr. Giles 412

Workmen's Compensation Act (1897) Extension Bill—"To extend the benefits of the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897, to agricultural labourers," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 21st March, and to be printed. [Bill 14.] 412

OUTDOOR RELIEF (FRIENDLY SOCIETIES)—Bill to amend the Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies) Act, 1894, and to relieve members of Friendly Societies of certain disqualifications arising from the receipt of temporary outdoor relief, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Galloway, Mr. Birrell, Mr. Arthur Morton, and Mr. Holland 412

Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies) Bill—"To amend the Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies) Act, 1894, and to relieve members of Friendly Societies of certain disqualifications arising from the receipt of temporary outdoor relief," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 7th March, and to be printed. [Bill 15.]... .. 413

COUNTY AND BOROUGH FRANCHISE ASSIMILATION (LONDON)—Bill to assimilate the County Council and Borough Council Franchise in London, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Loder, Mr. Whitmore, Mr. Goulding, Mr. Boulnois, Mr. W. F. D. Smith, Mr. John Burns, Captain Jessel, and Sir George Fardell 413

County and Borough Franchise Assimilation (London) Bill—"To assimilate the County Council and Borough Council Franchise in London," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 9th May, and to be printed. [Bill 16.] 413

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CHEAP TRAINS—Bill to amend the Cheap Trains Act, 1883, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Schwann, Mr. Lough, Mr. Woods, Mr. William Whiteley, Mr. John Burns, and Sir Frederick Dixon-Hartland ... 413

Cheap Trains Bill—"To amend the Cheap Trains Act, 1883," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 16th May, and to be printed. [Bill 17.] ... 413

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) ACT (1898) AMENDMENT Bill to amend the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Tulley, Sir Thomas Esmonde, Mr. Clancy, Mr. Dillon, Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Patrick Aloysius M'Hugh, Mr. Daly, and Mr. Patrick O'Brien ... 413

Local Government (Ireland) Act (1898) Amendment Bill—"To amend the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 14th February, and to be printed. [Bill 18.] ... 413

LONDON MUNICIPALITIES (WOMEN'S DISABILITIES REMOVAL)—Bill to amend the London Government Act, 1899, in respect of the eligibility of women as Councillors and Aldermen, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Lough, Mr. Courtney, Mr. Birrell, Mr. John Burns, Mr. William Johnston, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Yoxall, and Mr. William Jones ... 414

London Municipalities (Women's Disabilities Removal) Bill—"To amend the London Government Act, 1899, in respect of the eligibility of women as Councillors and Aldermen," presented and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 23rd May, and to be printed. [Bill 19.] ... 414

COAL MINES REGULATION ACTS AMENDMENT Bill to amend the Coal Mines Regulation Acts, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Barlow, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. William Abraham, Mr. Thomas Bayley, Sir Walter Foster, Mr. Hatch, Mr. Jacoby, Mr. McKenna, Mr. Pickard, Mr. Randell, Mr. Woods, and Mr. Yoxall ... 414

Coal Mines Regulation Acts Amendment Bill—"To amend the Coal Mines Regulation Acts," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 28th March, and to be printed. [Bill 20.] 41

STREET NOISES—Bill to control and regulate Street Noises, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Jacoby, Mr. Radeliffe Cook, General Goldsworthy, Mr. Boulnois, Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. Duncombe, Sir George Fardell, Mr. Arnold-Forster, Colonel Sandys, and Mr. J. W. Sidebotham ... 414

Street Noises Bill—"To control and regulate Street Noises," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 30th May, and to be printed. [Bill 21.]... 414

PUBLIC HOUSES (SCOTLAND) LATER OPENING—Bill to amend the Licensing (Scotland) Act, 1853, ordered to be brought in by Colonel Denny, Mr. Hedderwick, Sir William Arrol, Mr. Colville, and Mr. McKillop ... 414

Public Houses (Scotland) Later Opening Bill—"To amend the Licensing (Scotland) Act, 1853," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 14th March, and to be printed. [Bill 22.] 415

OLD AGE PENSIONS—Bill to confer Pensions upon Aged Persons, ordered to be brought in by Sir Fortescue Flannery, Sir James Rankin, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Flower, Mr. Bousfield, Colonel Denny, Mr. Carlile, and Mr. Rothschild ... 415

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Old Age Pensions Bill—"To confer Pensions upon Aged Persons," presented, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 7th March, and to be printed. [Bill 23.] ... 415

FIRE BRIGADES—Bill to promote the efficiency of Fire Brigades and for other purposes connected therewith, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Pym, Captain Bowles, Mr. Malcolm, Mr. Cameron, and Sir George Fardell ... 415

Fire Brigades Bill—"To promote the efficiency of Fire Brigades and for other purposes connected therewith," presented, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 16th May, and to be printed. [Bill 24.] ... 415

QUARRIES—Bill to apply the provisions of the law relating to the weighing of minerals contracted to be gotten in coal and ironstone mines to certain Quarries, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Alfred Pease, Mr. John Wilson, Mr. Atherley-Jones, Mr. Fenwick, Mr. Joseph Pease, and Mr. Richardson ... 415

Quarries Bill—"To apply the provisions of the law relating to the weighing of minerals contracted to be gotten in coal and ironstone mines to certain Quarries," presented, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 7th March, and to be printed. [Bill 25.] ... 415

CHURCH DISCIPLINE—Bill for the better enforcement of Discipline in the Church of England, ordered to be brought in by Mr. David MacIver, Mr. Charles McArthur, Mr. Houston, and Mr. Mellor ... 415

Church Discipline Bill—"For the better enforcement of Discipline in the Church of England," presented, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 23rd May, and to be printed. [Bill 26.] ... 416

IMBECILES (TRAINING INSTITUTIONS)—Bill to exempt from poor and other local rates all registered Institutions for the care, training, and education of Idiots and Imbeciles, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Tomlinson, Mr. Round, Sir John MacLure, Sir Frederick Mappin, Mr. Allison, Sir William Houldsworth, Colonel Lockwood, Mr. Talbot, and Colonel Foster ... 416

Imbeciles (Training Institutions) Bill "To exempt from poor and other local rates all registered Institutions for the care, training, and education of Idiots and Imbeciles," presented, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 2nd May, and to be printed. [Bill 27.] ... 416

BEER RETAILERS' AND SPIRIT GROCERS' LICENCES (IRELAND) (No. 2)—Bill to amend the laws relating to Beer Retailers' and Spirit Grocers' Licences in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. William Moore, Mr. J. H. Campbell, Sir James Haslett, and Mr. William Johnston ... 416

Beer Retailers' and Spirit Grocers' Licences (Ireland) (No. 2) Bill—"To amend the laws relating to Beer Retailers' and Spirit Grocers' Licences in Ireland," presented, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 7th March, and to be printed. [Bill 28.] ... 416

TENANTS IN TOWNS IMPROVEMENT (IRELAND)—Bill for improving the condition of Tenants in Towns in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Macaleese, Mr. T. D. Sullivan, Mr. Jordan, Mr. Patrick O'Brien, Mr. Hammond, Mr. Maurice Healy, Dr. Commins, and Mr. Field ... 416

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| ROMAN CATHOLIC DISABILITIES REMOVAL —Bill for the removal of certain Disabilities affecting Roman Catholics in Great Britain and Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Flavin, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Dillon, Captain Donelan, Mr. John Redmond, Mr. Blake, Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Jordan, Mr. Patrick O'Brien, Mr. MacNeill, Sir Thomas Esmonde, and Mr. Harrington | 417 |
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| COLONIAL MARRIAGES (DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER) —Bill to amend the law as to marriage contracted in the Colonies with a deceased wife's sister, ordered to be brought in by Captain Jessel, Mr. Rothschild, General Laurie, Sir William Dunn, Mr. David MacIver, Mr. William M'Arthur, Sir Lewis M'Iver, Mr. Mellor, and Mr. Spicer | 417 |
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| Colonial Marriages (Deceased Wife's Sister) Bill —"To amend the law as to marriage contracted in the Colonies with a deceased wife's sister," presented and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 21st February, and to be printed. [Bill 31.] | 417 |
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| CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT (1887) REPEAL —Bill to repeal the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, 1887, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Pinkerton, Captain Donelan, Mr. Hammond, Mr. Harrington, and Mr. Patrick O'Brien | 417 |
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| SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS TO CHILDREN —Bill to prevent the sale of intoxicating liquors to children, ordered to be brought in by Sir Joseph Leese, Mr. Joseph A. Pease, Mr. Paulton, Mr. Scott, Sir James Woodhouse, Sir Mark Stewart, and Mr. William Johnson | 418 |
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| OUT-DOOR RELIEF (FRIENDLY SOCIETIES) (No. 2) —Bill to amend the Out-door Relief (Friendly Societies) Act, 1894, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Strachey, Sir Albert Rollit, Sir Samuel Hoare, Mr. Yoxall, Mr. Grant Lawson, Mr. Holland, and Mr. Thomas Bayley | 418 |
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| PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE (EXTENSION TO WOMEN) —Bill for extending the Parliamentary Franchise to Women, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Faithful Begg, Mr. Firbank, Mr. Atherley-Jones, Sir John William Maclure, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. William Johnson, Mr. Jebb, Mr. Courtney, Mr. McLaren, Colonel Cotton-Jodrell, Captain Young, and Mr. Douglas ... | 418 |
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| Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women) Bill. —"For extending the Parliamentary Franchise to Women," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 4th April, and to be printed. [Bill 35.] ... | 418 |
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| MANHOOD SUFFRAGE (IRELAND) —Bill to establish Manhood Suffrage in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Field, Mr. Dillon, Mr. T. M. Healy, and Mr. Clancy ... | 419 |
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| Sale of Intoxicating Liquors to Children (No. 2) Bill —"To amend and extend the law relating to the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors to children; and for other purposes connected therewith," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Friday, 9th February, and to be printed. [Bill 38.] ... | 419 |
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| ACCESS TO MOUNTAINS (SCOTLAND) —Bill to secure access for the public to mountains and moorlands in Scotland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bryce, Dr. Farquharson, Mr. Asher, Mr. Thomas Shaw, Sir John Kinloch, and Sir Cameron Gull... .. | 419 |
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| Access to Mountains (Scotland) Bill —"To secure access for the public to mountains and moorlands in Scotland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 16th May, and to be printed. [Bill 39.] ... | 420 |
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| COAL MINES REGULATION —Bill to amend the Coal Mines Regulation Acts, ordered to be brought in by Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. William Abraham, Mr. William Allen, Mr. Thomas Bayley, Sir Walter Foster, Mr. Hatch, Mr. Jacoby, Mr. McKenna, Mr. Pickard, Mr. Randell, Mr. Woods, and Mr. Yoxall ... | 420 |
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| Coal Mines Regulation Bill —"To amend the Coal Mines Regulation Acts," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 28th February, and to be printed. [Bill 40.]... .. | 420 |
| WATERMEN'S CERTIFICATES —Bill to amend the Law relating to Watermen's Certificates, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Steadman, Mr. Austin, Mr. Lough, Mr. John Burns, and Dr. Robert Ambrose... .. | 420 |
| Watermen's Certificates Bill —"To amend the Law relating to Watermen's Certificates," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 4th April, and to be printed. [Bill 41.] | 420 |
| OCCUPYING TENANTS' ENFRANCHISEMENT —Bill to enable Occupying Tenants of houses and places of business to purchase the fee simple of their holdings, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bartley and General Goldsworthy | 420 |
| Occupying Tenants' Enfranchisement Bill —"To enable Occupying Tenants of Houses and places of business to purchase the fee simple of their holdings," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Tuesday, 13th February, and to be printed. [Bill 42.] | 420 |
| WASTE LANDS AFFORESTATION (IRELAND) —Bill for the re-afforestation of waste lands in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Engledew, Sir Thomas Esmonde, Mr. Hammond, Mr. Morris Healey, and Captain Donelan | 420 |
| Waste Lands Afforestation (Ireland) Bill —"For the re afforestation of Waste Lands in Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 9th May, and to be printed. [Bill 43.]... .. | 421 |
| LEASEHOLD ENFRANCHISEMENT (ENGLAND AND WALES) —Bill to enable Leaseholders to become freeholders, ordered to be brought in by General Laurie, Sir John Llewelyn, Sir John Jenkins, Mr. Kenyon, Mr. Lafone, Mr. Cohen, Sir Albert Rollit, and Sir George Fardell | 421 |
| Leasehold Enfranchisement (England and Wales) Bill —"To enable leaseholders to become freeholders," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 21st February, and to be printed. [Bill 44.] | 421 |
| WATER SUPPLY —Bill to amend the law respecting the supply of water by companies and other bodies and persons, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Cornwallis, Colonel Warde, and Mr. Griffith-Boscawen | 421 |
| Water Supply Bill —"To amend the law respecting the supply of water by companies and other bodies and persons," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 14th March, and to be printed. [Bill 45.] | 421 |
| BOROUGH FUNDS —Bill to amend the Borough Funds Act, 1872, and the Borough Funds (Ireland) Act, 1888, ordered to be brought in by Sir Albert Rollit and Sir James Woodhouse | 421 |
| Borough Funds Bill —"To amend the Borough Funds Act, 1872, and the Borough Funds (Ireland) Act, 1888; presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 46.] | 421 |
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| Public Health Acts Amendment Bill —"To amend the Public Health Acts, presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 30th May, and to be printed. [Bill 48.] ... | 422 |
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| Sale of Intoxicating Liquors (Ireland) Bill —"To amend the Law relating to the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors in Ireland on Saturdays and Sundays, and for other purposes connected therewith," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 23rd May, and to be printed. [Bill 49.] ... | 422 |
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| COUNTY COUNCILLORS (QUALIFICATION OF WOMEN) (SCOTLAND) —Bill to enable Women to be elected and act as County Councillors in Scotland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Douglas, Mr. Faithfull Begg, Mr. Munro Ferguson, Dr. Farquharson, Mr. Haldaue, Mr. M'Crae, Captain Sinclair, and Mr. Wason ... | 423 |
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| County Councillors (Qualification of Women) (Scotland) Bill —"To enable women to be elected and act as County Councillors in Scotland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 14th March, and to be printed. [Bill 52.] ... | 423 |
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| Sunday Closing (Wales) Act (1881) Amendment Bill —"To amend the Sunday Closing (Wales) Act, 1881, and to make further provision respecting the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors in Wales," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 9th May, and to be printed. [Bill 53.] | 423 |
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| Intoxicating Liquors (Local Veto) (Ireland) Bill —"To enable the local government electors of any locality to veto the issue of licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors in Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 7th March, and to be printed. [Bill 55.] | 424 |
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| SHOPS—Bill to amend the Law relating to Shops, ordered to be brought in by Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. John Burns, Dr. Clark, Mr. Clough, Mr. Duckworth, Mr. Field, Mr. Flower, Mr. Kemp, Mr. Steadman, and Mr. Tennant | 425 |
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| FRANCHISE AND REMOVAL OF WOMEN'S DISABILITIES—Bill to establish a single Franchise at all Elections, and thereby to abolish University Representation, and to remove the Disabilities of Women, ordered to be brought in by Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. John Burns, Dr. Clark, Mr. Atherley-Jones, Mr. Logan, Mr. Maddison, and Captain Norton | 425 |

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| DISTRESS ABOLITION AND SUBSTITUTION —Bill to provide for the abolition of the right of distress by a landlord against a tenant, and to substitute for it a better and simpler system for the recovery of possession of lands, tenements, and hereditaments when rent is in arrear, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bartley and Mr. William Johnston | 425 |
| Distress Abolition and Substitution Bill —"To provide for the abolition of the right of distress by a landlord against a tenant, and to substitute for it a better and simpler system for the recovery of possession of lands, tenements, and hereditaments when rent is in arrear," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 28th March, and to be printed. [Bill 60.] | 426 |
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| Old Age Provident Pensions Bill —"To provide Pensions in Old Age to the Provident Poor," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 21st March, and to be printed. [Bill 61.] | 426 |
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PUBLIC BUSINESS.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.--
[Fourth Day's Debate.]

Order read for resuming adjourned debate on Amendment [January 30th] to Question [January 30th], "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty as followeth

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—*Captain Pretyman.*)

And which Amendment was—

"At the end of the Question to add the words, 'But we humbly express our regret at the want of knowledge, foresight, and judgment displayed by your Majesty's advisers alike in their conduct of South African affairs since 1895 and in their preparations for the war now proceeding.'"—(*Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added."

DEBATE resumed :—

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It being midnight, the Debate stood adjourned.

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| PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS, 1853 TO 1891 (CONDITIONAL LICENCE)—Licence granted by Her Majesty to Clara Jane Mason, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting the said Clara Jane Mason to be at large, on condition that she enter the Royal Victoria Home, Horfield, Bristol. Laid before the House [pursuant to Act], and ordered to lie on the Table | 549 |
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Moved:—

“That in the opinion of this House a full statement as to the military measures which Her Majesty’s Government have in contemplation is desirable at the earliest possible moment.”—(*The Earl of Dunraven.*)

The Secretary of State for War (The Marquess of Lansdowne) 55

Motion, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

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| 2. Church Temporalities (Ireland).—Copy of Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General upon the Account of the Irish Land Commission in respect of Church Temporalities in Ireland for the year ended 31st March, 1899 [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 33.] | |
| 3. Irish Land Commission (Account).—Copy of Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General upon the Account of the Irish Land Commission for the year ended 31st March, 1899 [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 34.] | |
| 4. Royal University of Ireland.—Copy of Accounts of Receipts and Expenditure of the Royal University of Ireland for the year ended 31st March, 1899, together with the Reports of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 35.] | 563 |
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PUBLIC BUSINESS.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH—Fifth
Day's Debate.

Order read for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment [30th
January] to Question [30th January], "That an humble Address be pre-
sented to Her Majesty as followeth:—

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of
the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled,
beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious
Speech which your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."
-(Captain Pritchman.)

And which Amendment was -

"At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'But we humbly express
our regret at the want of knowledge, foresight, and judgment displayed by
Your Majesty's advisers, alike in their conduct of South African affairs since
1895 and in their preparations for the war now proceeding.'"—*(Lord Edmond
Fitzmaurice.)*

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added,"

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| | | <i>Mr. Beckett (Yorkshire, N.R., Whitby)</i> ... | 671 |
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Debate further adjourned till To-morrow.

ADJOURNMENT—Motion made and Question, "That this House do now adjourn"—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour*)—put, and agreed to.

Adjourned at three minutes before Twelve of the clock.

LORDS : TUESDAY, 6TH FEBRUARY 1900.

RETURNS, REPORTS, &c.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS AND CHARGES ACT, 1891—Treasury minute, dated 26th January, 1900, directing, in pursuance of Section 2 (3) of the Public Accounts and Charges Act, 1891, that where any sum is by order of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland under section 80 (2) of the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, deducted from moneys payable from the Local Taxation (Ireland) Account to any Council in respect of a debt due from such Council, and where the amount due from the Council would, if paid in ordinary course, have been applied as an Appropriation-in-Aid of the Vote for the Royal Irish Constabulary, the sum deducted in lieu thereof shall be similarly applied as an Appropriation-in-Aid of that Vote ... 685

SUPERANNUATION—Treasury minute, dated 31st January, 1900, declaring that Samuel Nevitt, viewer, Royal Small Arms Department, War Office Department, was appointed without a Civil Service certificate through inadvertence on the part of the head of the department. Laid before the House [pursuant to Act], and ordered to lie on the Table ... 685

PETITION.

THE VACCINATION ACTS—

The Lord Chancellor (The Earl of Halsbury) ... 685

Petition read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—THE IMPERIAL YEOMANRY—SUGGESTED APPOINTMENT OF CHAPLAINS—

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THE IMPERIAL YEOMANRY—TRANSPORT—

Viscount Galway ... 688 *The Marquess of Lansdowne* ... 689
The Earl of Cork ... 689

House adjourned at a quarter before Five of the clock.

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COMMONS, TUESDAY, 6TH FEBRUARY 1900.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

STANDING ORDERS—Ordered, that the Select Committee on Standing Orders do consist of Thirteen Members:—Mr. Buchanan, Sir William Coddington, Mr. John Edward Ellis, Sir Thomas Esmonde, Sir Edward Gourley, Mr. Halsey, Mr. Humphreys-Owen, Mr. James Lowther, Mr. Mount, Mr. William Redmond, Sir Mark M'Taggart Stewart, Mr. Whitmore, and Mr. Wodehouse were accordingly nominated Members of the Committee. (*Mr. Halsey*) ... 690

SELECTION—Ordered, that the Committee of Selection do consist of Eleven Members:—Mr. Blake, Mr. Sydney Buxton, Sir John Dorington, Sir William Hart Dyke, Dr. Farquharson, Mr. Albert Spicer, Mr. Philip Stanhope, Sir Mark M'Taggart Stewart, Mr. Wharton, Mr. Wodehouse, and the Chairman of the Select Committee on Standing Orders were accordingly nominated Members of the Committee.—(*Mr. Halsey*) ... 691

NEW WRIT—For the County of Mayo (South Mayo Division), in the room of Michael Davitt, esquire (Manor of Northstead).—(*Sir T. G. Esmonde.*)

PRIVATE BILLS—DIVISION BETWEEN THE TWO HOUSES—The CHAIRMAN of WAYS AND MEANS reported, That, in accordance with Standing Order 79, he had conferred with the Chairman of Committees of the House of Lords, for the purpose of determining in which House of Parliament the respective Private Bills should be first considered, and they had determined that the Bille contained in the following List should originate in the House of Lords, viz.:—1. Army and Navy Investment Trust; 2. Aston Manor Tramways; 3. Barnsley Corporation; 4. Barry Railway (Steam Vessels); 5. Bexhill and Rotherfield Railway; 6. Birmingham Corporation (Stock); 7. Birmingham (King Edward the Sixth) Schools; 8. Birmingham University; 9. Bournemouth Corporation; 10. Brewery and Commercial Investment Trust; 11. Bristol Water; 12. Burnley Corporation; 13. Bury and District Water (Transfer); 14. Caledonian Railway; 15. Cardiff Corporation; 16. Church's Patent; 17. Cleethorpes Gas; 18. Clyde Navigation; 19. Commercial Union Assurance Company; 20. Cork, Bandon, and South Coast Railway; 21. Cork Electric Tramways; 22. Cowes Pier; 23. Crystal Palace Company; 24. Dearne Valley Railway; 25. Donegal Railway; 26. Dorking Water; 27. Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway; 28. Dundee and East Forfar Tramways; 29. Dundee Harbour; 30. East Shropshire Water; 31. East Stirlingshire Water; 32. Edinburgh Corporation; 33. Edinburgh District Lunacy Board; 34. Exmouth and District Water; 35. Exmouth Urban District Water; 36. Falkirk and District Water; 37. Falkirk Corporation; 38. Fishguard and Rosslare Railways and Harbours; 39. Fishguard Water and Gas; 40. Folkestone, Sandgate, and Hythe Tramroads; 41. Glasgow and South Western Railway; 42. Glasgow Building Regulations; 43. Glasgow District Tramways; 44. Glyncorrwg Urban District Council Gas; 45. Governments Stock and other Securities Investment Company; 46. Great Berkhamstead Water; 47. Great Central Railway; 48. Great Grimsby Street Tramways; 49. Great Southern and Western and Waterford and Central Ireland Railway Companies Amalgamation; 50. Great Southern and Western and Waterford, Limerick, and Western Railway Companies Amalgamation; 51. Great Southern and Western Railway; 52. Gun Barrel Proof Act, 1868, Amendment; 53. Gwyrfai Rural District Council

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| Water; 54. Hammond (G. H.) Company; 55. Hemel Hempstead Corporation (Water); 56. Higham Ferrers Water; 57. Imschenetzky's Uralite Patent; 58. Ipswich Corporation Tramways; 59. Kingston-upon-Thames Corporation; 60. Kingston-upon-Thames Gas; 61. Lancashire Inebriates Acts Board; 62. Lincoln Corporation (Tramways); 63. Liverpool Overhead Railway; 64. London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway; 65. London Hydraulic Power Company; 66. London Sea Water Supply; 67. Manchester Corporation Tramways; 68. Manchester Ship Canal; 69. Margate Corporation; 70. Margate Pier and Harbour; 71. Maryport Harbour; 72. Menstone Water (Transfer); 73. Mersey Docks and Harbour Board; 74. Mersey Railway; 75. Midland Great Western Railway of Ireland; 76. Milford Docks; 77. Morley Corporation; 78. Motherwell and Bellshill Railway; 79. Motherwell Water; 80. Mountain Ash Water; 81. Muirkirk, Mauchline, and Dalmellington Railways (Abandonment); 82. National Markets and Stores and Workshops; 83. Neath Harbour; 84. Newport Corporation; 85. Newport (Monmouthshire) Gas; 86. New Russia Company; 87. Newtown and Llanllwchaiarn Urban District Gas; 88. North British Railway; 89. North Eastern Railway; 90. North Eastern Railway (Steam Vessels); 91. Otley Urban District Council Water; 92. Paignton Urban District Water; 93. Preston Corporation; 94. Purfleet and Gravesend Junction Railway; 95. Ramsgate Corporation Improvements; 96. Rawmarsh Urban District Council (Tramways); 97. Rhymney Iron Company; 98. Rhymney Railway; 99. Rotherham Corporation; 100. Rotherhithe and Ratcliff Tunnel; 101. Salford Corporation; 102. Scottish American Investment Company; 103. Scottish Widows' Fund and Life Assurance Society; 104. Sheffield Corporation; 105. Sheffield District Railway; 106. Southampton Harbour; 107. South Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railways; 108. South Eastern Railway; 109. South Essex Water; 110. South Essex Water Board; 111. South Shields Corporation; 112. South Staffordshire Tramways; 113. Sunderland Corporation; 114. Taff Vale Railway; 115. Universal Life Assurance Society; 116. Walsall Corporation; 117. Westgate and Birchington Water; 118. Whitechapel and Bow Railway; 119. Wirral Railway; 120. Withington Urban District Council; 121. Workington Railways and Docks | 691 |
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Great Southern and Western and Waterford and Central Ireland Railway Companies' Amalgamation Bill.

Great Southern and Western and Waterford, Limerick, and Western Railway Companies' Amalgamation Bill On the Report by the CHAIRMAN of WAYS and MEANS upon these Bills (Nos. 49 and 50 in the above list):—

DISCUSSION:—

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| <i>Mr. T. M. Healy (Louth, N.)</i> | 694 | <i>Mr. John Redmond (Waterford)</i> | 696 |
| <i>The Chairman of Committees</i> | | | |
| <i>(Mr. J. W. Lowther, Cumberland, Penrith)</i> | ... 695 | | |

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| ANTI-SHANARS RIOTS—Petition of Shanar inhabitants of Tenkasi and other places, South India, for redress of grievances; to lie upon the Table | 696 |
| LICENSING (SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS)—Petition from Pendleton, for alteration of law; to lie upon the Table | 697 |
| LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD'S VACCINATION ORDER, 1898—Petition from West Ward, for revision; to lie upon the Table | 697 |

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Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday Bill—Petitions in favour, from Lewisham and Raunds ; to lie upon the Table ... 697

Sale of Intoxicating Liquor to Children Bill—Petition from Glenarm, in favour ; to lie upon the Table ... 697

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RETURNS, REPORTS, &c.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS AND CHARGES ACT, 1891 Copy presented,—of Treasury Minute, dated 26th January, 1900, directing, in pursuance of section 2 (3) of the Public Accounts and Charges Act, 1891, that, where any sum is by order of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, under section 80 (2) of the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, deducted from moneys payable from the Local Taxation (Ireland) Account to any Council in respect of a debt due from such Council, and where the amount due from the Council would, if paid in ordinary course, have been applied as an Appropriation-in-Aid of the Vote for the Royal Irish Constabulary, the sum deducted in lieu thereof shall be similarly applied as an Appropriation-in-Aid of that Vote [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table ... 697

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1884—Copy presented,—of Treasury Minute, dated 31st January, 1900, declaring that Samuel Nevitt, Viewer, Royal Small Arms Department, War Office Department, was appointed without a Civil Service Certificate through inadvertence on the part of the head of his Department [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table ... 698

SOUTH AFRICA (TRANSPORTS)—Return ordered, “showing the name, tonnage, and speed of each vessel employed to convey troops to South Africa since the 1st day of July last, the date and port of her departure from these shores, and arrival at Capetown, Durban or elsewhere, respectively, including arrival at and departure from intermediate port of call ; the number of troops and horses or mules carried on each occasion, the number of horses or mules lost on voyage, vessels provided with new pattern fittings, vessels provided with old pattern fittings, vessels provided with slings for each horse or mule, vessels not so provided ; and the time occupied by each vessel in making the voyage, in the following form :—

| Name of vessel. | Date of Departure and Port. | | Date of Arrival and Departure from Intermediate Ports. | | Date of Arrival and Port. | | Time occupied on voyage. | Number of troops carried. | Number of horses or mules carried. | Number of horses or mules lost on voyage. | Whether provided with new pattern or old pattern fittings. | Whether provided with slings for each horse or mule. |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|--|----------|---------------------------|---------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------------|---|--|--|
| | Port. | De- parture. | Port. | Arrival. | De- parture. | Cape Town. | Durban. | | | | | |
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| COAL EXPORTS, &c.—Return ordered, “giving for the year 1899 the export of coal from each port in the United Kingdom to each country abroad, together with a summary statement showing the export of coal from the principal districts of the United Kingdom to the principal groups of foreign countries; and also showing the quantity of coal shipped at each port in the United Kingdom for ships’ use on foreign voyages during the same period (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 198, of Session 1889).”—(<i>Mr. D. A. Thomas</i>) | 699 |
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| TRANSPORT WAGGONS—Question, Mr. Bainbridge; Answer, Mr. Wyndham | 700 |
| CLOTHING FOR THE TROOPS—Question, Mr. Warner (Staffordshire, Lichfield); Answer, Mr. Wyndham | 700 |
| GENERAL SIR FREDERICK CARRINGTON—Question, Mr. Coghill (Burton-on-Trent); Answer, Mr. Wyndham | 701 |
| COMMISSIONS FOR NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS—Question, Mr. Goddard (Ipswich); Answer, Mr. Wyndham | 701 |
| MAFeking STATION MASTER—Questions, Mr. T. M. Healy (Louth, N.); Answers, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. J. Chamberlain, Birmingham, W.) | 701 |
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| ALLEGED HIGH TREASON AT THE CAPE—Question, Mr. Bryn Roberts (Carnarvonshire, Eifion); Answer, Mr. J. Chamberlain | 703 |
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| NORTHUMBERLAND FUSILIER VOLUNTEERS—Question, Mr. Bainbridge; Answer, Mr. Wyndham. | 706 |
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| ANGLO-GERMAN CONVENTION—TONGA—Question, Mr. Hogan (Tipperary, Mid); Answer, Mr. J. Chamberlain | 714 |
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| FOOT AND MOUTH DISEASE—CATTLE IMPORTATIONS TO IRELAND—Question, Mr. Field (Dublin, St. Patrick); Answer, The President of the Board of Agriculture (Mr. Long, Liverpool, West Derby) | 717 |
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| WORKMEN'S TRAINS—Question, Mr. Woods (Essex, Walthamstow); Answer, Mr. Ritchie | 720 |
| CATTLE TRANSIT IN THE NORTH OF IRELAND—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, Mr. Ritchie | 720 |
| FREE RAILWAY PASSES FOR IRISH MEMBERS—Question, Mr. Field; Answer, Mr. Ritchie | 721 |
| CASE OF EMANUEL WILLIAMS—Question, Sir Joseph Leese (Lancashire, Accrington); Answer, The Attorney General (Sir R. Webster, Isle of Wight) | 721 |
| GALWAY POSTAL SERVICE—Question, Mr. O'Malley (Galway, Connemara); Answer, Mr. Hanbury | 722 |
| TELEGRAPH DELAYS AT OLDHAM—Question, Mr. Runciman (Oldham); Answer, Mr. Hanbury | 723 |
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| IRISH LAND COURT RETURNS—Question, Mr. Maurice Healy (Cork); Answer, Mr. Atkinson | 725 |
| BALDWIN'S ESTATE—Question, Mr. Maurice Healy; Answer, Mr. Atkinson ... | 726 |
| FREMANTLE AS A PORT OF CALL FOR AUSTRALIAN MAIL STEAMERS—Question, Mr. Hogan; Answer, Mr. Hanbury | 726 |
| MEMBERS' ROOMS AT THE HOUSE—Question, Mr. Harwood; Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Akers-Douglas, Kent, St. Augustine's) | 727 |

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| BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—Questions, Mr. D. A. Thomas, Mr. Channing (Northamptonshire, E.), and Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, Mr. A. J. Balfour... | 727 |
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BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (QUEEN'S SPEECH—MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS)—Ordered, That the proceedings on the Address in answer to Her Majesty's Speech have precedence this day and to-morrow of the Notices of Motions and of the other Orders of the Day—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE (EXEMPTION FROM THE STANDING ORDER)—Ordered, That the proceedings on the Address, if under discussion at Twelve o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order sittings of the House.—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

PUBLIC BUSINESS.

NEW BILLS.

| | |
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| LIQUOR TRAFFIC LOCAL VETO (SCOTLAND) —Bill to give the ratepayers the direct control of the liquor traffic in their respective areas, ordered to be brought in by Mr. John Wilson (Govan), Mr. Colville, Mr. Cameron Corbett, Mr. Souttar, Sir William Dunn, Mr. Hedderwick, Mr. McLeod, and Dr. Clark ... | 729 |
|--|-----|

Liquor Traffic Local Veto (Scotland) Bill—"To give the ratepayers the direct control of the liquor traffic in their respective areas," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 2nd May, and to be printed. [Bill 63.] ... 729

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| VAGRANTS' CHILDREN PROTECTION—Bill for the further protection of the Children of Vagrants, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Drage, Earl Percy, Mr. Birrell, and Mr. John Burns ... | 729 |
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Vagrants' Children Protection Bill—"For the further protection of the Children of Vagrants," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 64.] ... 729

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| VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS (GRANTS IN AID)—Bill to enable School Boards in certain county boroughs to make grants in aid of efficient Voluntary Schools; and for other purposes, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Lawrence, Sir James Fergusson, Mr. Warr, Sir John William Maclure, Mr. Tomlinson, Mr. David MacIver, and Sir George Fardell ... | 729 |
|---|-----|

Voluntary Schools (Grants in Aid) Bill—"To enable School Boards in certain county boroughs to make Grants in Aid of efficient Voluntary Schools; and for other purposes," presented and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 2nd May, and to be printed. [Bill 65.] ... 730

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|---|-----|
| REGISTRATION OF ELECTORS—Bill to amend the Law relating to the Qualification and Registration of Electors at any election in England and Wales, ordered to be brought in by Mr. McKenna, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Samuel Evans, Mr. Brynmor Jones, Mr. Alfred Thomas, and Mr. D. A. Thomas ... | 730 |
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| Registration of Electors Bill —"To amend the Law relating to the Qualification and Registration of Electors at any election in England and Wales," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Monday, 19th February, and to be printed. [Bill 68.] | 730 |
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| LAND VALUES TAXATION (SCOTLAND) —Bill for the Taxation for local purposes of Land Values in burghs in Scotland, ordered to be brought in by Sir Charles Cameron, Mr. Caldwell, Mr. John Wilson, Mr. Provand, Dr. Clark, and Mr. Colville... | 730 |
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|---|-----|
| Land Values Taxation (Scotland) Bill —"For the taxation for local purposes of Land Values in burghs in Scotland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 21st March, and to be printed. [Bill 66.] | 730 |
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| LIQUOR TRAFFIC LOCAL VETO (WALES) —Bill to enable owners and occupiers in Wales to have effectual control over the Liquor Traffic, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Herbert Roberts, Mr. Brynmor Jones, Mr. Alfred Thomas, Mr. Lloyd-George, Mr. Herbert Lewis, and Mr. Griffith | 730 |
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| Liquor Traffic Local Veto (Wales) Bill —"To enable owners and occupiers in Wales to have effectual control over the Liquor Traffic," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday 2nd May, and to be printed. (Bill 67.) | 731 |
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| ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH. [Sixth Day's Debate.] Order read for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment [30 January] to Question [30th January], "That an humble Address be presented to her Majesty as followeth:— | |
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Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."
(*Captain Pretyman.*)

And which Amendment was—

"At the end of the question, to add the words, 'But we humbly express our regret at the want of knowledge, foresight, and judgment displayed by Your Majesty's advisers, alike, in their conduct of South African affairs since 1895, and in their preparations for the war now proceeding.'"—(*Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added."

DEBATE resumed:—

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| <i>Mr. Asquith (Fifeshire, E.)</i> ... | 731 | <i>Mr. John Burns (Battersea)</i> ... | 781 |
| <i>Mr. Elliot (Durham)</i> ... | 740 | <i>Mr. Wylie (Dumbartonshire)</i> ... | 797 |
| <i>Capt. Norton (Newington, W.)</i> | 743 | <i>Mr. Havelock Wilson (Middlesex)</i> ... | 798 |
| <i>Col. Kenyon-Slaney (Shropshire, Newport)</i> ... | 750 | <i>Mr. Bond (Nottingham, E.)</i> ... | 800 |
| <i>Mr. Lloyd George (Cardiff)</i> ... | 758 | <i>Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs)</i> ... | 803 |
| <i>Sir John Stirling-Maxwell (Glasgow, College)</i> ... | 767 | <i>The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.)</i> ... | 813 |
| <i>Mr. Munro Ferguson (Leith Burghs)</i> ... | 768 | <i>Mr. Harwood (Bolton)</i> ... | 822 |
| <i>Mr. Gedge (Walsall)</i> ... | 773 | <i>Mr. C. E. Shaw (Stafford)</i> ... | 823 |

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Question put.

The House divided : — Ayes, 139 : Noes, 352. (Division List, No. 3.)

Main Question again proposed. Debate arising,

Debate further adjourned till To-morrow.

Adjourned at twenty minutes after Twelve of the clock.

COMMONS: WEDNESDAY, 7TH FEBRUARY 1900.

PETITIONS.

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| GOVERNMENT PROPERTY (EXEMPTION FROM RATES)—Petitions for alteration of law, from Fulham : St. Giles-in-the-Fields and St. George, Bloomsbury ; and Ratcliff : to lie upon the Table | 829 |
| GROUND VALUES (TAXATION) (SCOTLAND)—Petition from New Monkland, for alteration of law ; to lie upon the Table | 829 |
| Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday Bill —Petitions in favour, from Leeds ; Kingsbridge ; and Fulham (two) ; to lie upon the Table | 829 |
| Sale of Intoxicating Liquors to Children Bill —Petitions in favour, from Barrowford ; Colne (three) ; Hull ; and Yeovil ; to lie upon the Table | 829 |
| Town Councils (Scotland) Bill —Petition from Kirkeudbright, in favour ; to lie upon the Table | 829 |
| VIVISECTION—Petition from Wandsworth for prohibition ; to lie upon the Table | 829 |

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

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| TRADE REPORTS (MISCELLANEOUS SERIES)—Copy presented,—of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Miscellaneous Series, No. 521 [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table | 829 |
| TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES)—Copy presented,—of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, No. 2378 [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table | 829 |
| UNITED STATES (No. 1, 1900)—Copy presented,—of Convention between Her Majesty and the United States of America, supplementary to the Convention of 19th April, 1850, relative to the establishment of a communication by Ship Canal between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Signed at Washington, 5th February, 1900 [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table... | 830 |

NEW BILL.

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| Trustee Savings Banks Bill —"To amend the Trustee Savings Banks Acts," presented and read the first time : to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 69.] | 830 |
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ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH—[Seventh Day's Debate]—Order read for resuming Adjourned Debate on Main Question [30th January], "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, as followeth :—

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."
—(*Captain Pretyman.*)

Question again proposed.

DEBATE resumed.

Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'But we humbly represent to your Majesty that the time has come when the war at present being waged in South Africa should be brought to a close, on the basis of recognising the independence of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.'"—(*Mr. John Redmond.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

DISCUSSION : —

| | | | |
|---|-----|--|-----|
| <i>Mr. Power</i> (<i>Waterford, E.</i>) ... | 841 | <i>The Secretary to the Local Government Board</i> (<i>Mr. T. W. Russell,</i> | |
| <i>Mr. J. H. M. Campbell</i> (<i>Dublin, St. Stephen's Green</i>) ... | 843 | <i>Tyrone, S.</i>) ... | 880 |
| <i>Dr. Clark</i> (<i>Caithness-shire</i>) ... | 850 | <i>Sir Wilfrid Lawson</i> (<i>Cumberland, Cocker-mouth</i>) ... | 883 |
| <i>Mr. T. M. Healy</i> (<i>Louth, N.</i>) ... | 857 | <i>Commander Bethell</i> (<i>Yorkshire, E.R., Holderness</i>) ... | 887 |
| <i>Mr. Gibson Bowles</i> (<i>Lynn Regis</i>) ... | 868 | <i>Mr. Arnold</i> (<i>Halifax</i>) ... | 890 |
| <i>Mr. Flynn</i> (<i>Cork, N.</i>) ... | 872 | <i>Mr. Field</i> (<i>Dublin, St. Patrick</i>) ... | 891 |
| <i>Mr. William Moore</i> (<i>Antrim, N.</i>) ... | 875 | | |

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 66 ; Noes, 368. (Division List No. 4.)

Original Question again proposed.

Debate arising ; and it being after half-past Five of the clock, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed To-morrow.

Adjourned at a quarter before Six of the clock.

LORDS, THURSDAY, 8TH FEBRUARY 1900.

SAT FIRST—The Lord Vivian sat first in Parliament after the death of his father ... 897

RETURNS, REPORTS, &c.

ALIEN IMMIGRATION—Return of the number of aliens that arrived from the Continent at ports in the United Kingdom in each month of the year 1900 : ordered to be laid before the House (the Lord Churchill) ... 897

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| TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES)—No. 2378. Portugal (Trade for the years 1897 and 1898) | 897 |
| SOUTH AFRICA—Notice issued by the High Commissioner for South Africa, on 26th January, 1900, relating to forfeitures, etc., of property situated in the South African Republic or in the Orange Free State declared subsequently to 10th October, 1899. Presented [by Command], and ordered to lie on the Table | 897 |
| ARMY (MILITARY SAVINGS BANK)—Statement of amount due to depositors on the 31st March, 1898, and of the receipts, interests, and disbursements, during the year ended 31st March, 1899, etc. | 897 |
| ST. LUCIA—Regulation amending Rule 282 of the Prison Regulations, with respect to interviews between prisoners awaiting their trial and their legal advisers | 897 |
| IMPERIAL OTTOMAN GUARANTEED LOAN, 1855—Accounts for the year 1899. Laid before the House [pursuant to Act], and ordered to lie on the Table | 898 |
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| VIVISECTION—Petition for suppression of the practice of; of a Meeting held at Rushmere, Wandsworth Common; read, and ordered to lie on the Table | 898 |
| SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—TELEGRAMS TO SOLDIERS ON SERVICE—Question, The Earl of Lichfield; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (The Marquess of Lansdowne) | 898 |
| SPION KOP—BOER TREATMENT OF BRITISH WOUNDED—Questions, The Earl of Camperdown and Lord Wenlock; Answers, The Marquess of Lansdowne | |

House adjourned at a quarter before Five of the clock.

COMMONS: THURSDAY, 8TH FEBRUARY 1900.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Llandrindod Wells Water Bill—Ordered, That the Examiners have leave to examine the Llandrindod Wells Water, Petition for Bill, as to whether the Standing Orders have or have not been complied with, provided that, notice of such examination shall have been once previously published in a newspaper published in the district, and in the *London Gazette* ... 901

Ordered, That Memorials complaining of non-compliance with the Standing Orders shall be deposited in the Private Bill Office three clear days before the day appointed for the examination of the Petition.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means.*) ... 902

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| METROPOLITAN POLICE PROVISIONAL ORDER—Bill to confirm a Provisional Order made by one of Her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, under the Metropolitan Police Act, 1886, and the Metropolitan Police Courts Act, 1897, relating to lands in the parishes of St. Mary Stratford Bow, East Molesey, and Clerkenwell, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Jesse Collings and Secretary Sir Matthew White Ridley | 902 |
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| Metropolitan Police Provisional Order Bill —"To confirm a Provisional Order made by one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, under the Metropolitan Police Act, 1886, and the Metropolitan Police Courts Act, 1897, relating to lands in the parishes of St. Mary Stratford Bow, East Molesey, and Clerkenwell," presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 70.] | 902 |
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| Sale of Intoxicating Liquors to Children Bill —Petition from Hulme, in favour; to lie upon the Table. | 902 |
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| Town Councils (Scotland) Bill —Petition from Helensburgh, in favour; to lie upon the Table | 903 |
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| ARMY (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE, 1899-1900)—Copy presented,—of Estimate of the additional number of men and of the further amount required in the year ending 31st March 1900, in consequence of the War in South Africa [by Command]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 36.] | 903 |
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| CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1900-1901—Copy presented of Estimates for Civil Services and Revenue Departments for the year ending 31st March, 1901, together with a copy of the Memorandum by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury relating thereto [by Command]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 37.] | 903 |
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| PAPER LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE—Bank of England. Copy of all applications made by the first Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank of England for Advances to Government authorised by Parliament, from 5th January, 1899, to 5th January, 1900 [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 38.] | 903 |
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| Naval Expenditure and Mercantile Marine (Great Britain, &c.)—Return ordered, “showing Aggregate Naval Expenditure on Seagoing Force; Aggregate Revenue; Aggregate Tonnage of Mercantile Marine; Annual Clearances of Shipping in the Foreign Trade; Annual Clearances of Shipping in the Coasting Trade; Annual Value of Imports by Sea, including Bullion and Specie; and Annual Value of Exports by Sea, including Bullion and Specie, of various Countries, exclusive of China and South American Republics, but including British Self-governing Colonies, for the year 1899 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 310, of Session 1899).”—(<i>Sir John Colomb</i>) | 903 |
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| ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.—Eighth Day's Debate.—Order read for resuming Adjourned Debate on Main Question [30th January], "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, as followeth :— | |

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to your Majesty for the Gracious speech which your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Captain Pretymen.*)

Question again proposed.

DEBATE resumed.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR (APPLICATION OF PATRIOTIC FUND).

Amendment proposed.

"At the end of the Question to add the words, 'But we desire humbly to represent to Your Majesty that it is the duty of your Majesty's present advisers to take immediate and effective action to ensure that the accumulations and available surpluses of various funds administered by the Royal Patriotic Commissions should be applied for the benefit of the widows and children of officers and men of Your Majesty's military and naval forces who lose their lives in the war in South Africa.'"—(*Mr. Keasley.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added :"

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DISCUSSION :

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| <i>Mr. Bayley</i> (<i>Derbyshire, Chesterfield</i>) | 953 | <i>Captain Norton</i> (<i>Newington, W.</i>) | 963 |
| <i>Admiral Field</i> (<i>Sussex, Eastbourne</i>) | 955 | <i>Commander Bethall</i> (<i>Yorkshire, E.R., Holderness</i>) | 969 |
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| <i>The Financial Secretary to the War Office</i> (<i>Mr. J. Powell-Williams</i> (<i>Birmingham, S.</i>) | 959 | <i>Mr. Allan</i> (<i>Gateshead</i>) | 971 |
| | | <i>Mr. Lough</i> (<i>Islington, W.</i>) | 971 |
| | | <i>Mr. Yozall</i> (<i>Nottingham, W.</i>) | 972 |
| | | <i>Mr. A. J. Balfour</i> | 973 |

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

HIGHLAND CROFTING COUNTIES.

Amendment proposed

"At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'But we humbly represent to Your Majesty that in view of the continued increase in the deer forest area in the Highland crofting counties, it is desirable, in order to prevent a still further depopulation of the Highlands, that the benefits of the Crofters Act, 1886, should be extended to all crofter-tenants holding under lease at the time of the passing of the Act; and we regret to observe that there is no indication in Your Majesty's Speech that arrangements will be made for the settling of Highland crofters, cottars, and fishermen on some portion of the 1,782,785 acres of land which in March, 1895, Your Majesty's Commissioners scheduled as deer forests, grouse moors, etc., which might be cultivated to profit, or otherwise advantageously occupied by crofters or small tenants.'"—(*Mr. Weir.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

DISCUSSION :—

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| <i>Mr. Hedderwick</i> (<i>Wicks Burghs</i>) | 977 | <i>Mr. McLeod</i> (<i>Sutherlandshire</i>) ... | 985 |
| <i>Sir Leonard Lyell</i> (<i>Orkney and Shetland</i>) | 986 | <i>The Lord Advocate</i> (<i>Mr. Graham Murray, Buteshire</i>) | 991 |
| <i>Mr. Gordon</i> (<i>Elgin and Nairn</i>) | 982 | <i>Mr. Thomas Shaw</i> (<i>Hawick Burghs</i>) | 995 |
| | | <i>Dr. Clark</i> (<i>Caithness-shire</i>) ... | 998 |

(Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 113; Noes, 186. (Division List No. 5.)

Main question again proposed.

TAXATION OF IRELAND.

Amendment proposed :—

"But we humbly represent to Your Majesty that the over taxation of Ireland, which promises to become greatly aggravated by the expenditure on the war in South Africa, is a most serious and pressing grievance, and demands the early attention of Parliament with a view to its removal."—(*Mr. Clancy.*)

Debate adjourned till to-morrow.

Adjourned at five minutes before Twelve of the clock.

LORDS: FRIDAY, 9TH FEBRUARY, 1900.

EARL OF MEXBOROUGH—Report made from the Lord Chancellor, that the right of John Horatio Earl of Mexborough to vote at the elections of Representative Peers for Ireland has been established to the satisfaction of the Lord Chancellor; read, and ordered to lie on the Table ... 1017

ADDRESS—The Queen's Answer to the Address of Tuesday, the 30th of January last, reported, and Address and Answer to be printed and published ... 1017

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with:—Aberdeen Police and Improvement; Airdrie, Coatbridge, and District Water Trust; Army and Navy Investment Trust; Aston Manor Tramways; Baker Street and Waterloo Railway; Barry Railway (Steam Vessels); Bedford Gas; Belfast and County Down Railway; Bexhill and Rotherfield Railway; Birmingham Corporation (Stock); Birmingham (King Edward the Sixth) Schools; Birmingham University; Bournemouth Corporation; Bradford Corporation; Bray and Enniskerry Railway; Brewery and Commercial Investment Trust; Brighton Corporation; Bristol Corporation; Bristol Water; British Gas Light Company (Staffordshire Potteries); Brompton and Piccadilly Circus Railway; Buckingham, Towcester, and Metropolitan Junction Railway; Burnley Corporation; Bury and District Water (Transfer); Caledonian Railway; Charing Cross and Strand Electricity Supply; Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway; Chelsea Water; Cheltenham Improvements; Cheshire Lines Committee; Church's Patent; City and South London Railway; City of London Electric Lighting; City of London (Various Powers); Cleethorpes Gas; Clontarf Urban District Council; Clyde Navigation; Colonial Bank; Commercial Union Assurance Company; Cork, Bandon, and South Coast Railway; County of London and Brush Provincial Electric Lighting; Coventry Corporation; Cowes Pier; Crowborough District Water (Gas Transfer); Croydon Tramways and Improvements; Crystal Palace Company; Dearne Valley Railway; Donegal Railway; Dorking Water; Dublin Corporation; Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway; Dundee Harbour; Durham (County of) Electric Power Supply; East London Water; East Shropshire Water; East Stirlingshire Water; Edinburgh Corporation; Edinburgh District Lunacy Board; Exeter Corporation; Exmouth and District Water; Exmouth Urban District Water; Falkirk and District Water; Falkirk Corporation; Farnworth Urban District Council; Fishguard and Rosslare Railways and Harbours; Fishguard Water and Gas; Gas Light and Coke Company; Gas Light and Coke, Commercial Gas, and South Metropolitan Gas Companies; Glasgow and South-Western Railway; Glasgow Building Regulations; Glastonbury and Street Gas; Glastonbury Corporation Gas; Glyncorrwg Urban District Council Gas; Government Stock and other Securities Investment Company; Grantham Gas; Great Berkhamstead Water; Great Central Railway; Great Eastern Railway; Great Northern Railway; Great Northern Railway (Ireland); Great Southern and Western and Waterford and Central Ireland Railway Companies Amalgamation; Great Southern and Western

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and Waterford, Limerick, and Western Railway Companies Amalgamation; Great Southern and Western Railway; Great Western Railway; Great Yarmouth Port and Haven; Gun Barrel Proof Act, 1868, Amendment; Gwyrfai Rural District Council Water; Halifax Corporation; Hamilton Burgh; Hartlepool Gas and Water; Hastings Corporation; Hastings Harbour; Hastings Tramways; Hemel Hempstead Corporation (Water); Higham Ferrers Water; Hoylake and West Krikby Improvement; Huddersfield Corporation Tramways; Huntingdon Corporation; Ilfracombe Improvement; Ipswich Corporation Tramways; Jarrow and Hepburn Electricity Supply; Kingscourt, Keady, and Armagh Railway; Kingston-upon-Thames Corporation; Kingston-upon-Thames Gas; Knott End Railway; Lambeth Water; Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway; Lancashire, Derbyshire, and East Coast Railway; Lancashire Electric Power; Lancashire Inebriates Acts Board; Lancaster Corporation; Latimer Road and Acton Railway; Lee Conservancy; Lincoln Corporation (Tramways); Liverpool Corporation; Liverpool Overhead Railway; London and India Docks Joint Committee; London and North-Western Railway; London and North-Western Railway (Wales); London and Saint Katharine Docks and East and West India Dock Companies; London and South-Western Railway; London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway; London County Council (Compulsory Purchase of Land); London County Council (General Powers); London County Council (Improvements); London County Council (Spitalfields Market); London Hydraulic Power Company; London Sea Water Supply; London, Walthamstow, and Epping Forest Railway; London Water (Purchase); London Water (Welsh Supply); Lowestoft Railway; Maidenhead Gas; Manchester City Railway; Manchester and Liverpool Electric Express Railway; Manchester Corporation Tramways; Manchester Ship Canal; Margate Corporation; Margate Pier and Harbour; Market Weighton Drainage and Navigation; Maryport Harbour; Menstone Water (Transfer); Mersey Docks and Harbour Board; Mersey Railway; Metropolitan District Railway; Metropolitan Water Companies; Mid-Kent Water; Midland Great Western Railway of Ireland; Midland Railway; Milford Docks; Morecambe Urban District Council (Gas); Morley Corporation; Motherwell and Bellshill Railway; Motherwell Water; Mountain Ash Water; Muirkirk, Mauchline, and Dalmellington Railways (Abandonment); Neath Harbour; Newcastle-upon-Tyne Electric Supply; Newport Corporation; Newport (Monmouthshire) Gas; New Russia Company; Newtown and Llanllwchaiarn Urban District Gas; North British Railway; North-Eastern Railway; North-Eastern Railway (Steam Vessels); North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply; North Metropolitan Railway and Canal; North Warwickshire Water; Nottingham Corporation; Oldham Corporation; Ossett Corporation Gas; Ossett Gas; Otley Urban District Council Water; Paignton Urban District Water; Pontefract Park; Preston Corporation; Purfleet and Gravesend Junction Railway; Ramsgate Corporation Improvements; Rawmarsh Urban District Council (Tramways); Reading Corporation (Tramways); Redhill Gas; Rhymney Iron Company; Rhymney Railway; Rickmansworth and Uxbridge Valley Water; Rotherham Corporation; Rotherhithe and Ratcliffe Tunnel; Rugeley Gas; St. Alban's Water; St. David's Railway (Additional Powers); Salford Corporation; Scarborough Corporation; Scottish American Investment Company; Scottish Widows' Fund and Life Assurance Society; Sheffield Corporation; Sheffield District Railway; Southampton Harbour; South-Eastern and London, Chatham and Dover Railways; South-Eastern Railway; South

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| Essex Water; South Essex Water Board; South Lancashire Tramways; South Metropolitan Gas; Southport Corporation; Southport Extension and Tramways; Southport Water; South Shields Corporation; South Staffordshire Tramways; South Wales Electrical Power Distribution; Spalding Urban District Council (Water); Stockport Corporation Tramways; Sunderland Corporation; Sutton District Water; Taff Vale Railway; Taunton Corporation; Tottenham Urban District Council; Tyneside Electric Power; Universal Life Assurance Society; Vale of Rheidol Light Railway; Wakefield Corporation Market; Wandsworth and Putney Gas; West Bromwich Corporation; West Ham Corporation; Westgate and Birchington Water; Wetherby District Water; Whitechapel and Bow Railway; Widnes and Runcorn Bridge; Wirral Railway; Withington Urban District Council; Wolverhampton, Essington, and Cannock Chase Junction Railway; Wolverhampton Gas; Woodbridge District Water; Workington Railways and Docks. And the Certificates that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have not been complied with: Airdrie and Coatbridge Tramways; County and City of Dublin Electric Lighting; Cardiff Corporation; Newry, Keady, and Tynan Light Railway; Shannon Water and Electric Power; Devonport Corporation. The same were ordered to lie on the Table ... | 1017 |
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RETURNS, REPORTS, &c.

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| COMPANIES (WINDING-UP) ACT, 1890—General Rules made pursuant to Section 26 of the Companies (Winding-Up) Act, 1890, dated 28th December, 1899 ... | 1022 |
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| POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF NORTHUMBERLAND)—Order made by the County Council of Northumberland, dividing into polling districts so much of the Tyneside Parliamentary division of the County of Northumberland as is comprised in the parishes of Camperdown, Longbenton, and Weetslade. Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table ... | 1022 |
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| LIGHT RAILWAY ACT, 1896—I. Orders made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of a light railway 1. In the county of Essex, from Kelvedon to Coggeshall. 2. In the West Riding of the county of York, from Bradford to Leeds. 3. In the county of Caithness, between Wick and Lybster. 4. In the West Riding of the county of York, in and near the borough of Doncaster. 5. In the county of Kent, between Cranbrook and Tenterden, in extension of the Rother Valley (Light) Railway, and the construction and working of that railway as a light railway. 6. In the county of Lincoln, from Lincoln to Scawby. 7. In the county of Lincoln, from Frodingham and Scunthorpe to Whitton, Winterton, and Winterringham. 8. In the counties of Worcester and Warwick, from Redditch to Astwood Bank. 9. In the county of Stafford, commencing in the parish of Essington and terminating in the parish of Darlaston, with branches. II. Orders made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade—1. Amending the Basingstoke and Alton Light Railway Order, 1897. 2. Authorising the Glasgow and South Western Railway Company to construct and work as a light railway the Cairne Valley Railway, which the said Company have power to construct and work under the Glasgow and South-Western Railway Act, 1897. Presented [by command], and ordered to lie on the Table ... | 1023 |
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NEW BILL.

Inebriates Amendment (Scotland) Bill [H.L.]—A Bill to amend the the Inebriates Acts, 1879 to 1899, for Scotland—Was presented by the Lord Balfour; read first time; and to be printed. (No. 9) ... 1024

House adjourned at half-past Four of the clock.

COMMONS: FRIDAY, 9TH FEBRUARY, 1900.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [Lords]—MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table, Report from the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, that in respect of the Bills comprised in the List reported by the Chairman of Ways and Means as intended to originate in the House of Lords, they have certified that the Standing Orders have been complied with in the following cases, viz.:—Army and Navy Investment Trust; Aston Manor Tramways; Barry Railway (Steam Vessels); Bexhill and Rotherfield Railway; Birmingham Corporation (Stock); Birmingham (King Edward the Sixth) Schools; Birmingham University; Bournemouth Corporation; Brewery and Commercial Investment Trust; Bristol Water; Burnley Corporation; Bury and District Water (Transfer); Caledonian Railway; Church's Patent; Cleethorpes Gas; Clyde Navigation; Commercial Union Assurance Company; Cork, Bandon, and South Coast Railway; Cowes Pier; Crystal Palace Company; Dearne Valley Railway; Donegal Railway; Dorking Water; Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway; Dundee Harbour; East Shropshire Water; East Stirlingshire Water; Edinburgh Corporation; Edinburgh District Lunacy Board; Exmouth and District Water; Exmouth Urban District Water; Falkirk and District Water; Falkirk Corporation; Fishguard and Rosslare Railways and Harbours; Fishguard Water and Gas; Glasgow and South Western Railway; Glasgow Building Regulations; Glyncoerrwg Urban District Council Gas; Government Stock and other Securities Investment Company; Great Berkhamstead Water; Great Central Railway; Great Southern and Western and Waterford and Central Ireland Railway Companies Amalgamation; Great Southern and Western and Waterford, Limerick, and Western Railway Companies Amalgamation; Great Southern and Western Railway; Gun Barrel Proof Act, 1868, Amendment; Gwyfrai Rural District Council Water; Hemel Hempstead Corporation (Water); Higham Ferrers Water; Ipswich Corporation Tramways; Kingston-upon-Thames Corporation; Kingston-upon-Thames Gas; Lancashire Inebriates Acts Board; Lincoln Corporation Tramways; Liverpool Overhead Railway; London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway; London Hydraulic Power Company; London Sea Water Supply; Manchester Corporation Tramways; Manchester Ship Canal; Margate Corporation; Margate Pier and Harbour; Menstone Water (Transfer); Mersey Docks and Harbour Board; Mersey Railway; Midland Great Western Railway of Ireland; Milford Docks; Morley Corporation; Motherwell and Bellshill Railway; Motherwell Water; Mountain Ash Water; Muirkirk, Mauchline, and Dalmellington Railways (Abandonment); Neath Harbour; Newport Corporation; Newport (Monmouthshire) Gas; New Russia Company; Newtown and Llanllwchaearn Urban District Gas; North British Railway; North Eastern Railway; North Eastern Railway (Steam Vessels); Otley Urban District Council Water; Paignton Urban

District Water; Preston Corporation; Purfleet and Gravesend Junction Railway; Ramsgate Corporation Improvements; Rawmarsh Urban District Council (Tramways); Rhymney Iron Company; Rhymney Railway; Rotherham Corporation; Rotherhithe and Ratcliffe Tunnel; Salford Corporation; Scottish American Investment Company; Scottish Widows' Fund and Life Assurance Society; Sheffield Corporation; Sheffield District Railway; Southampton Harbour; South Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railways; South Eastern Railway; South Essex Water; South Essex Water Board; South Shields Corporation; South Staffordshire Tramways; Sunderland Corporation; Taff Vale Railway; Universal Life Assurance Society; Westgate and Birchington Water; Whitechapel and Bow Railway; Wirral Railway; Withington Urban District Council; Workington Railways and Docks. And that they have certified that the Standing Orders have not been complied with in the following case, viz.:—Cardiff Corporation ... 1024

PRIVATE BILL PETITIONS (STANDING ORDERS NOT COMPLIED WITH)—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Reports from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, that in the case of the Petitions for the following Bills, the Standing Orders have not been complied with, viz.:—Airdrie and Coatbridge Tramways Bill; County and City of Dublin Electric Lighting Bill; Devonport Corporation Bill; Newry, Keady, and Tynan Light Railway Bill; Shannon Water and Electric Power Bill.

Ordered, that the Reports be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders ... 1026

PRIVATE BILL PETITIONS [LORDS] (STANDING ORDERS NOT COMPLIED WITH)—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, that, in the case of the Petition for the following Bill, originating in the Lords, the Standing Orders have not been complied with, viz.:—Cardiff Corporation Bill [Lords]. Ordered, That the Report be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders 1027

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Military Lands Provisional Order Bill—" To confirm a Provisional Order of the Secretary of State, under the Military Lands Act, 1892," presented accordingly, and read the first time ; to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 71] 1038

LIGHT RAILWAYS ACT, 1896—Copy presented,—of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of a Light Railway in the county of Essex from Kelvedon to Coggeshall (Coggeshall Light Railway Order, 1899) [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the county of Lincoln from Frodingham and Scunthorpe to Whitton Winterton and Winteringham (North Lindsey Light Railways Order, 1900) [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of a Light Railway in the county of Lincoln from Lincoln to Scawby (North Lincolnshire Light Railway Order, 1900) [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of a Light Railway in the West Riding of the county of York from Bradford to Leeds (Bradford and Leeds Light Railway Order, 1899) [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the West Riding of the county of York, in and near the borough of Doncaster (Doncaster Corporation Light Railways Order, 1899) [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the counties of Worcester and Warwick, from Redditch to Astwood Bank (Redditch and District Light Railways Order, 1900) [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of a Light Railway in the county of Stafford, commencing in the parish of Essington and terminating in the parish of Darlaston, with branches (Essington and Ashmore Light Railway Order, 1900) [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the county of Kent, between Cranbrook and Tenterden, in extension of the Rother Valley (Light) Railway, and the construction and working of that Railway as a Light Railway (Cranbrook and Tenterden Light Railway Order, 1899) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of a Light Railway in the County of Caithness, between Wick and Lybster (Wick and Lybster Light Railway Order, 1899) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the Glasgow and South-Western Railway Company to construct and work as a Light Railway the Cairn Valley Railway which the said company have power to construct and work under the Glasgow and South-Western Railway Act, 1897 (Glasgow and South-Western Railway (Cairn Valley Light Railway Order, 1899) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, amending the Basingstoke and Alton Light Railway Order, 1897 (Basingstoke and Alton Light Railway (Amendment) Order, 1900) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1038

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LOCAL AUTHORITIES' SERVANTS' SUPERANNUATION—Petition from Edmonton, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table 1040

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS (IRELAND) BILL—Petition from Belfast, in favour; to lie upon the Table 1040

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL—Petitions, in favour, from Stamford; and Lavenham; to lie upon the Table 1040

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS TO CHILDREN BILL—Petition from Hull, in favour; to lie upon the Table 1040

TOWN COUNCILS (SCOTLAND) BILL—Petition from Kilrenny, in favour, to lie upon the Table 1040

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COMPANIES (WINDING-UP) ACT, 1890—Copy presented,—of General Rules made pursuant to Section 26 of the Companies (Winding-up) Act, 1890, dated 28th December, 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table 1041

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| NAVY ESTIMATES, 1900-1901- Estimates presented,—for the year 1900-1901, with explanation of Differences [by Command]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed [No. 41] | 1041 |
| ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND- Copy presented,—of Eighteenth Report of the Royal University of Ireland, being for the year 1899 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table | 1041 |
| AGED DESERVING POOR (DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE)—Copy presented,—of Report of the Departmental Committee on the financial aspects of the proposals made by the Select Committee of the House of Commons of 1899 about the Aged Deserving Poor, with Appendices [by Command]; to lie upon the Table | 1041 |

QUESTIONS.

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| PROPERTY IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLICS—Question, Mr. Gibson Bowles; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. J. Chamberlain, Birmingham, W.) | 1012 |
| SIR ALFRED MILNER'S STAFF—Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill (Donegal, S.); Answer, Mr. J. Chamberlain | 1044 |
| BRITISH COLONIAL ARMAMENTS AT THE OUTBREAK OF WAR—Question, Mr. Hedderwick (Wicks Burghs); Answer, The Under Secretary of State for War (Mr. Wyndham, Dover) | 1044 |
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| CONTRACTS FOR HORSES—Question, Mr. Patrick O'Brien (Kilkenny); Answer, The Financial Secretary to the War Office (Mr. J. Powell Williams, Birmingham, S.) | 1048 |
| BOOT CONTACTS—Question, Mr. Channing (Northamptonshire, E.); Answer, Mr. J. Powell Williams | 1049 |

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| RIFLE RANGES—Question, Mr. Radcliffe Cooke (Hereford); Answer, Mr. Wyndham | 1050 |
| THE SIERRA LEONE CAMPAIGN—MEDALS—Question, Mr. Hedderwick; Answer, Mr. J. Chamberlain | 1050 |
| THE AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH BILL—Question, Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean); Answer, Mr. J. Chamberlain | 1051 |
| THE KOWSHING—Question, Mr. Provand (Glasgow, Blackfriars); Answer, Mr. Brodrick | 1051 |
| RUSSIAN LOAN TO PERSIA—Question, Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answer, Mr. Brodrick | 1051 |
| FOOT AND MOUTH DISEASE REGULATIONS—Questions, Mr. Stevenson (Suffolk, Eye) and Mr. F. W. Wilson (Norfolk, Mid); Answers, The President of the Board of Agriculture (Mr. Long, Liverpool, West Derby) | 1052 |
| CENTRAL TELEGRAPH OFFICE—HOLIDAY ARRANGEMENTS—Question, Mr. Steadman (Tower Hamlets, Stepney); Answer, The Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Hanbury, Preston) | 1053 |
| POST OFFICE—LONDON TELEPHONE EXCHANGE—Question, Mr. Provand; Answer, Mr. Hanbury | 1053 |
| IRISH PIERS AND HARBOURS—Question, Mr. William Moore (Antrim, N.); Answer, Mr. Hanbury | 1054 |
| PARCEL POST TO IRELAND—Question, Mr. William Moore; Answer, Mr. Hanbury | 1054 |
| SNEEN MAILS—Question, Mr. Flavin (Kerry, N.); Answer, Mr. Hanbury | 1055 |
| STEAM TRAWLERS IN WEXFORD BAY—Questions, Mr. Ffrench (Wexford, S.), Mr. William Redmond (Clare, E.), Mr. Power (Waterford, E.), and Mr. Flynn (Cork, N.); Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. Goschen, St. George's, Hanover Square) | 1055 |
| WARDEN ESTATE, CO. KERRY—Questions, Mr. Flavin, and Mr. T. M. Healy; Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Atkinson, Londonderry, N.) | 1056 |
| KANBURK BARONIAL RAILWAY GUARANTEE—Question, Mr. Flynn; Answer, Mr. Atkinson | 1057 |
| CLARE POLICE FORCE—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell (Cavan, W.); Answers, Mr. Atkinson | 1085 |
| MARQUESS OF SLIGO'S ESTATE—Question, Dr. Ambrose (Mayo, W.); Answer, The Vice-President of the Agricultural Department for Ireland (Mr. Plunkett, Dublin County, S.) | 1059 |
| MUZZLING ORDERS IN CORK—Question, Mr. Maurice Healy (Cork); Answer, Mr. Plunkett | 1059 |
| SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—NEWS FROM THE FRONT—Question, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Stirling Burghs); Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester, E.) | 1060 |
| BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—Question Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour | 1060 |

*February 9.]**Page***PUBLIC BUSINESS.****SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE (EXEMPTION FROM THE STANDING ORDER).**

Motion made, and Question put:—"That the proceedings on the Address, if under discussion at Twelve o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order, Sittings of the House."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

The House divided :—Ayes, 226 ; Noes, 86. (Division List No. 6.)

NEW BILLS.

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES—Bill to amend the Law relating to the Housing of the Working Classes, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Steadman, Mr. John Burns, Captain Norton, and Mr. Woods ... 1063

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES (RURAL DISTRICTS)—Bill to amend the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890, so as to facilitate the provision of cottages by Rural Authorities, ordered to be brought in by Sir Walter Foster, Mr. Channing, Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Price, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Billson, Mr. Frederick Wilson, and Mr. Soames ... 1063

WINE AND BEERHOUSE ACTS AMENDMENT—Bill to amend the Law relating to the licensing of Beerhouses and places for the sale of Cider and Wine by retail in England and Wales, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Herbert Lewis, Mr. Courtney, Sir Cameron Gull, and Mr. Cameron Corbett ... 1063

Wine and Beerhouse Acts Amendment Bill—"To amend the Law relating to the licensing of Beerhouses and places for the sale of Cider and Wine by retail in England and Wales," presented and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Tuesday, 20th February, and to be printed. [Bill 73] ... 1064

LICENSED PREMISES (HOURS OF SALE) (SCOTLAND)—Bill to alter the Law relating to the Hours during which premises licensed for the sale of excisable liquors may be open in Scotland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Provand, Captain Sinclair, Mr. Colville, Mr. Uie, and Mr. Caldwell ... 1064

Licensed Premises (Hours of Sale) (Scotland) Bill—"To alter the Law relating to the Hours during which premises licensed for the sale of excisable liquors may be open in Scotland," presented, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Thursday next, and to be printed. [Bill 74] ... 1064

BAKEHOUSES (HOURS OF LABOUR)—Bill to restrict the Hours of Labour in Bakehouses to forty-eight per week, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Woods, Mr. John Burns, and Mr. Steadman ... 1065

Bakehouses (Hours of Labour) Bill—"To restrict the Hours of Labour in Bakehouses to forty-eight per week," presented, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 14th March, and to be printed [Bill 76] ... 1065

STEAM ENGINES AND BOILERS (PERSONS IN CHARGE)—Bill to grant certificates to persons in charge of steam engines and boilers, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Jonathan Samuel, Mr. J. A. Pease, Mr. Haldane, Mr. Helder, Colonel Denny, Mr. Fenwick, Mr. John Wilson (Durham), Mr. Poulton, Mr. Joseph Walton, and Mr. Holland ... 1065

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Steam Engines and Boilers (Persons in Charge) Bill—"To grant certificates to Persons in Charge of Steam Engines and Boilers," Presented and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 77.] ... 1065

Housing of the Working Classes Bill—"To amend the Law relating to the Housing of the Working Classes," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 25th April, and to be printed. [Bill 72.] ... 1065

Housing of the Working Classes (Rural Districts) Bill—To amend the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890, so as to facilitate the provision of cottages by Rural Authorities," presented and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Friday, 23rd February, and to be printed. [Bill 75] 1065

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH—[Ninth Day's Debate]—Order read for assuming Adjourned Debate on Main Question [30th January], "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, as followeth:—

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the most Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Captain Pretymann.*)

Question again proposed.

Debate Resumed.

TAXATION OF IRELAND.

Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words:—But we humbly represent to Your Majesty that the over taxation of Ireland, which promises to become greatly aggravated by the expenditure on the war in South Africa, is a most serious and pressing grievance, and demands the early attention of Parliament with a view of its removal."—(*Mr. Clancy.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

DISCUSSION —

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| <i>Mr. Lough (Islington, W.)</i> ... 1073 | <i>Mr. Rentoul (Down, E.)</i> ... 1085 |
| <i>Mr. Grant Lawson, (Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk.)</i> ... 1081 | <i>The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir M. Hicks-Beach, Bristol W.)</i> ... 1090 |
| <i>Mr. John Redmond (Waterford)</i> ... 1081 | <i>Mr. T. M. Healy (Louth, N.)</i> ... 1099 |

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 77; Noes, 200. (Division List No. 7.)

Main Question again proposed.

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IRISH LAND ACTS.

Amendment proposed —

"At the end of the Question to add the words, 'But we humbly represent to Your Majesty that the administration of the Irish Land Acts is not satisfactory to any class of Your Majesty's Irish subjects, and that the only and permanent solution of the Irish Land question must be found in a measure providing for the general and immediate creation of an occupying proprietary in that country.'"—(Mr. Daly.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

DISCUSSION : —

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| <i>Mr. William Redmond</i> | <i>Mr. William Moore (Antrim, N.)</i> | 1130 |
| (<i>Clare, M.</i>) | <i>Serjeant Hemphill (Tyrone, N.)</i> | 1135 |
| <i>The Attorney General for</i> | <i>Colonel Saunderson (Armagh N.)</i> | 1140 |
| <i>Ireland (Mr. Atkinson,</i> | <i>Mr. J. P. Farrell (Cavan, W.)</i> ... | 1143 |
| <i>Londonderry, N.)</i> ... | <i>Mr. O'Malley (Galway, Connemara)</i> | 1147 |
| <i>Mr. Pinkerton (Galway)</i> ... | <i>Mr. Flavin (Kerry, N.)</i> ... | 1150 |

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 75 ; Noes, 209. (Division List No. 8.)

Main Question again proposed.

DEPORTATION OF PAUPERS INTO IRELAND.

Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the Question to add the words, 'But we humbly represent to Your Majesty the great regret of this House that no reference has been made in Your Majesty's Speech regarding a Bill to discontinue the deportation of paupers from England and Wales into Ireland.'"—(Mr. Flavin.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

The Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. T. W. Russell, Tyrone, S.)

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Main question again proposed.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

The House divided —Ayes, 215 ; Noes, 64. (Division List No. 9.)

Main question put accordingly.

The House divided :—Ayes, 229 ; Noes, 39. (Division List No. 10.)

Resolved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty as followeth :—

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."

To be presented by Privy Councillors and such Members as are of Her Majesty's Household.

SUPPLY—Resolved, That this House will, upon Monday next, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty.

Ordered, That the several Estimates presented to this House during the present Session be referred to the Committee of Supply.—(*Mr. Hanbury.*)

WAYS AND MEANS—Resolved, That this House will, upon Monday next, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Ways and Means for raising the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty.—(*Mr. Hanbury.*)

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—NEWS FROM THE FRONT—On the Motion for Adjournment—Questions, Mr. Caldwell (Lanarkshire, Mid) and Mr. Tennant (Berwickshire); Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour Manchester, E.) 1160

Adjourned at ten minutes before One of the Clock.

LORDS: MONDAY, 12TH FEBRUARY, 1900.

VISCOUNT CLIFDEN—Report made from the Lord Chancellor that the right of Thomas Charles Agar Robartes, Viscount Clifden, to vote at the elections of Representative Peers for Ireland has been established to the satisfaction of the Lord Chancellor; read, and ordered to lie on the Table 1161

SAT FIRST—The Lord Wynford sat first in Parliament after the death of his brother 1161

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with—*Imschenetzky's Uralite Patent*; *Maryport Harbour*; *National Markets, Stores, and Workshops*; *Rochdale Corporation*; *Southport and Lytham Tramroad*; *Walsall Corporation*; And the Certificates that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have not been complied with—*Blackpool, St. Anne's, and Lytham Tramways*; *South-Eastern Metropolitan Tramways*; *Aberdeen Corporation Tramways*. The same were ordered to lie on the Table 1161

Aston Manor Tramways Bill [H.L.]; *Birmingham Corporation (Stock) Bill* [H.L.]; *Birmingham (King Edward the Sixth) Schools Bill* [H.L.]; *Birmingham University Bill* [H.L.]; *Bournemouth Corporation Bill* [H.L.]. Presented, and read 1st 1161

Burnley Corporation Bill [H.L.]; *Bury and District Water (Transfer) Bill* [H.L.]; *Cardiff Corporation Bill* [H.L.]; *Church's Patent Bill* [H.L.]; *Clyde Navigation Bill* [H.L.]; *Cowes Pier Bill* [H.L.]; *Dundee Harbour Bill* [H.L.]; *East Shropshire Water Bill* [H.L.]; *East Stirlingshire Water Bill* [H.L.]; *Edinburgh Corporation Bill* [H.L.]; *Edinburgh District Lunacy Board Bill* [H.L.]; *Exmouth Urban District Water Bill* [H.L.]; *Falkirk and District Water Bill* [H.L.]; *Falkirk Corporation Bill* [H.L.]; *Glasgow Building Regulations Bill* [H.L.]; *Hemel Hempstead Corporation (Water) Bill* [H.L.]; *Higham Ferrers Water Bill* [H.L.]; *Ipswich Corporation Tramways Bill* [H.L.]; *Kingston-upon-Thames Corporation Bill* [H.L.]; *Lancashire Inebriates Acts Board Bill* [H.L.]; *Lincoln Corporation (Tramways) Bill* [H.L.]; *Manchester Corporation Tramways Bill* [H.L.]; *Margate Corporation Bill* [H.L.]; *Menstone Water (Transfer) Bill* [H.L.]; *Mersey Docks and Harbour Board Bill* [H.L.]; *Morley Corporation Bill* [H.L.]; Presented, and read 1st 1162

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Motherwell and Bellshill Railway Bill [H.L.]; Motherwell Water Bill [H.L.]; Mountain Ash Water Bill [H.L.]; Neath Harbour Bill [H.L.]; Newport Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Newtown and Llanllwchaearn Urban District Gas Bill [H.L.]; Otley Urban District Council Water Bill [H.L.]; Paignton Urban District Water Bill [H.L.]; Preston Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Ramsgate Corporation Improvements Bill [H.L.]; Rawmarsh Urban District Council (Tramways) Bill [H.L.]; Rotherham Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Rotherhithe and Ratcliff Tunnel Bill [H.L.]; Salford Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Sheffield Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Southampton Harbour Bill [H.L.]; South Essex Water Board Bill [H.L.]; South Shields Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Sunderland Corporation Bill [H.L.]; Withington Urban District Council Bill [H.L.]; Presented, and read 1^a; Army and Navy Investment Trust Bill [H.L.]; Barry Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill [H.L.]; Bexhill and Rotherfield Railway Bill [H.L.]; Brewery and Commercial Investment Trust, Limited, Bill [H.L.]; Cleethorpes Gas Bill [H.L.]; Commercial Union Assurance Company Bill [H.L.]; Presented; read 1^a; and referred to the Examiners ... 1163

Cork, Bandon, and South Coast Railway Bill [H.L.]; Crystal Palace Company Bill [H.L.]; Donegal Railway Bill [H.L.]; Dorking Water Bill [H.L.]; Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway Bill [H.L.]; Exmouth and District Water Bill [H.L.]; Fishguard and Rosslare Railways and Harbours Bill [H.L.]; Fishguard Water and Gas Bill [H.L.]; Glasgow and South Western Railway Bill [H.L.]; Government Stock and other Securities Investment Company Bill [H.L.]; Great Berkhamstead Water Bill [H.L.]; Great Central Railway Bill [H.L.]; Great Southern and Western and Waterford and Central Ireland Railway Companies Amalgamation Bill [H.L.]; Great Southern and Western and Waterford, Limerick, and Western Railway Companies Amalgamation Bill [H.L.]; Great Southern and Western Railway Bill [H.L.]; Gun Barrel Proof Act, 1868, Amendment Bill [H.L.]; Kingston-upon-Thames Gas Bill [H.L.]; Liverpool Overhead Railway Bill [H.L.]; London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway Bill [H.L.]; London Hydraulic Power Company Bill [H.L.]; London Sea Water Supply Bill [H.L.]; Manchester Ship Canal Bill [H.L.]; Margate Pier and Harbour Bill [H.L.]; Presented; read first time; and referred to the Examiners ... 1164

Mersey Railway Bill [H.L.]; Midland Great Western Railway of Ireland Bill [H.L.]; Muirkirk, Mauchline, and Dalmellington Railways (Abandonment) Bill [H.L.]; Newport (Monmouthshire) Gas Bill [H.L.]; New Russia Company Bill [H.L.]; North-British Railway Bill [H.L.]; North-Eastern Railway Bill [H.L.]; North Eastern Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill [H.L.]; Rhymney Iron Company Bill [H.L.]; Rhymney Railway Bill [H.L.]; Scottish American Investment Company, Limited, Bill [H.L.]; Scottish Widows' Fund and Life Assurance Society Bill [H.L.]; Sheffield District Railway Bill [H.L.]; South Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railways Bill [H.L.]; South-Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railways Bill [H.L.]; South-Eastern Railway Bill [H.L.]; South Staffordshire Tramways Bill [H.L.]; Taff Vale Railway Bill [H.L.]; Universal Life Assurance Society Bill [H.L.]; Westgate and Birchington Water Bill [H.L.]; Wirrall Railway Bill [H.L.]; Presented, and read first time; and referred to the Examiners ... 1165

RETURNS, REPORTS, &c.

AGED DESERVING POOR—Report of Departmental Committee on the financial aspects of the proposals made by the Select Committee of the House of Commons of 1899; with appendices ... 1165

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ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND—Annual Report for the year 1899.

Presented (by command), and ordered to lie on the Table 1166

CHELSEA HOSPITAL—Account of the receipts and expenditure of the Commissioners of Chelsea Hospital in respect of Army Prize and Legacy Funds, etc., for the year ended 31st March, 1899; together with the report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon; laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table 1166

PETITION.

VACCINATION ACTS—Petition for amendment of; of the Guardians of the Poor of the Northwich Union; read, and ordered to lie on the Table ... 1166

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR COMMANDS AT THE FRONT—Question, Lord Bateman; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (The Marquess of Lansdowne) ... 1166

Land Charges Bill—[Lords], Second Reading—Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

The Lord Chancellor (The Earl of Halsbury) 1167

Bill read a second time, and committed to a Committee of the whole House.

Lunacy Bill—[Lords], Second Reading—Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

The Earl of Halsbury 1167

Read a second time, and committed to a Committee of the whole House.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—CONTEMPLATED MILITARY MEASURES.

DISCUSSION :

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| <i>The Earl of Dunraven</i> ... | 1168 | <i>Earl Brownlow</i> ... | 1188 |
| <i>The Marquess of Lansdowne</i> | 1168 | <i>The Earl of Kimberley</i> ... | 1188 |
| <i>Lord Salloun</i> ... | 1183 | <i>Earl Nelson</i> ... | 1189 |
| <i>Lord Wantage</i> ... | 1183 | <i>The Marquess of Granby</i> ... | 1189 |
| <i>Viscount Gaiway</i> ... | 1184 | <i>Lord Tweedmouth</i> ... | 1190 |
| <i>Lord Blythswood</i> ... | 1185 | <i>The Earl of Wemyss</i> ... | 1191 |
| <i>The Earl of Dunraven</i> ... | 1186 | <i>The Marquess of Lansdowne</i> .. | 1192 |
| <i>Lord Monkswell</i> ... | 1186 | | |

The House adjourned at twenty-five minutes past Six of the clock.

COMMONS: MONDAY, 12TH FEBRUARY, 1900.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS—[Lords]. MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in respect of the Bills comprised in the List reported by the Chairman of Ways and Means as intended to originate in the House of Lords, they have certified that the Standing Orders have been complied with in the following cases, viz. :—
 Imschenetzky's (Uralite) Patent. Maryport Harbour. National Markets and Stores and Workshops. Walsall Corporation 1195

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| ABERDEEN CORPORATION TRAMWAYS —Petition for Bill ; referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders | 1195 |
| BLACKPOOL, ST. ANNE'S, AND LYTHAM TRAMWAYS —Petition for Bill ; referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders | 1195 |
| SOUTH EASTERN METROPOLITAN TRAMWAYS —Petition for Bill ; referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders | 1196 |
| Aberdeen Police and Improvement Bill —"To authorise the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of the City and Royal Burgh of Aberdeen to make certain bridge and street improvements, to confer upon them new powers with respect to police matters, streets, and buildings ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time | 1196 |
| Airdrie, Coatbridge and District Water Trust Bill —"To constitute and incorporate a water trust for the burghs of Coatbridge and Airdrie and the districts adjacent thereto in the county of Lanark to transfer to and vest in such trust the undertaking of the Airdrie and Coatbridge Water Company and for other purpose," read the first time ; to be read a second time | 1196 |
| Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Bill —"To confer further powers upon the Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Company," read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills | 1196 |
| Bedford Gas Bill —"To confer further powers on the Bedford Gas Light Company," read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills | 1196 |
| Belfast and County Down Railway Bill —"To authorise the Belfast and County Down Railway Company to construct a railway from Newcastle to join the railway of the Great Northern Railway Company (Ireland) at Ballyronney ; to run over and use a portion of the railway of that company ; to enter into working and other agreements with that company ; to confer further powers upon the company with reference to steam vessels, and further powers in connection with their undertaking ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills | 1196 |
| Bradford Corporation Bill —"To authorise the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of the city of Bradford, in the county of York, to construct additional tramways in and near the city ; to acquire lands for the protection of their water supply ; to purchase the undertakings of the Clayton, Allerton, and Thornton Gas Company, the North Bierly Gas Company, the Eccleshill and Bolton Gas Company, and the Airedale Gas Company ; to purchase gas from the Drighlington and Gildersome Gas Light Company ; to make further provision for the health and good government of the city ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time | 1197 |
| Bray and Enniskerry Railway Bill —"To empower the Bray and Enniskerry Railway Company to make certain extensions of their authorised railway, and to work same by electrical power ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills | 1197 |

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Brighton Corporation Bill—"To empower the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the county borough of Brighton to construct and work tramways; to erect generating stations; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time ... 1197

British Gas Light Company (Staffordshire Potteries) Bill—"For empowering the British Gas Light Company, Limited, to erect new works and to expend further capital at their Staffordshire Potteries Station," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills ... 1197

Brompton and Piccadilly Circus Railway Bill—"To extend the time for the compulsory purchase of lands and for the construction and completion of the Brompton and Piccadilly Circus Railway; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills ... 1197

Buckingham, Towcester, and Metropolitan Junction Railway Bill—"For incorporating the Buckingham, Towcester, and Metropolitan Junction Railway Company; and for empowering them to construct a railway from Verney Junction, in the county of Buckingham, to Towcester, in the county of Northampton; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time ... 1197

Charing Cross and Strand Electricity Supply Bill—"To empower the Charing Cross and Strand Electricity Supply Corporation, Limited, to construct a generating station in the parish of West Ham, and to lay mains connecting their generating stations, and to acquire lands, and to construct a short line of railway; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills ... 1198

Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Bill—"To extend the powers of the Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills ... 1198

Chelsea Water Bill—"To confer further powers upon the Governor and Company of Chelsea Waterworks; to declare valid the creation and issue by them of certain shares and stock and the payment of dividends thereon; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills ... 1198

Cheshire Lines Committee Bill—"To enable the Cheshire Lines Committee to make a new railway; to acquire additional lands; to stop up certain streets; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills ... 1198

City and South London Railway Bill—"To amend the City and South London Railway Act, 1893," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills ... 1198

City of London Electric Lighting Bill—"To empower the City of London Electric Lighting Company (Limited) to acquire lands and work generating stations; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills ... 1198

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| City of London (Various Powers) Bill —"To empower the Corporation of the City of London to acquire and maintain Finsbury Circus Gardens as an open space, and to acquire Spitalfields Market, with power to maintain or sell or lease the same ; to purchase lands for various purposes, and to adopt and apply the Baths and Washhouses Acts ; to establish a Crematorium at Ilford Cemetery ; to make further and better accommodation for the laying of pipes, wires, and other apparatus in, over, or under streets ; to confer further powers upon the Corporation with respect to the control of streets and structures across streets and the fixing of apparatus for public lighting in streets ; to make further provisions for the health and good government of the City and of the open spaces therein ; to enable persons elected to Corporate Offices in the City to retire therefrom ; to empower the Corporation to borrow money ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time | 1199 |
| Clontarf Urban District Council Bill —" To authorise the Clontarf Urban District Council to construct works for sewage and drainage purposes, to erect a sea wall, to acquire lands, to borrow moneys ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time | 1199 |
| Colonial Bank Bill —" To increase the limit of the note issue of the Colonial Bank ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills | 1199 |
| County of London and Brush Provincial Electric Lighting Bill —" To authorise the County of London and Brush Provincial Electric Lighting Company, Limited, to purchase lands and construct generating stations ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills | 1199 |
| Coventry Corporation Bill —"To empower the Corporation of Coventry to make certain street works, and to confer further powers on them in regard to streets, buildings, and sewers, and the health, local government, and improvement of the city ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time | 1199 |
| Croydon Tramways and Improvements Bill —" To authorise the Corporation of Croydon to construct additional tramways and to work the tramways in the borough ; to execute certain street improvements ; to make further provision for the government and for the preservation of the health of the inhabitants of the county borough of Croydon ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time | 1200 |
| Dublin Corporation Bill —"To extend the City of Dublin ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time | 1200 |
| Durham (County of) Electric Power Supply Bill —" For incorporating and conferring powers upon the County of Durham Electric Power Supply Company ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time | 1200 |
| East London Water Bill —" To authorise the East London Waterworks Company to construct additional storage reservoirs and other works ; to take further water from the river Thames in cases of exceptional drought and other emergency ; to raise further money ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills | 1200 |

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Exeter Corporation Bill—"To extend the city and county of the city of Exeter; to unite the parishes within the extended city into one parish; to authorise the reconstruction of the Exe Bridge and the construction of certain street works; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 1200

Farnworth Urban District Council Bill—"To empower the Urban District Council of Farnworth to construct additional tramways and to work tramways, and to make further provisions for the good government of the said district; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 1200

Gas, Light and Coke, Commercial Gas, and South Metropolitan Gas Companies Bill—"For making further provision as to testing the illuminating power of gas supplied by the Gas Light and Coke, the South Metropolitan Gas, and the Commercial Gas Companies in the Administrative County of London, and for regulating the supply by those companies of prepayment meters and fittings in connection therewith; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time... .. 1201

Gas Light and Coke Company Bill—"To enable the Gas Light and Coke Company to raise additional moneys and to purchase, take and hold lands; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 1201

Glastonbury and Street Gas Bill—"For incorporating and conferring powers on the Glastonbury Street and District Gas Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 1201

Glastonbury Corporation Gas Bill—"To empower the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Glastonbury to supply gas, and to provide for the transfer of the undertaking of the Glastonbury Gas and Coke Company, Limited, to the Corporation; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 1201

Grantham Gas Bill—"To confer further powers on the Grantham Gas Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 1201

Great Eastern Railway Bill—"To authorise the Great Eastern Railway Company to make further railways, widenings, and works; to confirm an agreement between the company and the Hertford County Council, and the Epping Rural District Council and other parties; and to authorise the company and the said County Council and District Council to construct roads in accordance therewith; to extend the time for the purchase of lands for and for the completion of part of an authorised railway; to confer further powers upon the company; to provide for the transfer to the company of the undertaking of the Northern and Eastern Railway Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 1201

Great Northern Railway Bill—"To confer further powers upon the Great Northern Railway Company," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 1202

Great Northern Railway (Ireland) Bill—"To confer further powers upon the Great Northern Railway Company (Ireland)," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills 1202

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| Great Western Railway Bill —"For conferring further powers upon the Great Western Railway Company in respect of their own undertaking, and upon that company and the London and North Western Railway Company in respect of undertakings in which they are jointly interested, and upon the Great Western and Great Central Railways Joint Committee in respect of their undertaking; for vesting the undertakings of the Staines and West Drayton and the Birmingham and Henley-in-Arden Railway Companies in the Great Western Railway Company; for transferring to that Company the powers of the Birmingham, North Warwickshire, and Stratford-upon-Avon, Railway Company, and extending the time for the construction of certain authorised railways of that company; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills | 1202 |
| Great Yarmouth Port and Haven Bill —"For enlarging the powers of the Commissioners of the Port and Haven of Great Yarmouth; and for other purposes," read for the first time; to be read a second time | 1202 |
| Halifax Corporation Bill —"To extend the boundaries of the county borough of Halifax and to empower the Corporation to construct additional tramways, street widenings, and improvements; to confer further powers with respect to their waterworks undertaking, and in regard to streets, buildings, and drains, and for the health, local government, and improvement of the borough; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time | 1203 |
| Hamilton Burgh Bill —"To amend the Hamilton Burgh Act, 1878, with regard to assessments and the common good of the burgh; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time | 1203 |
| Hartlepool Gas and Water Bill —"To consolidate and convert the capital of the Hartlepool Gas and Water Company, and to enable that company to raise additional moneys; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills | 1203 |
| Hastings Corporation Bill —"To confer further powers on the Corporation of the county borough of Hastings with respect to the improvement and good government of the borough, to amend and extend provisions of the local Acts; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time | 1203 |
| Hastings Harbour Bill —"To extend the periods limited for the purchase of lands for and for the completion of the harbour works, to enable the Commissioners to borrow further money; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time | 1203 |
| Hastings Tramways Bill —"To incorporate the Hastings Tramways Company, and to empower that Company to make and maintain tramways and other works in the county borough of Hastings; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time | 1203 |
| Hoylake and West Kirby Improvement Bill —"To confer powers upon the urban district council of Hoylake and West Kirby for the construction of a parade, new streets, pier, and other works, to authorise the inclosure of the Great Meols Commons; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time | 1204 |

Huddersfield Corporation Tramways Bill—"To enable the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Huddersfield to construct additional tramways in and adjacent to the borough; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time ... 1204

Huntingdon Corporation Bill—"To vest in the Corporation of the Borough of Huntingdon certain common lands and baulks and Freeman's rights of pasturage in certain Lammas Lands, to transfer certain rents and monies to the Corporation, to empower the Corporation to form public parks and recreation grounds; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time ... 1204

Ilfracombe Improvement Bill—"To authorise the Urban District Council of Ilfracombe, in the county of Devon, to construct additional water-works for the supply of their district and the parishes of Berrynarbor, Combe, Martin, and Morthoe, and to make further and better provision for the improvement, health, local government, and finance of the district; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time ... 1204

Jarrow and Hebburn Electricity Supply Bill—"To enable the Walker and Walsend Union Gas Company to supply electricity within the borough of Jarrow and Urban District of Hebburn, in the County of Durham; to raise additional capital; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills ... 1204

Kingscourt, Keady, and Armagh Railway Bill—"To incorporate the Kingscourt, Keady, and Armagh Railway Company, and to empower them to construct railways in the counties of Cavan, Monaghan, and Armagh; and for other purposes," read the first time; and to be read a second time ... 1204

Knott End Railway Bill—"To empower the Knott End Railway Company to construct an extension of their railway from Pilling to Galgate, and to provide for the acquisition by that company of the undertaking of the Garstang and Knott End Railway Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time ... 1205

Lambeth Water Bill—"To authorise the Company of Proprietors of Lambeth Waterworks to execute further works, to purchase additional lands, to take further water from the River Thames, and to raise further money; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills ... 1205

Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Bill—"For conferring further powers on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company with relation to their own undertaking, and upon that company and the London and North Western Railway Company with relation to the Preston and Wyre Railway; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills ... 1205

Lancashire, Derbyshire, and East Coast Railway Bill—"To confer further powers on the Lancashire, Derbyshire, and East Coast Railway Company," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills ... 1205

Lancashire Electric Power Bill—"For incorporating and conferring powers on the Lancashire Electric Power Company," read the first time; to be read a second time ... 1205

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| Lancaster Corporation Bill —"To empower the Corporation of Lancaster to acquire the undertaking of the Lancaster and District Tramways Company, Limited; to construct additional tramways; to widen streets, and make a footbridge over the River Lune; to deal with Lancaster Marsh; to commute portions of the Vicar of Lancaster's Tithe and Dues; to make further provisions for the good government of the borough; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time | 1205 |
| Latimer Road and Acton Railway Bill —"For the abandonment of the Latimer Road and Acton Railway," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills | 1206 |
| Lee Conservancy Bill —"To alter the constitution and amend and extend the statutory powers of the Lee Conservancy Board," read the first time; to be read a second time | 1206 |
| Liverpool Corporation Bill —"For authorising the Corporation of the City of Liverpool to execute certain street improvements; for making further provisions for the protection of the public health; for amending various local Acts in force within the city; for authorising the Corporation to raise money by the issue of bills; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time | 1206 |
| London and India Docks Joint Committee Bill —"To repeal exemptions from rates or charges of certain craft using the docks under the management of the London and India Docks Joint Committee and of goods discharged or received by such craft; and to empower the Joint Committee to levy rates or charges thereon," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills | 1206 |
| London and North Western Railway Bill —"For empowering the London and North Western Railway Company to construct additional dock works at Garston; and for conferring further powers upon that company in relation to their own undertaking, and upon that company and the Great Western Railway Company and the Great Central Railway Company in relation to their Joint Undertakings; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills | 1206 |
| London and North Western Railway (Wales) Bill —"For conferring further powers upon the London and North Western Railway Company for the construction of works and acquisition of lands in Wales; and for other purposes; read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills | 1207 |
| London and Saint Katharine Docks and East and West India Dock Companies Bill —"For the amalgamation of the undertakings of the London and St. Katharine Docks Company and the East and West India Dock Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills | 1207 |
| London and South Western Railway Bill —"To confer further powers upon the London and South Western Railway Company, and to authorise them to execute further works, to acquire additional lands, and to raise further money; and to vary in certain respects the provisions of The South Western Railway Act, 1899; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills | 1207 |
| London County Council (Compulsory Purchase of Land) Bill —"To confer on the London County Council certain general powers for taking houses, buildings, and lands for purposes of street improvements," read the first time; to be read a second time | 1207 |

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| London County Council (General Powers) Bill —"To enable the London County Council to purchase lands for various purposes; to provide for contributions by the Council and certain Vestries and District Boards of Works towards the acquisition of land for open spaces; to extend the time limited for the purchase of certain lands by the Council; to confer powers on the Vestry of Saint Mary, Battersea, as to the 'Latchmere Allotments' and lands for an electric station; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time | 1207 |
| London County Council (Improvements) Bill —"To empower the London County Council to make an extension of the Thames Embankment and a new street and improvements at Westminster; to widen Mare Street, Hackney; and to make other street improvements and works in the administrative County of London; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time | 1208 |
| London County Council (Spitalfields Market) Bill —"To empower the London County Council to acquire Spitalfields Market, in the parish of Christchurch, Spitalfields; and to make various provisions with reference thereto," read the first time; to be read a second time | 1208 |
| London, Walthamstow, and Epping Forest Railway Bill —"To authorise the London, Walthamstow, and Epping Forest Railway Company to construct a portion of their authorised railway in tunnel instead of in cutting; to extend the time for the compulsory purchase of lands and for the construction and completion of their authorised railway; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills | 1208 |
| London Water (Purchase) Bill —"To empower the London County Council to acquire the undertakings of the London Water Companies; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time | 1208 |
| London Water (Welsh Supply) Bill —"To authorise the construction of reservoirs and works in Wales, and the construction of aqueducts and works for the supply of water to London and neighbourhood; and for other purposee; read the first time; to be read a second time | 1208 |
| Lowestoft Railway Bill —"For incorporating the Lowestoft Railway Company and authorising them to construct railways in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time | 1208 |
| Maidenhead Gas Bill —"To amend the Maidenhead Gas Act, 1876, and to confer further powers upon the Maidenhead Gas Company," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills | 1209 |
| Manchester and Liverpool Electric Express Railway Bill —"For incorporating and conferring powers upon the Manchester and Liverpool Electric Express Railway Company," read the first time; to be read a second time | 1209 |
| Market Weighton Drainage and Navigation Bill —"For incorporating and making better provisions for the meetings and proceedings of the Trustees of the Market Weighton Drainage and Canal in the east riding of the county of York: for better defining the lands subject to taxation by the said trustees, and making other provisions relative thereto; for relieving the said trustees from their obligations to maintain the said canal; for conferring further powers on the said trustees; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time | 1209 |

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- Metropolitan District Railway Bill**—"For empowering the Metropolitan District Railway Company to erect a station for generating electrical energy and thereby work certain railways to acquire lands to extend the time for the completion of certain railways and compulsory purchase of lands to make certain provisions with respect to the Ealing and South Harrow and Brompton and Piccadilly Railways; to raise further capital; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills ... 1209
- Metropolitan Water Companies Bill**—"To confer further powers upon the Local Government Board, and to impose further obligations upon the Metropolitan Water Companies with a view to providing for the future needs of the Metropolis in regard to the supply of water," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills... 1209
- Mid-Kent Water Bill**—"For extending the limits of supply of the Mid-Kent Water Company; and for conferring further powers on the company for the construction of works, the raising of capital, and otherwise in relation to their undertaking," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills ... 1209
- Midland Railway Bill**—"To confer additional powers upon the Midland Railway Company and upon the Midland and North Eastern Railway Companies Committee and upon the Midland and Great Northern Railways Joint Committee for the construction of works and the acquisition of lands; to empower the Midland Railway Company to subscribe towards the undertaking of the Yorkshire Dales Railway Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills ... 1210
- Morecambe Urban District Council (Gas) Bill**—"To provide for the transfer of the undertaking of the Morecambe Gas and Light Company to the Morecambe Urban District Council, and to confer further powers on the said Council with respect to the supply of gas; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time ... 1210
- Newcastle-upon-Tyne Electric Supply Bill**—"To confer further powers upon the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Electric Supply Company, Limited, for the construction of works, and the supply of electrical energy; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills ... 1210
- North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply Bill**—"For incorporating and conferring powers upon the North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time ... 1210
- North Metropolitan Railway and Canal Company Bill**—"To consolidate the debenture stocks of the North Metropolitan Railway and Canal Company; to amend in certain respects the Acts relating to the company; to change the name of the company; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills ... 1210
- North Warwickshire Water Bill**—"To enable the North Warwickshire Water Company to extend their limits of supply; to construct additional water-works; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills ... 1211

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| Nottingham Corporation Bill —"To empower the Corporation of Nottingham to make certain street improvements ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time | 1211 |
| Oldham Corporation Bill —"To empower the Corporation of Oldham to extend and improve their existing Market Hall ; to confer further powers upon the Corporation with regard to sanitary and other matters, and to make better provision for the health, local government, and improvement of the borough ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time | 1211 |
| Ossett Corporation Gas Bill —"To authorise the sale of the undertaking of the Ossett Gas Company to the Corporation of Ossett ; and to empower the Corporation to supply gas within the borough of Ossett and places adjacent thereto," read the first time ; to be read a second time | 1211 |
| Ossett Gas Bill —"To extend the powers of and amend the Act relating to the Ossett Gas Company ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills | 1211 |
| Pontefract Park Bill —"For regulating the rating of Pontefract Park, in the west riding of the county of York, in respect of poor rates ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time | 1211 |
| Reading Corporation (Tramways) Bill —"To confer powers upon the Corporation of the borough of Reading with respect to the construction and working of tramways in the borough ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time | 1211 |
| Redhill Gas Bill —"To confer further powers upon the Redhill Gas Company ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills | 1212 |
| Rickmansworth and Uxbridge Valley Water Bill —"For extending the limits of supply of and conferring further powers upon the Rickmansworth and Uxbridge Valley Water Company ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills | 1212 |
| Rugeley Gas Bill —"For incorporating and conferring powers upon the Rugeley Gas Company ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills | 1212 |
| St. Albans Water Bill —"To authorise the St. Albans Waterworks Company to acquire further lands, and to raise further moneys, and to extend their limits of supply ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills | 1212 |
| St. David's Railway (Additional Powers) Bill —"To authorise the construction of railways in the county of Pembroke ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills | 1212 |
| Scarborough Corporation Bill —"To empower the Corporation of Scarborough to make an approach road to the New Marine Drive, to alter the line of the sea wall of the said drive, to widen and improve the Ramsden Valley Bridge, and to construct a street Tramway, to make further and better provision for the improvement, health, and good government of the borough of Scarborough, to alter the constitution of the Scarborough Harbour Commissioners ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time | 1212 |

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| South Lancashire Tramways Bill —"To incorporate the South Lancashire Tramways Company ; and to empower that Company to make tramways and street improvements ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time | 1212 |
| South Metropolitan Gas Bill —" To empower the South Metropolitan Gas Company to alter the provisions as to the standard price and the illuminating power of the gas supplied by the company ; to construct a railway in the parish of Greenwich ; and to purchase by agreement so much of the southern portion of the undertaking of the Gas Light and Coke Company as is situate in the county of London south of the Thames ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills | 1213 |
| Southport Corporation Bill —" To enable the Mayor, Alderman, and Burgesses of the Borough of Southport to carry out street improvements and other works ; and to make further provisions for the improvement and good government of the said borough ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time | 1213. |
| Southport Extension and Tramways Bill —"To extend the boundaries of the borough of Southport, to authorise the construction of tramways, and to confer further powers on the Corporation with respect to the supply of gas and electricity ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time | 1213 |
| Southport Water Bill —" For the granting of further powers to the Southport Waterworks Company," read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills | 1213: |
| South Wales Electrical Power Distribution Bill —" For incorporating and conferring powers on the South Wales Electrical Power Distribution Company," read the first time ; to be read a second time | 1213. |
| Spalding Urban District Council (Water) Bill —" To authorise the Urban District Council of Spalding to purchase the undertaking of the Spalding Waterworks Company ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time | 1213: |
| Stockport Corporation Tramways Bill —"To empower the Mayor, Alderman, and Burgesses of the county borough of Stockport to construct tramways in the borough ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time | 1214. |
| Taunton Corporation Bill —" To make provision in regard to the water undertaking of the Corporation of the borough of Taunton, and to the health, local government, improvement, and finance of the said borough, to empower the said Corporation and the Trustees of the Markets of the borough to erect a town hall, and to make further provision in regard to the said markets, and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time | 1214. |
| Tottenham Urban District Council Bill —" To provide for vesting in the Urban District Council of Tottenham, in the County of Middlesex, the Lammas Lands in the district ; to confer various powers with respect to Commons, open spaces, and recreation grounds, the supply of electricity, streets, buildings, and other matters of local government ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time | 1214 |

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| Tyneside Electric Power Bill —"For incorporation and conferring powers on the Tyneside Electric Power Company," read the first time; to be read a second time | 1214 |
| Vale of Rheidol Light Railway Bill —"To extend the period for the purchase of land and for the construction of the authorised Railway, and to work the traffic thereon by electrical or other motive power; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills | 1214 |
| Wakefield Corporation Market Bill —"To empower the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of the city of Wakefield to purchase the undertaking of the Wakefield Borough Market Company, and to make further provision in regard to the markets and slaughter houses of the said city; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time | 1214 |
| Wandsworth and Putney Gas Bill —"To convert the capital of the Wandsworth and Putney Gaslight and Coke Company; to raise additional capital; to construct works; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills | 1215 |
| West Bromwich Corporation Bill —"To confer powers upon the Corporation of the county borough of West Bromwich with respect to Tramways and to their electric lighting and other undertakings; to make further provision for the improvement and good government of the borough; to amend and extend the provisions of the local Acts relating to the borough; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time | 1215 |
| West Ham Corporation Bill —"To confer further powers upon the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the county borough of West Ham; and to make further provision for the good government of that borough; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time | 1215 |
| Wetherby District Water Bill —"To enable the Wetherby District Water Company to extend their limits of supply; construct additional water-works; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills | 1215 |
| Widnes and Runcorn Bridge Bill —"To authorise the construction of a bridge across the River Mersey and Manchester Ship Canal between Widnes and Runcorn, and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time | 1215 |
| Wolverhampton, Essington, and Cannock Chase Junction Railway Bill —"For making a railway in the county of Staffordshire from Wolverhampton to Essington and Cannock Chase; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time | 1215 |
| Wolverhampton Gas Bill —"For conferring further powers on the Wolverhampton Gas Company," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills | 1215 |
| Woodbridge District Water Bill —"For incorporating the Woodbridge District Water Company and empowering them to construct works and supply water; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time | 1216 |
| ROCHDALE CORPORATION —Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Royds, Mr. Kenyon, and Mr. Platt-Higgins | 1216 |

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Manchester City Railway Bill—order [9th February] that the Manchester City Railway Bill be brought in, read, and discharged.
 Ordered, that the Petition for the Bill be withdrawn.—(*Dr. Farquharson*) 1216

PRIVATE BILL PETITIONS (STANDING ORDERS NOT COMPLIED WITH)—Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Reports from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That in the case of the Petitions for the following Bills, the Standing Orders have not been complied with, viz. :—
 Aberdeen Corporation Tramways Bill; Blackpool, St. Anne's, and Lytham Tramways Bill; South Eastern Metropolitan Tramways Bill; Ordered, That the Reports be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders 1216

PETITIONS.

INEBRIATES ACTS, 1879 AND 1899—Petition from Manchester and Salford, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table 1216

LOCAL AUTHORITIES' SERVANTS' SUPERANNUATION—Petitions for alteration of Law, from Crick; St. Saviour's, London; and Merthyr Tydfil; to lie upon the Table 1216

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday Bill—Petitions in favour, from Dulwich; and Peckham; to lie upon the Table 1216

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors to Children Bill—Petitions in favour, from Manchester; and Eccles; to lie upon the Table 1217

Town Councils (Scotland) Bill—Petitions in favour, from Hawick; Forfar; and Newton Stewart; to lie upon the Table 1217

RETURNS, REPORTS, &c.

CHELSEA HOSPITAL—Account presented,—for the year ended 31st March, 1899, with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 42] 1217

CIVIL SERVICES (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1899-1900)—Estimate presented,—of the Further Sums required to be voted for the Service of the year ending 31st March, 1900 [by Command]; Referred to the Committee of Supply, and to be printed. [No. 43] 1217

NATIONAL GALLERY (REPORT)—Copy ordered, "of Report of the Director of the National Gallery for the year 1899, with Appendices."—(*Mr. Hanbury.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 44] 1217

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE (IRELAND)—Copy ordered, "of Accounts of Receipts and Payments of the Accountant General of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland in respect of the funds of Suitors in the said Court, including therein funds to the credit of Lunacy Accounts, in the year to the 30th day of September 1899; together with a Statement of the Liabilities and Assets, and Particulars of Securities in Court on the 30th day of September, 1899."—(*Mr. Hanbury.*)

Copy presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 45] 1217

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| NATIONAL TELEPHONE COMPANY—Copy ordered, “of Deeds Poll, dated 7th day of February, 1898, and 15th day February, 1899, executed by Her Majesty’s Postmaster General, specifying exchange areas of the National Telephone Company (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 128, of Session 1898.”—(<i>Mr. Hanbury.</i>) | |
| Copy presented accordingly ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 46] | 1217 |
| EDUCATION AND SCIENCE AND ART DEPARTMENTS—Return ordered, “of the Minutes of Lord President of the Council relating to the re-organisation of the Education and Science and Art Departments.”—(<i>Colonel Wyndham Murray</i>) | 1218 |
| NEW WRIT—For Plymouth, in the room of Sir Edward Clarke, knight (Manor of Northstead).—(<i>Sir William Walrond</i>) | 1218 |

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| SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—GENERAL BUTLER—CONDUCT OF THE WAR—Question Mr. Bryn Roberts (Carnarvonshire, Eifion ; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester E.) | 1218 |
| PRISONERS OF WAR—Question, Mr. Dillon (Mayo E.) ; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour | 1219 |
| ARTILLERY STRENGTH—Question, Sir Charles Dilke (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) ; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour | 1219 |
| MAGERSFONTEIN ENGAGEMENT—CONDUCT OF HIGHLAND BRIGADE—Question, Mr. Hedderwick (Wick Burghs) ; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour | 1219 |
| OLD AGE PENSIONS—RELIEF OF SUFFERERS BY THE WAR—Question, Sir John Colomb (Gt. Yarmouth) ; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour | 1220 |
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| THE WALLACE COLLECTION — Question, Mr. Bartley (Islington N.) ; Answer, The Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Hanbury, Preston) ... | 1240 |
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| TOBACCO GROWING IN IRELAND—Question, Mr. William Redmond ; Answer, The Vice President of the Agriculture Department for Ireland (Mr. Plunkett, Dublin Co. S.) | 1245 |
| CONGESTED DISTRICTS IN IRELAND—Question, Mr. William Redmond ; Answer, Mr. Plunket | 1246 |
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| SCOTLAND—SCHOOL BOARD FRANCHISE —Question, Mr. Weir ; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour | 1247 |
| MARINE INSURANCE BILL—Question, Mr. Warr (Liverpool, East Toxteth) ; Answer, Mr. A. J. Balfour | 1248 |
| NEW MEMBER SWORN—George Denison Faber, Esq., for the Borough of York | 1249 |

PUBLIC BUSINESS.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (FINANCIAL BUSINESS)—

Motion made, and Question proposed—

“That, until the end of the financial year, Financial Business do have precedence on Tuesday whenever set down by the Government, and that the provisions of Standing Order 56 be extended to that day.”—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

DISCUSSION :—

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| <i>Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman</i> (<i>Stirling Burghs</i>) | 1249 | <i>Mr. James Lowther (Kent, Thanet)</i> | 1251 |
| <i>Mr. D. A. Thomas (Merthyr</i> <i>Tydfil)</i> | 1250 | <i>Mr. Flynn (Cork N.)</i> | 1251 |
| <i>Mr. Swift MacNeill (Don-</i> <i>egal S.)</i> | 1250 | <i>Mr. John Redmond (Waterford)</i> | 1252 |
| | | <i>Mr. Bryn Roberts (Carnarvonshire,</i> <i>Eifion)</i> | 1252 |

The House divided :—Ayes, 294 ; Noes, 40. (Division List No. 11.)

Ordered, That, until the end of the financial year, financial business do have precedence on Tuesday whenever set down by the Government, and that the provisions of Standing Order 56 be extended to that day.

NEW BILLS.

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| RAILWAYS (PREVENTION OF ACCIDENTS)—The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Ritchie, Croydon) | 1255 |
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Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Ritchie and Mr. Solicitor General.

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| Railways (Prevention of Accidents) Bill —"For the better prevention of accidents on railways," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Thursday, and to be printed. [Bill 78.] | 1257 |
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| COMPANIES ACTS AMENDMENT—Mr. Ritchie | 1257 |
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| Mr. Swift MacNeill (Donegal, S.) | 1257 |
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Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Attorney General, and Mr. Solicitor General.

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| Companies Bill —"To amend the Companies Acts," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Thursday, and to be printed. [Bill 79.] | 1257 |
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SUPPLY—Considered in Committee.

[Mr. J. W. Lowther (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

Army (Supplementary) Estimates (1899-1900).

NUMBER OF LAND FORCES.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a further number of Land Forces, not exceeding 120,000, all ranks, be maintained for the Service of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland at Home and Abroad, during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1900."—(Mr. Wynndham.)

DISCUSSION :—

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| <i>Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman</i> (Stirling Burghs) ... | 1277 | <i>Mr. Courtney Warner</i> (Staffordshire, Lichfield) ... | 1303 |
| <i>Sir Charles Dilke</i> (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean) ... | 1282 | <i>Col. Lockwood</i> (Essex, Epping) ... | 1305 |
| <i>Mr. Gibson Bowles</i> (Lynn Regis) ... | 1289 | <i>Col. Pilkington</i> (Lancashire, Newton) ... | 1306 |
| <i>Mr. Channing</i> (Northamptonshire E.) ... | 1291 | <i>Mr. C. G. Murray</i> (Coventry) ... | 1308 |
| <i>Mr. Buldolph</i> (Herefordshire, Ross) ... | 1293 | <i>Mr. Maddison</i> (Sheffield, Brightside) ... | 1308 |
| <i>Capt. Norton</i> (Newington W.) | 1293 | <i>Sir John Colomb</i> (Gt. Yarmouth) ... | 1312 |
| <i>Sir J. Fergusson</i> (Manchester N.E.) ... | 1295 | <i>Mr. Buchanan</i> (Aberdeenshire E.) ... | 1316 |
| <i>Sir Walter Foster</i> (Derbyshire, Ilkeston) ... | 1299 | <i>Col. Sandys</i> (Lancashire, Booth) ... | 1319 |
| <i>Sir A. Acland-Hood</i> (Somersetshire, Wellington) ... | 1301 | <i>Mr. William Allan</i> (Gateshead) ... | 1323 |
| | | <i>Major Rasch</i> (Essex S.E.) ... | 1324 |
| | | <i>Mr. Labouchere</i> (Northampton) ... | 1326 |
| | | <i>Mr. Arnold-Forster</i> (Belfast W.) ... | 1329 |
| | | <i>The Under Secretary of State for War</i> (Mr. Wynndham, Dover) ... | 1344 |

The hon. Member was still speaking at midnight when, it being midnight, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again to-morrow.

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EDUCATION AND SCIENCE AND ART DEPARTMENTS—Report presented,—relative thereto [ordered 12th February; *Colonel Wyndham Murray*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 47.] ... 1351

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—Questions, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman and Mr. Caldwell (Lanarkshire Mid); Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. A. J. Balfour, Manchester E.) ... 1351

House adjourned at five minutes after Twelve of the clock.

NOMINATION OF TEMPORARY CHAIRMEN OF COMMITTEES ... 1352

LORDS: TUESDAY, 13TH FEBRUARY, 1900.

EARL OF MEXBOROUGH AND VISCOUNT CLIFDEN—Ordered and Directed, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, That Certificates be sent by the Clerk of the Parliaments to the Clerk of the Crown in Ireland, stating that the Lord Chancellor of the United Kingdom has reported to the House of Lords that the right of the Earl of Mexborough and the Viscount Clifden to vote at the elections of Representative Peers for Ireland has been established to the satisfaction of him the said Lord Chancellor; and that the House of Lords has ordered such reports to be sent to the said Clerk of the Crown in Ireland: And it is hereby also Ordered, That the said Reports of the said Lord Chancellor be sent to the Clerk of the Crown in Ireland ... 1353

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with—Cork Electric Tramways (Blackrock Extension); And the Certificate that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have not been complied with—Barnsley Corporation; the same was ordered to lie on the Table.

Bristol Water Bill [H.L.]; **Caledonian Railway Bill** [H.L.]; **Dearne Valley Railway Bill** [H.L.]; **Imschenetzky's Uralite Patent Bill** [H.L.]; **Milford Docks Bill** [H.L.]; **South Essex Water Board Bill** [H.L.]; **Whitechapel and Bow Railway Bill** [H.L.]—Presented; read first time; and referred to the Examiners ... 1353

Glyncorrwg Urban District Council Gas Bill [H.L.]; **Gwyrfa Rural District Council Water Bill** [H.L.]; **Purfleet and Gravesend Junction Railway Bill** [H.L.]; **Walsall Corporation Bill** [H.L.]; **Workington Railways and Docks Bill** [H.L.]—Presented; and read first time. ... 1354

RETURNS, REPORTS, &c.

TREATY SERIES, No. 4—Declaration between the United Kingdom and the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg respecting the reciprocal protection of trade marks; signed at Luxemburg 25th January, 1900. Presented [by Command], and ordered to lie on the Table ... 1354

FOOT AND MOUTH DISEASE.

Lord Burghclere ... 1354

The Lord President of the Council (The Duke of Devonshire) ... 1355

House adjourned at twenty minutes before Five of the clock.

COMMONS: TUESDAY, 13TH FEBRUARY, 1900.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

Private Bills [H.L.]—Mr. Speaker laid upon the Table, Report from the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, that in respect of the Bills comprised in the List reported by the Chairman of Ways and Means as intended to originate in the House of Lords, they have certified that the Standing Orders have been complied with in the following case, viz.:—Cork Electric Tramways; and that they certified that the Standing Orders have not been complied with in the following case, viz.:—Barnsley Corporation 1356

PRIVATE BILL PETITIONS [H.L.] (STANDING ORDERS NOT COMPLIED WITH)—Mr. Speaker laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, that in the case of the Petition for the following Bill, originating in the Lords, the Standing Orders have not been complied with, viz.:—Barnsley Corporation Bill [H.L.]. Ordered, That the Report be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders 1356

Rochdale Corporation Bill—"To enable the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the borough of Rochdale to re-construct the existing Tramways in the said borough when required by them, and to construct additional Tramways in and adjacent to the borough; and to make further provisions for the good government of the borough; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time 1356

SOUTHPORT AND LYTHAM TRAMROAD—Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Seton-Karr, Mr. Gilliat, and Sir Joseph Leese ... 1357

PETITIONS.

GOVERNMENT PROPERTY (EXEMPTION FROM RATES)—Petitions from Stepney, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table 1357

NATIONAL OLD AGE PENSIONS—Petition from Tipton, in favour; to lie upon the Table 1357

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday Bill—Petition from Melton Mowbray, in favour; to lie upon the Table 1357

Town Councils (Scotland) Bill—Petitions in favour, from Stornoway; Pittenweem; and Wigtown; to lie upon the Table 1357

VACCINATION ACTS 1867 TO 1898—Petition from Northwich, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table 1357

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TREATY SERIES (No. 4, 1900)—Copy presented,—of Declaration between the United Kingdom and the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg respecting the Reciprocal Protection of Trade Marks. Signed at Luxemburg, 25th January, 1900 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table 1357

AMERICAN MAILS—Return ordered, "Showing the number of days, hours, and minutes occupied in the transit of Her Majesty's Mails, both outward and inward, carried during the year 1899 by steamships between Queens-town and New York, and also between Southampton and New York, the Return to specify the names of the steamers, and to indicate by asterisks or otherwise those not carrying the mails under contract."—(*Sir John Leng.*) 1357

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| PRISONERS AT MAFEKING—Question, Mr. Patrick O'Brien (Kilkenny); Answer, Mr. Wyndham | 1358 |
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| SPION KOP—Question, Capt. Norton (Newington, W.); Answer, Mr. Wyndham | 1359 |
| SEPARATION ALLOWANCES—Questions, Mr. Hammond (Carlow) and Mr. Flavin (Kerry, N.); Answers, The Financial Secretary to the War Office (Mr. J. Powell-Williams, Birmingham, S.) | 1360 |
| COMMEMORATION IN SCHOOLS OF DEEDS OF HEROISM—Question, Mr. Yerburgh (Chester); Answer, The Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education (Sir J. Gorst, Cambridge University) | 1360 |
| GERMAN POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA—Question, Mr. Hedderwick (Wick Burghs); Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Brodrick, Surrey, Guildford)... .. | 1360 |
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| SCOTCH WHISKEY SAMPLES—Question, Mr. John Wilson (Lanarkshire, Govan); Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. A. Graham Murray, Buteshire) | 1369 |
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| UNCLAIMED WAGES OF DECEASED SEAMEN—Question, Sir J. Leng (Dundee); Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Ritchie, Croydon) ... | 1371 |
| POSTAGE RATES TO SOUTHERN ITALY—Question, Mr. Hogan; Answer, The Financial Secretary to the Treasurer (Mr. Hanbury, Preston) | 1372 |
| CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, Mr. Hanbury | 1373 |
| ADULTERATION OF IRISH WHISKY IN BOND—Questions, Mr. William Johnston (Belfast, S.), Mr. Patrick O'Brien, and Mr. Samuel Young (Cavan, E.); Answers, Mr. Hanbury | 1373 |
| AUSTRALIAN MINTS—Question, Mr. Hogan; Answer, Mr. Hanbury | 1374 |
| IRISH RURAL DISTRICT COUNCILS—Question, Mr. Engledew (Kildare, N.); Answer, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Atkinson, Londonderry, N.) | 1374 |

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| IRISH JUDICIAL APPOINTMENTS—RELIGIOUS DISABILITIES—Question, Mr. Daly; Answer, Mr. Atkinson | 1375 |
| IRISH COUNTY COURT PRINTING—Question, Mr. Engledew (Kildare, N.); Answer, Mr. Atkinson | 1376 |
| IRISH LUNATIC ASYLUM RATE IN AID—Question, Mr. Power (Waterford, E.); Answer, Mr. Atkinson | 1376 |
| GRANARD (CO. LONGFORD) ESTATE—Question, Mr. J. P. Farrell; Answer, Mr. Atkinson | 1377 |
| GUN LICENSES IN ROSCOMMON—Question, Mr. Hayden (Roscommon, S.); Answer, Mr. Atkinson | 1377 |
| EXTRA POLICE AT TALLOW—Questions, Mr. Shee (Waterford, W.), Mr. Flynn, Mr. Swift MacNeill; Answers, Mr. Atkinson | 1378 |
| IRISH NATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS—Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor (Donegal, E.); Answer, The Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture for Ireland (Mr. Plunkett, Dublin Co., S.) | 1379 |
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PUBLIC BUSINESS.

NEW BILLS.

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| FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACT (1878) AMENDMENT—Bill to amend the Factory and Workshop Act, 1878, so that the period of employment on a Saturday shall cease at twelve o'clock at noon instead of one o'clock, as at present, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Harwood and Mr. Kenyon ... | 1379 |
| Factory and Workshop Act (1878) Amendment Bill —"To amend the Factory and Workshop Act, 1878, so that the period of employment on a Saturday shall cease at twelve o'clock at noon instead of one o'clock, as at present," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 4th April, and to be printed. [Bill 80.] | 1380 |
| ANCIENT MONUMENTS PROTECTION—Bill to amend the Ancient Monuments Protection Acts, ordered to be brought in by Lord Balcarras, Sir John Brunner, Mr. Carson, Mr. Jebb, Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, and Mr. Bryce | 1380 |
| Ancient Monuments Protection Bill —"To amend the Ancient Monuments Protection Acts," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Tuesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 81.] | |
| HIGHWAYS AND BRIDGES ACT (1891) AMENDMENT—Bill to amend the provisions of the Highways and Bridges Act, 1891, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Jeffreys, Sir John Dorington, Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice, Mr. Hobbouse, Mr. Beaumont, Mr. Grant Lawson, Mr. Mount, and Mr. Humphreys-Owen. | |

February 13.]

Page

Highways and Bridges Act (1891) Amendment Bill—"To amend the provisions of the Highways and Bridges Act, 1891," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 28th February, and to be printed. [Bill 82.]

FIRST READINGS—THE TEN MINUTE RULE—POINT OF PROCEDURE.

Mr. Swift MacNeill ... 1380 *Mr. D. A. Thomas* ... 1382

SUPPLY.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

ARMY (SUPPLEMENTARY) ESTIMATES, 1899-1900—NUMBER OF LAND FORCES—Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a further number of Land Forces, not exceeding 120,000, all ranks, be maintained for the Service of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland at Home and Abroad, during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1900."—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

DISCUSSION :—

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>Col. Brookfield (Sussex, Rye)</i> ... 1382 | <i>Sir E. T. Gourley (Sunderland)</i> ... 1429 |
| <i>Mr. Edmund Robertson (Dundee)</i> ... 1388 | <i>Col. Blundell (Lancashire, Ince)</i> ... 1431 |
| <i>The Under Secretary of State for War (Mr. Wyndham, Dover)</i> ... 1394 | <i>Mr. Flynn (Cork, N.)</i> ... 1432 |
| <i>Admiral Field (Sussex, Eastbourne)</i> ... 1400 | <i>Col. Williams (Dorset, W.)</i> ... 1433 |
| <i>Mr. F. W. Wilson (Norfolk, Mid)</i> ... 1402 | <i>Sir Albert Rollit (Islington, S.)</i> ... 1436 |
| <i>Sir Herbert Maxwell (Wigtonshire)</i> ... 1403 | <i>Mr. Tully (Leitrim S.)</i> ... 1440 |
| <i>Col. Kenyon Slaney (Shropshire, Newport)</i> ... 1407 | <i>Lord Willoughby de Eresby (Lincs, Horncastle)</i> ... 1444 |
| <i>Capt. Sinclair (Forfarshire)</i> 1411 | <i>Col. Milward (Warwickshire, Stratford-on-Avon)</i> ... 1448 |
| <i>Mr. Lees Knowles (Salford, W.)</i> ... 1414 | <i>Dr. Farquharson (Aberdeenshire, W.)</i> ... 1451 |
| <i>Col. Welby (Taunton)</i> ... 1417 | <i>Mr. William Johnston (Belfast, S.)</i> ... 1434 |
| <i>Mr. Seton-Karr (St. Helen's)</i> 1421 | <i>General Russell (Cheltenham)</i> ... 1455 |
| <i>Mr. Lough (Islington, W.)</i> ... 1423 | <i>Capt. Jessel (St. Pancras, S.)</i> ... 1456 |
| <i>Capt. Pretymman (Suffolk, Woodbridge)</i> ... 1426 | <i>Mr. Abel Smith (Christchurch)</i> ... 1437 |
| | <i>Mr. Daly (Monaghan, S.)</i> ... 1458 |
| | <i>Mr. Hedderwick (Wick Burghs)</i> ... 1459 |
| | <i>Mr. Gray (West Ham, N.)</i> ... 1461 |
| | <i>Mr. Bryn Roberts (Carmarvonshire, Eifion)</i> ... 1463 |

Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do report Progress; and ask leave to sit again"—(*Mr. William Redmond*)—put and agreed to.

Committee report Progress; to sit again to-morrow.

Out-Door Relief (Friendly Societies) (No. 2) Bill—[SECOND READING]—Order for Second Reading read.

It being midnight, the debate stood adjourned. Debate to be resumed upon Tuesday, 27th February.

Adjourned at one minute after Twelve of the clock.

February 14.]

Page

COMMONS: WEDNESDAY, 14TH FEBRUARY, 1900.

PETITIONS.

Mines (Eight Hours) Bill—Petitions in favour, from Ormiston ; Oxenford ; Tranent ; Elphinstone ; Penston ; and Prestongrange ; to lie upon the Table ... 1465

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday Bill—Petitions in favour, from Horsham ; and Manningtree ; to lie upon the Table ... 1465

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors to Children Bill—Two Petitions from Manchester, in favour ; to lie upon the Table ... 1465

RETURNS, REPORTS, &c.

CIVIL SERVICES (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE, 1899-1900—Estimate presented, of the further amount required in the year ending 31st March, 1900, for sundry Colonial Services [by Command] ; Referred to the Committee of Supply, and to be printed. [No 48] ... 1465

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES)—Copy presented,—of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, No 2379 [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table ... 1465

INQUIRY INTO CHARITIES (ADMINISTRATIVE COUNTY OF DURHAM)—Return ordered, “comprising (1) the Reports made to the Charity Commissioners, in the result of an inquiry held in every parish wholly or partly within the administrative county of Durham into Endowments, subject to the provisions of the Charitable Trusts Acts, 1853 to 1894, and appropriated in whole or in part for the benefit of that county, or of any part thereof, together with the Reports on those Endowments of the Commissioners for inquiring concerning Charities, 1818 to 1837 ; (2) a digest, showing in the case of each such parish whether any, and, if any, what such Endowments are recorded in the books of the Charity Commissioners in the parish ; and (3) an index, alphabetically arranged, of names and places mentioned in the Reports.”—(*Mr. Grant Lawson*.) ... 1466

INQUIRY INTO CHARITIES (COUNTY OF MONTGOMERY)—Return ordered, “comprising (1) the report made to the Charity Commissioners in the result of an inquiry held in every parish wholly or partly within the county of Montgomery into Endowments subject to the provisions of the Charitable Trusts Acts, 1853 to 1894, and appropriated in whole or in part for the benefit of that county, or of any part thereof, together with the Reports on those Endowments of the Commissioners for inquiring concerning Charities, 1818 to 1837 ; (2) a digest showing, in the case of each such parish, whether any, and, if any, what such endowments are recorded in the books of the Charity Commissioners in the parish ; and (3) an Index, alphabetically arranged, of names and places mentioned in the Reports.”—(*Mr. Grant Lawson*) ... 1466

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1884—Ordered, That the Order of the 18th day of October, 1899, that the Treasury Minute under the Superannuation Act, 1884, relating to Mary Byrne, Postmistress, Beaumaris, do lie upon the Table, be read and discharged.

Ordered, That the said Treasury Minute be withdrawn—(*Mr. Hanbury*) 1466

February 14.]

Page

Local Government (Ireland) Act (1898) Amendment Bill—[SECOND READING]. Order for Second Reading read. Motion made and Question proposed—"That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Tully.*)

DISCUSSION :—

| | | | |
|---|------|---------------------------------------|------|
| <i>Mr. Daly (Monaghan, S.)</i> ... | 1483 | <i>Mr. Jordan (Fermanagh, S.)</i> ... | 1490 |
| <i>Mr. Archdale (Fermanagh, N.)</i> ... | 1488 | | |

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out the word 'now,' and at the end of the Question to add the words 'upon this day six months.'"—(*Mr. Grant Lawson.*)

Question proposed—

"That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

DISCUSSION :—

| | | | |
|--|------|---|------|
| <i>Mr. Herbert Robertson (Hackney, S.)</i> ... | 1499 | <i>The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Atkinson, Londonderry, N.)</i> | 1503 |
| | | <i>Mr. Maurice Healy (Cork)</i> ... | 1515 |

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes, 126 ; Noes, 216. (Division List No. 12.)

Words added.

Main Question, as Amended, put, and agreed to.

Second Reading put off for six months.

Adjourned at twenty minutes before Six of the Clock.

END OF CONTENTS OF VOL. LXXIII.

ARMY, 1899—1900.

SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE.

ESTIMATE of the Additional Number of **MEN** and of the further Amount required in the Year ending 31st March 1900, in consequence of the War in **SOUTH AFRICA**.

| | | | |
|---|----------|----------|--------------------|
| Additional Number of Men to be voted | - | - | 120,000 |
| Additional Sum to be voted | - | - | £13,000,000 |

War Office, }
8th February 1900. }

LANSDOWNE.

VOTE A.

NUMBER of MEN of all Ranks required for ARMY SERVICE, in addition to the Number already voted.

120,000.

THIS number represents the probable maximum excess beyond the Numbers already voted for the year 1899--1900, in consequence of the Proclamation calling up the whole of the Army Reserve, the suspension of discharges and of transfers to the Army Reserve, the transfer (temporarily) of a number of Troops from the Indian to the British Establishment, the raising of various Colonial and other Forces for service in South Africa, and the augmentation of the Army at home.

| | All Ranks. |
|---|----------------|
| Original Estimate - - - - - | 184,853 |
| Supplementary Estimate, 17th October 1899 - | 35,000 |
| Supplementary Estimate now presented - | 120,000 |
| Revised Total - | <u>339,853</u> |

**SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE of the further Amount required in the
Year ending 31st March 1900, in consequence of the War in SOUTH AFRICA.**

Thirteen Million Pounds.

ARMY VOTES under which the Amount will be accounted for.

| VOTE 1. | | £ |
|---|-----------|------------|
| Pay, &c., of the Army | - - - - - | 2,400,000 |
| VOTE 2. | | |
| Medical Establishments : Pay, &c. | - - - - - | 70,000 |
| VOTE 3. | | |
| Militia : Pay, &c. | - - - - - | 250,000 |
| VOTE 4. | | |
| Yeomanry Cavalry : Pay and Allowances | - - - - - | 5,000 |
| VOTE 5. | | |
| Volunteer Corps : Pay and Allowances | - - - - - | 15,000 |
| VOTE 6. | | |
| Land and Sea Transport, Purchase of Remounts and Transport Animals | - - - - - | 5,000,000 |
| VOTE 7. | | |
| Provisions, Forage, Field Allowances, and other Services | - - | 3,000,000 |
| VOTE 8. | | |
| Clothing Services | - - - - - | 500,000 |
| VOTE 9. | | |
| Warlike and other Stores | - - - - - | 1,600,000 |
| VOTE 10. | | |
| Engineer Services | - - - - - | 150,000 |
| VOTE 13. | | |
| War Office : Telegrams and additional temporary Staff | - - | 10,000 |
| Total | - - - £ | 13,000,000 |

1899—1900.

STATEMENT showing the sums already voted, the Supplementary Sums required under each Vote, and the Revised Total of the Estimate for the Year.

| | | Gross Total. | Appropriations in Aid | Net Total. |
|--------|---|-----------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| | | £ | £ | £ |
| Vote 1 | Original Estimate | 7,703,000 | 1,194,000 | 6,509,000 |
| | Supplementary Estimate, 17th October 1899 | 1,000,000 | — | 1,000,000 |
| | Supplementary Estimate now presented | 2,400,000 | — | 2,400,000 |
| | Revised Estimate | 11,103,000 | 1,194,000 | 9,909,000 |
| Vote 2 | Original Estimate | 307,100 | 1,300 | 305,800 |
| | Supplementary Estimate, 17th October 1899 | 50,000 | — | 50,000 |
| | Supplementary Estimate now presented | 70,000 | — | 70,000 |
| | Revised Estimate | 427,100 | 1,300 | 425,800 |
| Vote 3 | Original Estimate | 586,600 | 15,600 | 571,000 |
| | Supplementary Estimate, 17th October 1899 | 250,000 | — | 250,000 |
| | Supplementary Estimate now presented | 250,000 | — | 250,000 |
| | Revised Estimate | 1,086,600 | 15,600 | 1,071,000 |
| Vote 4 | Original Estimate | 75,010 | 10 | 75,000 |
| | Supplementary Estimate now presented | 5,000 | — | 5,000 |
| | Revised Estimate | 80,010 | 10 | 80,000 |
| Vote 5 | Original Estimate | 624,700 | 500 | 624,200 |
| | Supplementary Estimate now presented | 15,000 | — | 15,000 |
| | Revised Estimate | 639,700 | 500 | 639,200 |
| Vote 6 | Original Estimate | 813,300 | 23,300 | 790,000 |
| | Supplementary Estimate, 17th October 1899 | 4,900,000 | — | 4,900,000 |
| | Supplementary Estimate now presented | 5,000,000 | — | 5,000,000 |
| | Revised Estimate | 10,713,300 | 23,300 | 10,690,000 |

STATEMENT showing the Sums already voted, &c.—*continued.*

| | | Gross Total. | Appropriations in Aid | Net Total. |
|-----------------------------|---|-----------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| | | £ | £ | £ |
| Vote 7 | Original Estimate | 3,465,100 | 39,600 | 3,425,500 |
| | Supplementary Estimate, 17th October 1899 | 1,900,000 | — | 1,900,000 |
| | Supplementary Estimate now presented | 3,000,000 | — | 3,000,000 |
| | Revised Estimate | 8,365,100 | 39,600 | 8,325,500 |
| Vote 8 | Original Estimate | 1,506,500 | 416,500 | 1,090,000 |
| | Supplementary Estimate, 17th October 1899 | 650,000 | — | 650,000 |
| | Supplementary Estimate now presented | 500,000 | — | 500,000 |
| | Revised Estimate | 2,656,500 | 416,500 | 2,240,000 |
| Vote 9 | Original Estimate | 2,939,000 | 408,000 | 2,531,000 |
| | Supplementary Estimate, 17th October 1899 | 1,150,000 | — | 1,150,000 |
| | Supplementary Estimate now presented | 1,600,000 | — | 1,600,000 |
| | Revised Estimate | 5,689,000 | 408,000 | 5,281,000 |
| Vote 10 | Original Estimate | 1,375,575 | 163,675 | 1,211,900 |
| | Supplementary Estimate, 17th October 1899 | 100,000 | — | 100,000 |
| | Supplementary Estimate now presented | 150,000 | — | 150,000 |
| | Revised Estimate | 1,625,575 | 163,675 | 1,461,900 |
| Vote 13 | Original Estimate | 248,400 | 100 | 248,300 |
| | Supplementary Estimate now presented | 10,000 | — | 10,000 |
| | Revised Estimate | 258,400 | 100 | 258,300 |
| TOTAL ARMY ESTIMATES. | Original Estimates | 23,817,333 | 3,200,133 | 20,617,200 |
| | Supplementary Estimate, 17th October 1899 | 10,000,000 | — | 10,000,000 |
| | Supplementary Estimate now presented | 13,000,000 | — | 13,000,000 |
| | Revised TOTAL | £ 46,817,333 | 3,200,133 | 43,617,200 |

HOUSE OF COMMONS. SESSION 1900.

LIST OF RULES, ORDERS, &C., which have been presented during the Session, and are required by Statute to lie for an appointed number of Days upon the Table of the House.

| Title of Paper. | Date of Presentation. | Period (after Presentation) to lie upon the Table. |
|---|-----------------------|--|
| Factory and Workshop Acts (Manufacture of Bichromate or Chromate of Potassium or Sodium,—Copy of Special Rules with regard to the employment of persons in Chemical Works in which is carried on the manufacture of Bichromate or Chromate of Potassium or Sodium [58 and 59 Vic., c. 37, s. 28 (1)]) | 30 January | 40 Days |
| Factory and Workshop Acts (Use of Phosphorus in the Manufacture of Matches),—Copy of Special Rules with regard to the employment of persons in Lucifer Match Factories in which White or Yellow Phosphorus is used [58 and 59 Vic., c. 37, s. 28 (1)] | 30 January | 40 days |
| Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877 (Oxford),—Copy of a Statute made by the Governing Body of Brasenose College, Oxford, under The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877, on 15th March 1899, altering Statutes III. and XVI. of the Statutes of that College [25 and 26 Vic., c. 26, s. 7] | 30 January | 12 weeks |
| Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877 (Oxford),—Copy of a Statute made by the Governing Body of Pembroke College, Oxford, under the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877, on 3rd March, 1899, amending Clause 9 of Statute II. and Clause 3 of Statute VIII. of the Statutes of that College [25 and 26 Vic., c. 26, s. 7] | 30 January | 12 weeks |
| Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877 (Oxford),—Copy of a Statute made by the Governing Body of Worcester College, Oxford, under the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877, at a meeting held on 22nd February, 1899, and continued by adjournment on 8th March, 1899, amending Statute III. 10 of the Statutes of that College [25 and 26 Vic., c. 26, s. 7] | 30 January | 12 weeks |
| College Charter Act, 1871 (University of Birmingham),—Copy of an Application received from Mason University College of the City of Birmingham for the establishment of a University at that City; which was submitted to the Queen in Council and referred by Her Majesty for the Consideration and Report of a Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council on the 14th July, 1899; together with a Copy of the Draft of the Charter applied for [34 and 35 Vic., c. 63, s. 2] | 30 January | 30 days |
| Prisons (Scotland),—Copy of Rule made by the Secretary for Scotland, under The Prisons (Scotland) Act, 1877, appointing the Police Cells at Falkirk, in the county of Stirling, to be a legal Prison for the detention of prisoners for a period not exceeding fourteen days before or during or after trial [40 and 41 Vic., c. 53, s. 58] | 30 January | 40 days |
| Winter Assizes (Ireland),—Copy of Four Orders in Council, dated 1st November 1899, for holding Winter Assizes in Ireland [40 and 41 Vic., c. 57, s. 69] | 31 January | 100 sitting days |

LIST OF RULES, ORDERS, &C.—*continued.*

| Title of Paper. | Date of Presentation. | Period (after Presentation) to lie upon the Table. |
|--|-----------------------|--|
| Supreme Court of Judicature (Ireland) Act, 1877,— Copy of Order in Council, amending Order of 25th February 1885, rearranging the Circuits in Ireland [40 and 41 Vic., c. 57, s. 69] | 31 January | 100 sitting days |
| Supreme Court of Judicature (Ireland) Act, 1877,— Copy of Order in Council, giving effect to Rules of Court under The Local Government (Application of Enactments) Order, 1898 | 31 January | 100 sitting days |
| Supreme Court of Judicature (Ireland) Act, 1877,— Copy of Order in Council, giving effect to Rules of Court (Bankruptcy) | 31 January | 100 sitting days |
| Land Transfer Act, 1897,—Copy of Order in Council of 28th November, 1899, postponing the operation of the Land Transfer Order in Council of 18th July, 1898, in certain portions of the county of London [60 and 61 Vic., c. 65, s. 20 (9)] | 1 February | 40 days |
| Education (Scotland),—Copy of Minute of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, dated 5th February, 1900, relative to the Minute of 18th May, 1899, as to the application of Article 21 and Chapter IX. of the Code of 1899 [35 and 36 Vic. c. 62, s. 67] | 5 February | One month |
| Prisons (Ireland),—Copy of Order in Council approving of a Rule made by the General Prisons Board for Ireland, dated 9th August, 1899, in pursuance of The Fine or Imprisonment (Scotland and Ireland) Act, 1899 [40 and 41 Vic. c. 49, s. 57 (c)] | 5 February | 40 days |
| University of London Act, 1898,—Copy of Statutes made for the University of London by the Commissioners appointed under the University of London Act, 1898 [61 and 62 Vic., c. 62, s. 5 (2)] | 16 February | 40 days |

PUBLIC BILLS

DEALT WITH IN VOLUME LXXVIII.

Those marked thus * are Government Bills. The figures in parentheses in the last column refer to the page in this volume.

(A.) BILLS INTRODUCED IN THE LORDS.

| Title of Bill. | Brought in by | Progress. |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|
| *Inebriates Amendment (Scotland) | <i>Lord Balfour of Burleigh</i> | Read 1 ^a 9 Feb. (1024) |
| Isolation Hospitals (Amendment) | <i>Earl of Lichfield</i> | Read 1 ^a 5 Feb. (550) |
| *Land Charges | <i>The Lord Chancellor</i> | Read 1 ^a 2 Feb. (402) ; Read 2 ^a 12 Feb. (1167) |
| *Lunacy | <i>The Lord Chancellor</i> | Read 1 ^a 5 Feb. (549) ; Read 2 ^a 12 Feb. (1167) |
| Select Vestries | — | Read 1 ^a (<i>pro formâ</i>) 30 Jan. (5) |

(B.) BILLS INTRODUCED IN THE COMMONS.

| No. | Title of Bill. | Brought in by | Progress. |
|-----|--|------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 39 | Access to Mountains (Scotland) | <i>Mr. Bryce</i> | Read 1 ^o 2 Feb. (419) |
| 81 | Ancient Monuments Protection | <i>Lord Balcarres</i> | Read 1 ^o 13 Feb. (1380) |
| 76 | Bakehouses (Hours of Labour) | <i>Mr. Woods</i> | Read 1 ^o 9 Feb. (1065) |
| 7 | Beer Retailers' and Spirit Grocers' Licences (Ireland) | <i>Mr. J. H. M. Campbell</i> | Read 1 ^o 2 Feb. (410) |
| 28 | Beer Retailers' and Spirit Grocers' Licences (Ireland) (No. 2) | <i>Mr. William Moore</i> | Read 1 ^o 2 Feb. (416) |
| 1 | Boilers Registration and Inspection | <i>Mr. Fenwick</i> | Read 1 ^o 2 Feb. (408) |
| 46 | Borough Funds | <i>Sir Albert Rollit</i> | Read 1 ^o 2 Feb. (421) |
| 17 | Cheap Trains | <i>Mr. Schwann</i> | Read 1 ^o 2 Feb. (413) |
| 26 | Church Discipline | <i>Mr. David MacIver</i> | Read 1 ^o 2 Feb. (415) |
| 40 | Coal Mines Regulation | <i>Sir Charles Dilke</i> | Read 1 ^o 2 Feb. (420) |
| 20 | Coal Mines Regulation Acts Amendment | <i>Mr. Barlow</i> | Read 1 ^o 2 Feb. (414) |
| 31 | Colonial Marriages (Deceased Wife's Sister) | <i>Captain Jessel</i> | Read 1 ^o 2 Feb. (417) |
| 79 | *Companies | <i>Mr. Ritchie</i> | Read 1 ^o 12 Feb. (1257) |
| 59 | Companies Acts Amendment | <i>Mr. Faithfull Begg</i> | Read 1 ^o 2 Feb. (425) |
| 51 | Compensation for Damage to Crops | <i>Mr. Jeffreys</i> | Read 1 ^o 2 Feb. (422) |
| 5 | Corporal Punishment | <i>Mr. Wharton</i> | Read 1 ^o 2 Feb. (409) |
| 16 | County and Borough Franchise Assimilation (London) | <i>Mr. Loder</i> | Read 1 ^o 2 Feb. (413) |
| 52 | County Councillors (Qualification of Women) (Scotland) | <i>Mr. Douglas</i> | Read 1 ^o 2 Feb. (423) |
| 32 | Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act (1887) Repeal | <i>Mr. Pinkerton</i> | Read 1 ^o 2 Feb. (417) |
| 60 | Distress Abolition and Substitution | <i>Mr. Bartley</i> | Read 1 ^o 2 Feb. (425) |
| 11 | Evicted Tenants (Ireland) | <i>Mr. Crean</i> | Read 1 ^o 2 Feb. (411) |

| No. | Title of Bill. | Brought in by | Progress. |
|-----|--|--------------------------------|---|
| 80 | Factory and Workshop Act (1878) Amendment | <i>Mr. Harwood</i> | Read 1° 13 Feb. (1379) |
| 24 | Fire Brigades | <i>Mr. Pym</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (415) |
| 58 | Franchise and Removal of Women's Disabilities | <i>Sir Charles Dilke</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (425) |
| 56 | Friendly Societies Disqualification Removal | <i>Mr. Strachey</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (424) |
| 82 | Highways and Bridges Act (1891) Amendment | <i>Mr. Jeffreys</i> | Read 1° 13 Feb. (1380) |
| 72 | Housing of the Working Classes | <i>Mr. Steadman</i> | Read 1° 9 Feb. (1063-5) |
| 75 | Housing of the Working Classes (Rural Districts) | <i>Sir Walter Foster</i> | Read 1° 9 Feb. (1063-5) |
| 27 | Imbeciles (Training Institutions) | <i>Mr. Tomlinson</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (416) |
| 55 | Intoxicating Liquors (Local Veto) (Ireland) | <i>Mr. William Johnston</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (424) |
| 66 | Land Values Taxation (Scotland) | <i>Sir Charles Cameron</i> | Read 1° 6 Feb. (730) |
| 54 | Lands Valuation (Scotland) Act (1854) Amendment | <i>Mr. McCrae</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (424) |
| 44 | Leasehold Enfranchisement (England and Wales) | <i>General Laurie</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (421) |
| 74 | Licensed Premises (Hours of Sale) (Scotland) | <i>Mr. Provand</i> | Read 1° 9 Feb. (1064) |
| 50 | Liquor Traffic Local Veto | <i>Sir Wilfrid Lawson</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (423) |
| 63 | Liquor Traffic Local Veto (Scotland) | <i>Mr. John Wilson (Govan)</i> | Read 1° 6 Feb. (729) |
| 67 | Liquor Traffic Local Veto (Wales) | <i>Mr. Herbert Roberts</i> | Read 1° 6 Feb. (730) |
| 18 | Local Government (Ireland) Act (1898) Amendment | <i>Mr. Tully</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (413); Second Reading (put off six months) 14 Feb. (1466) |
| 13 | Local Government (Scotland) | <i>Mr. Nicol</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (412) |
| 19 | London Borough Councils (Women's Disabilities Removal) | <i>Mr. Lough</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (414) |
| 37 | Manhood Suffrage (Ireland) | <i>Mr. Field</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (419) |
| 3 | Merchant Shipping (Liability of Shipowners) | <i>Sir Donald Currie</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (409) |
| 8 | Midwives | <i>Mr. Tatton Egerton</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (410) |
| 6 | Mines (Eight Hours) | <i>Mr. Herbert Lewis</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (410) |
| 42 | Occupying Tenants' Enfranchisement | <i>Mr. Bartley</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (420) |
| 23 | Old Age Pensions | <i>Sir Fortescue Flunnery</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (415) |
| 61 | Old Age Provident Pensions | <i>Mr. Bartley</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (426) |
| 62 | Outdoor Provident Relief | <i>Mr. Bartley</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (426) |
| 15 | Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies) | <i>Mr. Galloway</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (412) |
| 34 | Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies) (No. 2) | <i>Mr. Strachey</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (418); Second Reading (adj.) 13 Feb. (1464) |
| — | Outlawries | — | Read 1° (pro forma) 30 Jan. (61) |

| No. | Title of Bill. | Brought In by | Progress. |
|-----|---|----------------------------|---|
| 35 | Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women) | <i>Mr. Faithful Begg</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (418) |
| 48 | Public Health Acts Amendment | <i>Sir Alfred Hickman</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (422) |
| 22 | Public Houses (Scotland) Late Opening | <i>Colonel Denny</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (414) |
| 25 | Quarries | <i>Mr. Alfred Pease</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (415) |
| 78 | *Railways (Prevention of Accidents) | <i>Mr. Ritchie</i> | Read 1° 12 Feb. (1255) |
| 68 | Registration of Electors | <i>Mr. McKenna</i> | Read 1° 6 Feb. (730) |
| 10 | Registration of Firms | <i>Mr. Emmott</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (411) |
| 30 | Roman Catholic Disabilities Removal | <i>Mr. Flavin</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (417) |
| 49 | Sale of Intoxicating Liquors (Ireland) | <i>Sir Thomas Lea</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (422) |
| 12 | Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday | <i>Mr. Robert Cameron</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (411) |
| 33 | Sale of Intoxicating Liquors to Children | <i>Sir Joseph Leese</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (418) |
| 38 | Sale of Intoxicating Liquors to Children (No. 2) | <i>Mr. Souttar</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (419) |
| 57 | Shops | <i>Sir Charles Dilke</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (425) |
| 77 | Steam Engines and Boilers (Persons in Charge) | <i>Mr. Jonathan Samuel</i> | Read 1° 9 Feb. (1065) |
| 21 | Street Noises | <i>Mr. Jacoby</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (414) |
| 2 | Sunday Closing (Monmouthshire) | <i>Mr. Spicer</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (409) |
| 53 | Sunday Closing (Wales) Act (1881) Amendment | <i>Mr. Herbert Roberts</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (423) |
| 29 | Tenants in Towns Improvement (Ireland) | <i>Mr. Macaulese</i> | Read 1° Feb 2. (416) |
| 36 | Town Councils (Scotland) | <i>Mr. Asher</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (418) |
| 69 | Trustee Savings Banks | <i>Sir Albert Rollit</i> | Ordered 2 Feb. (425); Read 1° 7 Feb. (838) |
| 64 | Vagrants' Children Protection | <i>Mr. Drage</i> | Read 1° 6 Feb. (729) |
| 65 | Voluntary Schools (Grants in Aid) | <i>Mr. Lawrence</i> | Read 1° 6 Feb. (729) |
| 43 | Waste Lands Afforestation (Ireland) | <i>Mr. Engledew</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (420) |
| 41 | Watermen's Certificates | <i>Mr. Steadman</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (420) |
| 45 | Water Supply | <i>Mr. Cornwallis</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (421) |
| 73 | Wine and Beerhouse Acts Amendment | <i>Mr. Herbert Lewis</i> | Read 1° 9 Feb. (1063) |
| 4 | Workmen's Compensation Act (1897) Amendment | <i>Colonel Chaloner</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (409) |
| 9 | Workmen's Compensation Act (1897) Amendment (No. 2) | <i>Mr. Giles</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (411) |
| 47 | Workmen's Compensation Act (1897) Amendment (No. 3) | <i>Mr. Woods</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (422) |
| 14 | Workmen's Compensation Act (1897) Extension | <i>Mr. Harry Foster</i> | Read 1° 2 Feb. (412) |

THE

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(AUTHORISED EDITION)

IN THE

SEVENTH SESSION OF THE TWENTY-SIXTH PARLIAMENT OF THE
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, APPOINTED
TO MEET THE 30TH JANUARY 1900, IN THE 63RD YEAR OF THE REIGN OF
HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

FIRST VOLUME OF SESSION 1900.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, 30th January, 1900.

THE SEVENTH SESSION OF THE
FOURTEENTH PARLIAMENT of
Her Majesty the Queen, and the
Twenty-sixth Parliament of the United
Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland,
was opened by Commission at Two of the
clock.

The Lords Commissioners were:—
The LORD CHANCELLOR (the Earl of
Halsbury), the LORD PRIVY SEAL (Vis-
count Cross), the LORD CHAMBERLAIN
(the Earl of Hopetoun), the EARL of
KINTORE, and Lord BELPER.

The Commons being at the Bar with
their Speaker, the LORD CHANCELLOR
delivered Her Majesty's Speech to both
Houses of Parliament, as follows:—

THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The peace which had recently been
broken in South Africa when last I
addressed you has unhappily not been
restored; but otherwise my relations
with other States are friendly.

"In resisting the invasion of my South
African Colonies by the South African
VOL. LXXVIII. [FOURTH SERIES.]

Republic and by the Orange Free State my
people have responded with devotion and
enthusiasm to the appeal which I have
made to them; and the heroism of my
soldiers in the field, and of my sailors
and marines who were landed to co-
operate with them, has not fallen short
of the noblest traditions of our military
history. I am deeply grieved that so
many valuable lives should have fallen a
sacrifice. But I have witnessed with
pride and with the heartiest gratification
the patriotic eagerness and spontaneous
loyalty with which my subjects in all
parts of my dominions have come for-
ward to share in the common defence of
their Imperial interests. I am confident
that I shall not look to them in vain
when I exhort them to sustain and re-
new their exertions until they have
brought this struggle for the main-
tenance of the Empire and the assertion
of its supremacy in South Africa to a
victorious conclusion.

"A treaty has been concluded with the
German Emperor for the adjustment of
rights claimed by the two countries in
Samoa, Tonga, and other islands in the
Pacific. To a portion of these stipula-
tions the Government of the United
States has also been a party.

"A Bill will be introduced at an early
date to give effect to the scheme of
Federation which has been adopted after

the most careful consideration by five of my Australian colonies. I have watched with cordial satisfaction the gradual development of my greater colonies into self-governing communities. I feel confident that the establishment of the great Federation of Australia will prove advantageous, not only to the colonies immediately concerned, but also to the Empire at large.

"The brilliant courage and the soldier-like qualities of the colonial forces engaged in South Africa have already earned high admiration. Patriotic offers of assistance, which it was not possible to accept, have come from many other colonies with populations of various races.

"I have received from the ruling chiefs of Native States in India numerous offers to place their troops and the resources of their States at my disposal for service in South Africa. These proofs of their loyalty to myself and of their devotion to the cause of my Empire have afforded me much gratification.

"I regret that owing to insufficient rainfall in the autumn over a great part of Western and Central India the harvests and pasturage have failed to such an extent as to create a famine. Timely measures have been taken by my Government, and by the rulers of the Native States affected, to relieve suffering and to prevent starvation.

"I regret to add that the epidemic of plague continues, and that although its severity has not increased since last year, there is at present no prospect of its diminution.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"The Estimates for the public service of the year will be laid before you. The provision for military expenditure must be largely increased on account of the charge for military operations in South Africa.

"The experience of a great war must necessarily afford lessons of the greatest importance to the military administrations of the country. You will not, I am convinced, shrink from any outlay that may be required to place our defensive preparations on a level with the responsibilities which the possession of so great an Empire has laid upon us.

"At a time when several other nations are perfecting their naval preparations at the cost of increasing efforts and sacrifices, the solicitude with which you have provided for the efficiency of our Navy and of our coast defences will assuredly not be relaxed.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The time is not propitious for any domestic reforms which involve a large expenditure.

"Proposals, however, will be made to you for several important changes which are not open to this objection. Amendments are required in the laws which govern limited liability companies, and in those which relate to agricultural tenancies. Measures for amending the law of ecclesiastical assessments, and in regard to education in Scotland, and for the relief of tithe-rent payers in Ireland, will also be laid before you. Your attention will also be invited to proposals for better enabling local authorities to aid secondary and technical education in England and Wales; for controlling the contracts of money lenders; for the amendment of the Factory Law, of the Law of Lunacy, and of the Housing of the Working Classes Act.

"The labours of the Commission appointed by me to inquire into the nature and causes of accidents to railway servants are now completed. A Bill, framed with the object of lessening the number of such accidents, will be laid before you.

"It appears that service in South Africa may have the effect of disfranchising those who are taking part in it. You will be asked to sanction a measure by which this injustice will be prevented.

"I commend your deliberations in this anxious time to the blessing and guidance of Almighty God."

Then the Commons withdrew.

House adjourned during pleasure.

House resumed.

ROLL OF THE LORDS.

Norroy King of Arms attending, delivered at the Table (in the usual

manner) a List of the Lords Temporal in the Seventh Session of the Twenty-sixth Parliament of the United Kingdom: The same was ordered to lie on the Table.

SAT FIRST.

The Lord Farrer sat first in Parliament after the death of his father.

NEW PEERS.

Sir Henry Stafford Northcote, baronet, C.B., having been created Baron Northcote of the city and county of the city of Exeter, was (in the usual manner) introduced.

The Right Hon. Sir John Lubbock, baronet, having been created Baron Avebury of Avebury in the county of Wilts, was (in the usual manner) introduced.

SELECT VESTRIES.

Bill, *pro formâ*, read 1^a.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR delivered the Report of HER MAJESTY'S GRACIOUS SPEECH from the Throne.

*THE DUKE OF SOMERSET: My Lords, in rising to move that an humble Address be presented by your Lordships in reply to the gracious Speech from the Throne, I would venture to remind your Lordships that there is one custom which always obtains in this House, whether these benches be occupied by those who support the present Government or by the noble Lords who sit on the other side, and it is that you invariably extend a kind indulgence to anyone placed in the position I at present occupy. The first subject in the gracious Speech which you have just heard read, namely, the war in South Africa, is the only one with which I propose to occupy your attention for any time, it being really the one nearest all our hearts. The causes which led to this war are not of any importance to-day. What the nation has to do is to see this matter through. Whether it takes six months, or six years, this country intends to settle the question of her supre-

macy in South Africa once and for all. The flags of the two Boer Republics must disappear for ever, and the English flag fly from the Zambesi to the Cape of Good Hope; and I trust that, when we have crushed out all resistance, we shall know how to deal with the members of the Government of the two Republics, and those who have aided and abetted them in this gigantic conspiracy to drive us out of South Africa. On the other hand, I hope that the Boer farmers and others, who have been for years purposely misled and deceived as to our aims and intentions by Mr. Kruger and the corrupt oligarchy who misgovern the country and oppress the Uitlanders with the sole object of filling their pockets, and without the slightest regard for the welfare of their countrymen, will be encouraged to return to their usual avocations and participate in the prosperity which is sure to follow the establishment of a just and honest Government. I feel, my Lords, that this war, terrible though it is, will, when brought to a successful termination, be for the real and lasting good of South Africa, and also of this country; and for two reasons. In the first place the Boers, who are, as a people, most ignorant as to the resources of this country, have, ever since the termination of the last war, which ended with Majuba Hill and the disastrous peace which was then made, been quite persuaded that it would be a simple matter to drive the English out of Africa; but by the time the present war is ended they will form a truer estimate of the power of this Empire. In the second place, it will open the eyes of the nation, by bitter experience, to the faults in the existing administration of the War Office, and to the real requirements of our Army. In what I am about to say, your Lordships must not think that I impute blame especially to those at present responsible for the conduct of that office—on the contrary, I think it is our duty as patriots to try and strengthen their hands in the present crisis—but I do think, my Lords, that the system which they found existing there is faulty, and that, when we get breathing time in which to do so, the country will require a complete review of that system. In a few words, my Lords, the Army seems to have existed for the benefit of the War Office. In future, the War Office should exist only for the benefit of our Army. The Army has also suffered from the fact that

every Chancellor of the Exchequer seems to consider it the first Department on which to practise economies if he wishes to improve the appearance of his Budget, and this without the slightest regard to the disastrous effects these economies may have on its efficiency. My Lords, we have had reverses and misfortunes; but I think that if our neighbours over the water, who are so ready with hostile criticism, had been obliged to move 100,000 men 6,000 miles by sea before they could put a man or gun in the field, and then found an enemy who, being on the spot, could choose his own fighting ground, and who, we must remember, had for years been preparing for this very war, they would not have done any better than we have done. We have been able to move our troops because—and only because—we have undisputed command of the sea. On this our Empire depends, and I trust this country will take care that she retains that command at whatever cost. Of one thing, my Lords, this country may be justly proud. I refer to the splendid loyalty with which our colonies, with Canada at their head, have come to our assistance. I spent many happy years in Canada—in the woods, on the plains, and in the mountains—and know well the class of men she is sending us. The ranchmen and cowboys from the plains and mountains of the North west are fine riders, good shots, as a rule, and tough, resolute men, used to every hardship and well fitted for such a campaign as the present; and we are also receiving a body of well-drilled Volunteers from the towns and surrounding districts. The other colonies have sent us an equally fine body of men. The rulers of the Native States in India have also offered us men and trained artillery horses, which, I should think, would be invaluable at the present juncture. The successes we have so far achieved in South Africa, my Lords, have been owing to the splendid heroism and devotion of our officers and men, which, under novel and often most trying circumstances, has equalled, if it has not excelled, the best traditions of our Army. They have had to meet, generally on disadvantageous terms, a brave and treacherous enemy, more numerous than our forces as a rule, and to take positions carefully prepared for weeks, and almost impregnable. We have been heavily handicapped in this war by the fact that in face of an

enemy consisting wholly of mounted men, and therefore very mobile, we were without any quantity of Cavalry, and had only a small body of Mounted Infantry, the authorities neglecting for a long time to take advantage of the splendid offers of irregular Cavalry from our colonists in Natal—men used to the country, hating the Boers, and perfectly suited for the work. This has, I am glad to say, been rectified, but valuable time has been lost. We have also been terribly under-gunned, and unless the Naval Brigade had, with their usual enterprise and ingenuity, mounted some of the heavy guns from their ships, we should have had absolutely nothing with which to reply to the heavy ordnance of the Boers—in fact, Ladysmith was saved by these naval guns. Of those commanding our troops in South Africa, I would only say that they have had a great responsibility on their shoulders—in the case of Sir Redvers Buller, an almost intolerable one. Adverse criticism of their actions at this distance, and with very little knowledge of their surroundings, political and other, seems to me a great injustice. I am certain that with Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener at Cape Town, and Sir Redvers Buller in Natal, everything that is possible will be done for the success of our arms. I hope, my Lords, that, besides hurrying out reinforcements to our generals in South Africa, the Government will consider well the desirability of at once mobilising our Navy, of embodying the Militia not yet called out, and all the Volunteers, so that they may receive a training which will enable them, in case of a national emergency, to take the place of the regular troops of whom the country is partially denuded, and then call for all the trained men who have passed through either force, at the same time organising artillery and transport, of which these forces are entirely deficient at present. My Lords, we have won half our splendid Empire with the sword. We have only to look at the nations around us, armed to the teeth and jealous of our prosperity and freedom, to see that we must be prepared to defend the whole of it by the same means. If our sword is a little dull, my Lords, it is our business to put an edge to it, and then, if we keep it loose in the scabbard, with a strong hand on the hilt, we shall not only ensure peace for ourselves, but go far to ensure it for the whole of Europe. My Lords, I doubt if,

The Duke of Somerset.

since the days of the Indian Mutiny, the Government of this country has had to face such anxieties and difficulties as at the present moment, but I am quite confident that if the country will sink all party differences, and give Her Majesty's Ministers its unanimous support, they will bring the Empire through the present crisis with success and with honour. To turn to other subjects. For the past year we have good cause to rejoice in the prosperity of Egypt, especially in the death-blow dealt to Mahdism by Lord Kitchener and the united English and Egyptian forces at Omdurman, and the taking prisoner of Osman Digna since that time. My Lords, everyone in this country deeply deplores the sufferings of Her Majesty's Indian subjects caused by the plague and one of the most serious famines which have yet occurred in that country. We may, I am sure, depend on the Viceroy and Government of India doing all they can to give relief and assuage suffering, but with an enormous native population, chiefly a very poor one, this is a task of great magnitude, and one which will require all their ability to cope with. I thank your Lordships for the kind manner in which you have listened to me, and I now beg to move—

"That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty in reply to the Gracious Speech from the Throne."

*THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY :
My Lords, it is my privilege to rise and address your Lordships' House, and to second the noble Duke who has moved that an humble address be presented by your Lordships to Her Majesty in reply to the gracious Speech from the Throne. To me this privilege is rendered of double value inasmuch as it comes at a time when Parliament has been summoned together whilst the nation is in the act of carrying on a war of greater magnitude, perhaps, than any war in which we have been engaged since the days of Wellington, and which has already affected us, and will affect us each one from the highest to the lowest. It is a war that is destined to revolutionise in no small degree all tactics of modern warfare, unless, my Lords, it is to prove an exception to every other war of similar magni-

tude ensuing on any long periods of peace—those periods of peace during which engines of war, terrible in their death-dealing properties, are of almost daily invention. It is bound to make every nation pause and consider how the lessons to be learnt from it are to be best applied to the perfecting of their national systems for attack and defence, and in like manner it is destined to mark an important epoch in the military history of our Empire. Under these circumstances, therefore, the war must be the all absorbing topic of the hour. It occupies the first position in the gracious Speech from the Throne. Having served until a comparatively recent date in a regiment which is now at the front, under that distinguished, and, I think I may say, very successful leader, General French, you will understand, my Lords, that my interest in this war is of a somewhat special kind. The noble Duke has already enlarged fully upon the magnificent fighting qualities of the British and Colonial soldiers, and on the heroic valour of the officers who lead them, and, indeed, upon every other point of importance in connection with the war. Your Lordships will, I trust, pardon me, however, if I go over the same ground in emphasising the debt of gratitude due by this country to the colonists who have come forward so readily to help her in her hour of need. My Lords, it always seemed to me that Imperial Federation was rather a dream of the future, but what further proof is necessary that it is with us now, if not in substance, at any rate in spirit, when we see sons of Empire going forward shoulder to shoulder to fight for a common cause, and that cause the integrity of the Empire? I would refer, too, to the patriotic spirit shown by the people of this country at this time, whether it be in the ready response of our Reservists, and all those who have volunteered, to the call to arms, or whether it be in the generous financial support given by all classes to any scheme or fund raised for the benefit of those fighting our battles. These few points, my Lords, I think, form a bright side of the picture, if in other ways the situation of affairs in South Africa at this moment gives cause for much anxiety. No country could have done more, no country could wish to do more, to further the efforts of those responsible for the situation to carry what has now become no light an undertaking to a conclusion which shall

not only be comprehensive but final. As regards the conduct of the campaign, criticism there has been, perhaps too much. Far be it from me, however, to criticise on such an occasion as this. I would rather content myself with the feeling that during the conduct of this war our generals who are directing the movements of our forces are reaping a golden harvest of experience invaluable to them for further operations in the field at this time, invaluable should they ever again be called upon to take the field, and of greatest value to those who come after them, who may be placed in a similar position. Before leaving the subject of war, I would urge the necessity, which has become so apparent, of establishing national rifle clubs throughout the country. Every man should know how to handle a rifle, every man should know how to shoot. We want no compulsory system of service, but I cannot help thinking that every able-bodied man might give up two years, a year, or six months, to a course of military training either in the Regulars, or in the Militia, or in the Volunteers. On no account do I desire to minimise the gravity of the situation at this moment, but what in a time of real national peril would be the position of an able-bodied man, endowed with all the physical and intellectual qualities necessary, if his services were of no account owing to a want of training during times of peace? It is for us at home to look and see that the magnificent fighting material we possess is backed by a thoroughly sound and strong system of Imperial defence, and if some reorganisation of this system has proved itself necessary at this time I think we may rest assured that it will occupy the attention of Her Majesty's Ministers at an early date. My Lords, the next point in Her Majesty's Speech is the satisfactory adjustment of the Samoan difficulties. The Samoan Islands, I understand, were of no strategic value or importance to Great Britain. The treaty concluded with the German Emperor has apparently settled once and for all a question that gave rise to constant friction between the representatives of three great Powers in those islands, and is, I believe, a treaty thoroughly satisfactory to all parties, and for which Her Majesty's Government has obtained a concession of equal value elsewhere. I should like to

dwell for a moment upon the next point in the Speech from the Throne, namely—

"A Bill will be introduced at an early date to give effect to the scheme of Federation which has been adopted, after the most careful consideration, by five of my Australian Colonies."

My Lords, those five colonies, I feel, deserve the fullest measure of cordial congratulation we can give them. For two years and more I had the honour of serving on the staff of Lord Brassey, Her Majesty's representative in the colony of Victoria. It was my privilege to witness the never-to-be-forgotten outburst of loyalty and affection shown by the people of the colony of Victoria, and, indeed, throughout Australia, on the occasion of Her Most Gracious Majesty's Jubilee of 1897. The invitation issued by the Government to the Premiers of all the colonies to visit this country at the time, so readily accepted by them, did more to help on the work of Federation in Australia than we may well be aware of. It brought the representatives of those Colonial Governments into closer touch with the Imperial Government at home. It did more than that. It brought them into a closer touch with each other. When I left Australia at the beginning of 1898, the Convention was then sitting for the purpose of framing a Commonwealth Bill, which was to be acceptable to all. The difficulties at that time seemed to be insuperable, but by a policy of steady perseverance, and a spirit of give and take from all, in five colonies, at any rate, those difficulties have at last been apparently surmounted. We may hope to see ere long another nation growing up of our own kith and kin, strong in the fact of its unity, strong in its loyalty and affection for Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen and her Empire, of which it forms a part, a more than useful ally in times of trouble to the country to whom it owes its birth. My Lords, I think the remaining points in the gracious Speech from the Throne require no further comment from me. This war must occupy, no doubt, the almost undivided attention of your Lordships' House for some little time to come. I am glad to feel that, whatever may be the issue of this struggle—and, backed by the dogged determination of the Government and people of this country, there can be but one issue—we shall

emerge from it with the bonds of a united Empire still more closely and firmly knit together, determined to use to the best of our ability our resources and our strength to carry on the work of civilisation, to uphold all that is just and right, and to further the peaceful development of commerce throughout the world. I thank your Lordships for your kind attention to my remarks, and I beg to second the Address.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: My Lords, I feel sure your Lordships will have heard with satisfaction the speeches made by the mover and seconder of the Address. My noble friend the noble Duke made many very sensible observations, with not a few of which I entirely concur. As regards the noble Earl, I am sure the whole House will congratulate him, for I think a more graceful and appropriate speech we have never heard. My Lords, the first subject that is touched on in the Speech from the Throne is our relations with foreign Powers, and I see with pleasure that the noble Marquess has been able to advise Her Majesty to say that our relations with other States are friendly. My Lords, the friendship of other States must always be a matter of the highest consequence to any nation, but at the present moment we must all feel how important it is that we should have friendly relations with the Great Powers of Europe and the United States. I believe I am speaking with accuracy when I say that the relations between the different Governments of Europe and that of the United States and our own Government may be justly described as friendly. I wish we could say as much concerning the general attitude of some of the nations of Europe. I do not wish—Heaven forbid that I should—to add anything to the bitter remarks which have been made as to the feeling shown towards this country in almost all parts of Europe. I cannot pass from that without saying that, without attributing too much to newspaper controversies which go on between the press of the different countries, I do think, without speaking of any particular country, that, with regard to our relations with foreign nations, considerable mischief has been done by the way in which ill-natured remarks in every newspaper, however contemptible, are reported to us. There is a general impression produced, I am convinced, that the situa-

tion is much more serious than it is—than the situation really deserves; but what is worse than that is that the continual going on of warfare of that kind serves to irritate people generally and make them feel a want of cordiality towards one another. Not that I deprecate in the least the reporting to us the state of feeling in those countries—I think we are deeply indebted to the press for their reports—but what I do deprecate is the undue amount of stress that is laid on the attacks of the press of other countries, and their being responded to by the press of our own country. It is setting up a kind of paper warfare which I am certain is not conducive to good relations with other countries or to peace. There is only one subject which is specially important in regard to foreign affairs, to which I would refer, and I should be sorry to pass it over. I refer to the negotiations with Germany which have enabled the Government to arrive at a settlement with regard to Samoa. I shall not trouble your Lordships by entering into that matter more fully. For my part, I simply congratulate the noble Marquess on the settlement which has been arrived at of a long-standing difficulty. I will add to that that I think the friendly character of our relations with foreign Powers is due in great measure to the prudence, if I may say so, with which the noble Marquess has conducted the foreign affairs of this country. But I must say this—I have no wish to make an attack upon any member of the Government—that I do hope the noble Marquess will prevent such speeches from being made as were made by the Secretary of State for the Colonies during the recess, and which, though I am certain they were not intended to have such an effect, did, to some extent, neutralise the efforts which the noble Marquess himself had made to bring about a perfectly cordial understanding between us and certain other Powers. I have in years past had some experience of diplomacy, and I am sure that any one who has had anything to do with the conduct of foreign affairs, whether employed in this country or abroad, must know that there is a peculiar discretion necessary in speaking of foreign affairs, and that it is well that those who speak upon them should have some special experience on the subject, and know more

precisely than anyone who has not been engaged in such transactions can know what will be the effect of the words they use upon other nations. It is very different to our own domestic affairs. The ground is far more delicate, and it is not perhaps always easy to understand precisely what effect words spoken here by persons of importance may have abroad. I will not pursue the subject, but I felt bound to refer to it, without laying too much stress upon it. Naturally, my Lords, I turn now to that which occupies the thoughts of every one, not only in this House, but throughout the country—I mean the war in South Africa. And in regard to that I wish first of all to express, what is the universal opinion, admiration of the conduct of our troops. Upon that there cannot be two opinions. Whatever may have been the result of their efforts, I am perfectly certain that, in no war in which we have been engaged have our soldiers, and such of our sailors as have been engaged, shown a more determined bravery or a more gallant spirit in the discharge of the dangerous and difficult duties they have been called upon to perform. That has not been confined by any means to the soldiers of this country. It has also been shown in as marked a degree by the bodies of troops, not large, but in themselves important, which the colonies have sent to our assistance. I would also say that I do not believe that too much praise can be awarded to the Natal Volunteers, who have come forward in circumstances of the most painful nature, and have shown that they are worthy in every respect of fighting by the side of the British soldier. The support we are receiving from the colonies is one of those subjects on which we can warmly congratulate ourselves. The support of our colonies has been given with no stinted hand. It has been given cordially; nay, more, it has been given enthusiastically, and, whatever may be the difficulties in which we are involved and the dangers that may beset us in the future, this much at least we know, which we did not know before so fully—that we have with us completely the heart of our colonial people throughout the world. That will, I believe, in the future lead to such a binding together of the whole Empire as will tend to increase our power to a degree which perhaps now we can hardly calculate. Of course, I include all the colonies—Canada, Australia and

The Earl of Kimberley.

the rest—but I must refer specially for a moment to the Australian colonies, because a measure of great importance affecting them is mentioned in the Speech from the Throne—namely, the federation of those colonies. I think I may say that, whilst at any time we should have welcomed such a proposal and have viewed it with the most favourable eye, our relations with our colonies are now of such a warm nature that they may be perfectly certain that that measure will be received with cordial approval both in Parliament and in the country. There is one other subject to which I must allude in this connection, and that is the condition of affairs in India. It is a most melancholy thing that India should again this year be afflicted by a terrible famine and also by a continuance of the plague. We deeply sympathise with the people of India, and we must not forget that, even in the stress which is laid upon them, they have not forgotten their relations to this country and have sent us both help and assurances of help in our present anxiety. I mention this because it marks the excellent relations which prevail between ourselves and our people in that part of the world. I have alluded to those various passages in the Speech in which we are all able to concur. I must turn now to the war itself. It is in vain to conceal from ourselves, determined as we are not to shrink from any sacrifice to bring the war to a fortunate conclusion, that we have no reason to congratulate ourselves upon the progress which thus far has been made. This is a moment of the deepest and gravest anxiety. I am not a soldier, but, for other reasons than my want of knowledge of military matters, I shall abstain entirely from criticising the actions of the generals in the field, who have onerous duties to perform in the conduct of these operations. It is the duty of Her Majesty's Government to select the men who are to undertake these difficult operations; it is our duty to support the Government in giving them all the assistance and all the means that they may need; but it seems to me to be unwise to criticise the generals themselves in the carrying out of their operations. But I do not wish by that to imply that I do not feel certain that our generals themselves, as every man who may be employed in the prose-

cution of the war, are doing their very utmost to perform their arduous duties. Reference is made in the gracious Speech to the experience we have gained with regard to the defects in our military administration.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY): Those are not precisely the words.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: I will quote the very words—

“The experience of a great war must necessarily afford lessons of the greatest importance to the military administrations of the country.”

That naturally implies what, I think, would under any circumstances be right, that there will probably have to be a revision in many respects of our military administration. I will say more. I think it very possible that it may be found necessary to make careful inquiry into certain particular points. I was going to add that I do not think that this is the occasion or the moment to go into particulars, even if I were capable of going into them, on such a subject. I merely mention it because I think it is a subject which may lead to discussions of great importance in Parliament. I concur with what the noble Duke, I think, said—that the Government will be wise—I am not sure they are not doing it—if they make every effort to be thoroughly prepared for what may occur in the future. We all hope for great success. We may, unfortunately, meet with serious disaster. Nay, more than that. Although our relations with foreign Powers are friendly, it is well to consider what may happen in the future, and it is well the Government should be thoroughly prepared for any event that may occur. I am certain that this country will meet with courage and resolution any eventuality that may arise, but it is not only necessary to be prepared to meet dangers with courage and resolution. You ought to be prepared beforehand with the means which will enable you to surmount those dangers. I agree entirely with the noble Duke opposite, if I rightly understood him, when he said it was highly desirable that the whole of the Militia should be embodied. I confess I have been astonished that the Government have not

taken that measure, not merely with reference to the war going on in South Africa, but also for home service, when the country has been denuded of regular troops. If you embody the Militia in time they will become efficient regiments, and it seems to me the whole body should be at the disposal of the Government for home service. That is one point. The other is referred to in this paragraph of the Speech from the Throne—

“At a time when several other nations are perfecting their naval preparations at the cost of increasing efforts and sacrifices, the solicitude with which you have provided for the efficiency of our Navy and of our coast defences will assuredly not be relaxed.”

I gather from that that Her Majesty's Government are well aware of the vital importance of seeing that our one great defence is in the highest condition not only of efficiency, which I hope and believe it is, but also in a state of preparation which may make it easy to utilise it at once whenever it is called upon to discharge any duty which may be laid upon it. I lay stress upon that. I am sure that in the present situation of affairs it is well that our Navy should be quite ready wherever it is called upon to act, and I hope I may say with confidence that the Administration of the present day intend to keep that matter steadily and fully in mind. Circumstances which have come to my knowledge lead me to believe that that is the case, and I shall be glad to have it confirmed from the mouth of those who speak with both knowledge and responsibility. I have said much, I think, on which I may hope for the agreement of all in this House. I must come now to a less pleasant and far less agreeable task, because I do not think I can pass over without criticism certain matters concerning the action of Her Majesty's Government in the past. I entirely deny that it is our duty, when difficulties surround the Government, to abstain entirely from criticism. We are bound not to embarrass the Government, we are bound not to do anything that may diminish their efficiency, but I deny that the efficiency of the Government is seriously impaired by having the mistakes which in our opinion it has made pointed out, even at the present time. At the same time I shall not enlarge at any great length upon them. I may say at once that I have not the slightest intention of going back to the well-worn ques-

tion of the negotiations with the Transvaal Republic. If mistakes were made then they cannot be mended now by any words we may use. The remarks I shall make relate entirely to our want of preparation for the war in which we find ourselves engaged. That, I think, is a subject of great and pressing importance. I will trouble your Lordships with one or two quotations from speeches made by responsible Ministers of the Crown, because it is from their mouths alone that I gather, to my astonishment, that they seem not to have been aware, or not aware in sufficient time, of the state of preparation of the Transvaal Government and the danger which might consequently arise to the possessions of the Crown in South Africa. The argument which is sometimes used in defence of the Government—I believe the noble Marquess himself in a speech pointed this out—is something like this: If you were largely to increase our troops in South Africa during the time you were conducting negotiations with the Boer Government, it would be so warlike a proceeding that it would not only necessarily prejudice the negotiations, but it would induce the Boers, whose state of preparation was more advanced, to attack you. But that argument does not hold good when the speeches of the responsible Ministers of the Crown themselves are examined. Speaking at Leicester, in November, the Colonial Secretary said—

“The policy of President Kruger led us five times to the brink of war”—that was in past years—and President Kruger only yielded when he looked into the cannon's mouth.”

The right hon. Gentleman then went on to say that all the time President Kruger was piling up tremendous armaments until he found himself in a position in which he thought he could safely defy one of the Great Powers of the world, and that these immense preparations for war began long before the Jameson raid. The comment I would make upon that is this—in the first place, this information must have been long known to the Government, and, in the second place, if this was the view taken by the Colonial Secretary, I am at a loss to understand how the policy which has recently been described as one of bluff could have been adopted and pursued in the face of such knowledge as the Government possessed. The Colonial Secretary told us that Presi-

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dent Kruger very wisely, when we put the matter strongly to him and he was not ready for war, did not think it well to rush into the cannon's mouth. Would not the inference be, inasmuch as he was persevering in piling up his armaments, that when he had his preparations complete he would rush into the cannon's mouth? That seems to me a conclusion it is impossible to avoid. It seems to me also unwise to have gone in for a policy of bluff without well considering what would be the result supposing it failed. Of course it was on the cards that it might fail. There was a fair probability of peace in the opinion of many men on both sides; but a fair probability does not exclude the possibility of the other event. With the knowledge that these armaments had been preparing for years and years, since long before the raid, would not anyone have thought that a policy of bluff would be unsafe, because, as the probability of peace might not be followed by peace, you would be landed in war without being prepared for it, as in point of fact you were? I will trouble your Lordships with one more quotation, which is, in my opinion, of still greater importance, and it is a quotation from a speech made by the First Lord of the Treasury at Manchester on the 8th of January last. The whole speech is one of very great interest, but I am only going to quote the passages which appear to be the most vital. Mr. Balfour said—

“Perhaps I shall be asked why did the Government, knowing that armaments were being accumulated in the Transvaal, not enter a protest two years ago, and declare that either the armaments should cease which could by the nature of the case be directed against nothing but this country and her colonies, or else that we should regard it as a cause of quarrel between us and the Boer Government? There was a conclusive reason, and a melancholy reason, why that argument should not have been used to the Boer Government. Our hands were tied and our mouths were closed at that time by the raid. How could we say to the Boer Government, ‘You must disarm, you have nothing to fear from us; your armaments, if you accumulate them, must be directed, not to self-defence, but to aggression?’—how, I say, could we use that language when three years ago an expedition composed of our countrymen had from British territory made an onslaught—a feeble and ineffective onslaught, it is true, but still an onslaught—on the Boer Government? We were helpless in face of that argument. That argument could never be used in the face of public opinion and in the face of Europe, for it was always open to the Boer Government to say

that these arms that were accumulating, these munitions of war which were choking their arsenals, were intended, not for aggression, but simply as a measure of precaution and of self-defence against a second raid taking place from our territory. Now you will see the point that I am leading up to. The argument I wish to meet is this, that we entered into this war insufficiently prepared on the spot to deal with the military situation we had to face: and I am of opinion, looking back with all the impartiality I can, that the steps we took were, in the state of our knowledge, sufficient steps, and that the policy we pursued is the policy which all impartial judges of the situation will agree to be one which ought to have commended itself to the responsible Government of the country."

Now, my Lords, I cannot see that there is in that argument any sufficient excuse for the course pursued by the Government. These armaments had commenced, Mr. Chamberlain tells us, long before the Jameson raid. It was perfectly well known—it must have been known; it was impossible for it not to have been known—that these armaments were accumulating to a point which could not possibly be required for the purpose of dealing either with such a raid as the Jameson raid or with the Uitlander population in the Transvaal. What, in my opinion, the Government ought to have done was this. When they knew that these armaments were growing beyond anything which could possibly be necessary to repel a raid, or to restrain the Uitlanders, the obvious course would have been to have communicated with the Boer Government. But let me say that, in the first place, the Government ought to have punished much more severely the authors of the Raid. I know it may be said that perhaps we on this side share some of the blame; but I think we committed a grievous mistake in not inflicting severer punishment on the authors, great and small, of the raid. Nothing but that would have convinced the Boers of our good intentions. And, having done that, the Government should have said to the Boers: "We willingly and fully recognise your perfect right and the necessity you are under to arm to the point needed for preventing any such raid as the Jameson raid and of keeping order in your own country. But we know that you are accumulating armaments day by day and they are growing to a point far beyond what you can require for those purposes; and it is our duty to point out that unless you desist your action must lead to our

sending large forces to South Africa, when there will be a probability of our coming into collision. We do not wish to adopt an unfriendly attitude towards you, but if you persevere in this course we will have no alternative." My opinion is that if the Boers had persevered after that warning in accumulating armaments visibly directed against ourselves it would have been a just and necessary cause for war then and there. The whole matter was, however, allowed to drift until the Government found themselves in such a situation that they were not prepared, in case of the failure of their negotiations, to take the necessary measures to enforce their view. That is the conclusion I draw from that portion of Mr. Balfour's speech. I will ask you to refer in your minds to things which have occurred not very long ago, and affecting Great Powers. Would you have ventured, in your negotiations, to take up the attitude you took up—and took up successfully—if you had not known that you were prepared, if diplomacy failed, to back it up? But there is something much more wonderful than that, because Mr. Balfour actually told us the Government knew no more than the man in the street. Now I should be the last in the world to question the veracity of anything the First Lord of the Treasury said; yet I am free to confess that I cannot believe the possibility that the Government knew no more than the man in the street. I cannot see how that could be. There is no precedent for it that I ever heard of. I am a man in the street, knowing in a general way more than the ordinary man in the street, but I never suppose for a moment that I possess information on any particular subject which the Government have to deal with, beyond perhaps domestic matters, at all equal to the information they possess. It is absolutely impossible to conceive that the Government should not have been fully and entirely informed of what was going on in the Transvaal. We had an agent there, and the country was open to any one to go to. Why, it would have only required a very moderate amount of activity to find out—I will not say every detail, but generally what was going on. Cannon and large quantities of ammunition are not brought into a country without its being generally known. I have heard, indeed, that some

of the cannon were made in this country; and cannon and ammunition are not conveyed by railway in such a manner that nobody hears of it. Therefore, I cannot believe that the Government knew no more than the man in the street. They must have known generally what was going on in the Transvaal. I have seen them accused of ignorance, but I do not believe that is possible. They appear also to have thought, if I take seriously what Mr. Balfour says, that their policy ought to be guided entirely by the man in the street, because he says—

“Supposing we had come to Parliament in the middle of August and said ‘We want you to vote us immense supplementary estimates for the provision of immediate transport to South Africa’ . . . what would have been said by the great mass of moderate opinion, both on the other side and on our own side of the House, if we had made such a proposition as that?”

That seems to me entirely apart from the real question. The question which every Government has to consider when grave affairs are at stake is not what their supporters, not what the man in the street, not what the Opposition may say, but what in their mature judgment the safety and interest of the country require. The responsibility is laid on them, having made up their minds, to make a proposal to Parliament and the country. Whether they accept it or not, the Government cannot justify themselves in remaining responsible for affairs of a grave and serious kind if they have made up their minds that a certain course is necessary unless the nation is prepared to back them. It is their duty to announce their policy and press it, and stand or fall by it; and more than that, in my humble judgment that is a course which would ensure the safety generally of the Government, because the nation would know that, if the men to whom it has confided the government of the country come forward and make such a statement as that, there are most grave reasons behind it. Is it to be said that the country has come to that pass, that the Government may not safely appeal to the country to give it the necessary support? That is not the view that is taken here. Mr. Balfour went on to say something even more grave. He said—

“Our institutions are such that such a determined policy becomes impossible.”

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After describing at length what might have happened, he said:

“If this is true, would not such a policy be insane?”

In my opinion, there is nothing more insane than not proposing a policy which you believe to be a true one. Mr. Balfour went on to say—

“Our institutions, our free institutions, have their merits and have their demerits, and their demerits are intimately and inseparably bound up with their merits. Their merit is this—that no Government can act in great affairs unless it has the opinion of the community behind it. But the defect of that system is that, when the opinion of the community lags behind the necessities of the case, there may be occasions when sufficient rapidity of action is denied to the executive Government.”

Stronger statements than that have been made in irresponsible quarters, where there seems to be a conclusion arrived at that the institutions of the country are such that we cannot, as in the past, carry on a war. I deny it. I say our institutions are such that the Government has the power, if it has the courage, to beg the support of the people. They may ask for supplies, they may call upon the country for support, they may take any steps they think right, and unless the people are persuaded that the Government ought to be changed the institutions are such that the Government will receive the confidence of the nation. I must say that under all the circumstances of the case—with the majority in Parliament which the Government has, and with an Opposition which is not powerful, though I am bound to defend it—I think the Government had nothing to fear, and that the institutions of the country, if worked in the ordinary manner, are abundant to enable them to take any course which they think best. I deprecate in the strongest manner that it should be held out that, if the Government of this country has determined that the welfare of the country requires something to be done, there is anything to hinder them from obtaining all the support necessary except the withdrawal of the confidence of the country. Who can doubt the truth of what I say if he looks round and sees the universal enthusiasm, the way in which men who altogether disapprove of the war are ready—every man practically—to give support to the Government of the day? I am sorry to trouble you with long extracts and sorry to attack the man who

made these observations—a man for whom I have the highest respect, but I could not pass over what I believe to be a destructive and dangerous doctrine. There is one point I should like to add, though it is going back a little on what I have said already. It was said that you could not avoid the war after negotiations had been pushed to a certain point, and then you say, on the other hand, that you were not prepared. Why was it, if you were not prepared, that you were about to deliver an ultimatum yourselves?

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: How do you know that?

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: No doubt the Transvaal ultimatum made war absolutely unavoidable; but let us see the position in which you were about to place yourselves. You must have known that if your ultimatum were rejected—

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I do not admit that at all.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: Of course, if an ultimatum was not going to be presented my argument, to a certain extent, falls to the ground, but I am sure of this, that more extensive demands were intended to be made. It seems to me that in the circumstances in which you were placed it was the height of imprudence to push the matter still further, knowing that in all probability the result might be that the Boers would anticipate you, and your colony would be overrun. I have spoken of the want of knowledge on certain matters, but I cannot help mentioning a speech made by a gentleman, a very able gentleman, not in the Cabinet and not now connected with the War Office—Mr. Brodrick. He said that at all events the heart was right if the head was wrong. I have no doubt the heart of the Cabinet is in the right place, but if the head is in the wrong place it concedes much for which we have been arguing. Mr. Brodrick also said that the Government had been deceived. By whom were they deceived? Did their Intelligence Department deceive them? Did Mr. Conyngham Green deceive them? How was it they came to be misled? I am well aware there is something much more important than this, and that is the conduct of the war. Whilst I have felt it my duty to make these criticisms, believing as I do that there are strong grounds for finding

fault with the Government on certain matters—for want of knowledge apparently and want of foresight—I can assure them that, far from wishing to take the smallest party advantage, if I were capable of it, I desire now nothing so much as to support the Government to the utmost in carrying on this war, and I desire that their efforts should be crowned with the fullest success.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I must commence by doing what the noble Earl did, and that is by thanking my two noble friends behind me for the speeches with which they opened the debate. They expressed, in eloquent language, sentiments which I am convinced echo the feelings of the country, and much that they have said will be read both with pleasure and with advantage not only in this country, but in distant parts of the world. I have next to say that the noble Earl impressed me with a feeling which he occasionally does impress me with—a despair of knowing what on earth I have got to say, because he began his speech, as he always does begin his speeches, with a series of unimpeachable propositions, to which I can only reply “Amen.” In the early part of his speech, expressed with great force and vigour, he said many things for which I heartily thank him. I will not go further into that, because it is an unfortunate fact of human nature that controversy is always much less dull than agreement in sentiment. But I will deal with the latter part of his speech, in which he went upon the question how far we were to blame for the condition in which the ultimatum of the South African Republic found us. I do not think the noble Earl went back quite far enough. I think he must accompany me back to the lengthy negotiations of 1881 and 1884, and he must note that in the stipulations of the Conventions of those years there was not one word to limit, to suspect, or to hinder the unrestricted importation of any amount of munitions of war that the South African Republic might desire. The port of Lorenzo Marques, in the hands of a foreign Power, was open to them, the railway came immediately upon their country, and there was nothing in the treaty to prevent them using that inlet for the utmost armaments they might think it desirable to possess. It is per-

factly true that they were not permitted by the treaty of 1881 to make agreements with foreign Powers without our consent, and therefore, if matters had stood in that position they would not have been in a condition to make the agreement which they did make with Portugal—that all munitions of war should freely enter into the country. But this difficulty has struck me. I looked to the records and found, to my extreme surprise, that permission to make this pernicious engagement which has been the cause of all our sorrows was conceded without a word by a Government of which the noble Earl was a member. That course was a very serious handicap. The noble Lord tells us that we ought to have known what arms and munitions were being introduced. I cannot follow him throughout all his debate, for he adopted a practice which is a little inconvenient—namely, that of attacking in this House not the Members of it who are present, but Members of the other House. The noble Earl quoted extracts from speeches by Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Balfour, and Mr. Brodrick, and he has thought it his business to attack those speeches. If I had known beforehand that the noble Earl was going to do this I would have had those speeches bound and placed on the table before me, but it is impossible for me to charge my memory with what those gentlemen exactly said, and I will not undertake to defend them. I have no doubt they are perfectly competent to defend themselves. But when the noble Earl says that we must have known, that it was impossible we should not have known—he got into a fervour of enthusiasm over the certainty of the knowledge that we must have possessed—about the artillery and munitions of war that the Republics were introducing—I ask, How on earth were we to know it? I believe, as a matter of fact—though I do not give this as official—that the guns were generally introduced in boilers and locomotives, and the munitions of war were introduced in pianos. It was not our territory, we had no power of search, we had no power of knowing what munitions of war were sent in, and we certainly had no power of supervising their importation into the Republics.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: Do you know nothing of the armaments of other nations?

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THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: Not so much as we ought to. It is a very remarkable peculiarity of public opinion in this country that people always desire to eat their cake and have it. They rejoice very much in the spiritual complacency which is afforded them by the reflection that they have a very small Secret Service Fund. Information, however, is a mere matter of money and nothing else. If you want much information, you must give much money; if you give little money, you will have little information. And, considering the enormous sums which are spent by other Powers, not least by the Transvaal Republic, which I was told on high diplomatic authority has spent £800,000 in one year in secret service, and comparing these with the ridiculously small sums that have for a great number of years been habitually spent by English Governments, it is impossible to have the omniscience which the noble Earl seems to regard as the necessary attribute of Her Majesty's Government. He has quoted the speeches of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Balfour to show that we now know that the Boer Republics were accumulating during a long series of years the tremendous armaments from which we are suffering now. We know it now; we have the best reason in the world for knowing it. But that we knew it to the extent to which it existed in June last I, at all events speaking for myself, most entirely deny. The important thing is not whether we knew it or not, but whether we knew it in a form of evidence upon which we could go to Parliament. I daresay many of us, considering the nature of the Boers and the past history and character of Mr. Kruger, may have thought it was very likely that they were making enormous preparations, and that war at no distant period was possible. But what we had to do was to take to the House of Commons some proof that our surmises were real. It was no use our saying we suspect this or we suspect that; the House of Commons would not have voted two or three millions of extra expenditure a year for the defence of the frontier of Natal if we could have shown them nothing more real than empty surmises. In my judgment the original fault lay in the treaties of 1881 and 1884, by which this bitterly hostile population was installed in the midst of you, with every

facility for the introduction of all the arms they pleased. This was done without any precautions to prevent it or to supervise it, and it created a situation of great and continuing danger. No doubt President Kruger, who is a shrewd man, succeeded in accumulating great armaments without, until very recently, any suspicion of their enormous size having reached those who were concerned. But the noble Lord seems to think that that is an elementary matter which we were bound to know. You cannot see through a deal board. We had no means of knowing the extent of the preparations, although everybody knew they existed to a certain extent. Then the noble Lord will say—You are arguing, therefore, that the reverses and difficulties under which we are at present suffering were inevitable. I am not at all prepared to say they were inevitable. That is a matter on which we shall decide later, when we have had an opportunity of hearing all the circumstances of the case. I am not at all prepared to say that it was not within the region of possibility and human strategy to have deferred the more acute phases of the conflict until the necessary reinforcements had been sent out. I do not say it was so, and I do not say it was not so. I will not give any opinion on the subject until we have been enabled to make inquiry. But I heartily concur in the view of the noble Lord that it is not for us now to express any criticism on the military operations, because we cannot hear the opinion of those who are justly entitled to be heard on the point. I entirely deny that the authors of the most lamentable treaties of 1881 and 1884 have a right to reproach us because President Kruger was enabled to introduce an enormous amount of armament without our knowledge—or without our knowledge until the matter had assumed a very serious character. My Lords, I confess this seems to me to be to a certain extent an unprofitable discussion, because it is almost impossible to take any step in the argument without seeming to call in question the actions of some man or set of men who ought not to be judged until they have been heard, and until a full examination has been made into their case. Therefore, I have very unwillingly entered into this point. I only wish to repeat that I cast the responsibility for the introduction of these vast armaments on the persons

who signed the treaties of 1881 and 1884. For the rest, my Lords, I am glad that the noble Earl did not propose, as I understood it was likely he would, an immediate inquiry into the action of either the military authorities at home or the generals in the field. Such an inquiry would be in no sense complete. We do not deprecate it, we do not shrink from it, but we should gravely disapprove of an inquiry held before those who could give us most valuable information were in a position to appear before us. Therefore, I think that, though an inquiry would be quite wise, it would be better deferred to a more propitious period. I cannot entirely coincide with the constitutional fervour which the noble Earl displayed in the latter part of his speech. I do not believe in the perfection of the British Constitution as an instrument of war. As an instrument of peace it has not yet met its match, but for purposes of war there is more to be said. If you look back over the present century you will see there have been four occasions on which the British Government has engaged in war. On each occasion the opening of these wars was not prosperous, and on each occasion the Government of the day and the officers in command were assailed with the utmost virulence of popular abuse. These were the Walcheren expedition, the Peninsular War, the Crimean War, and now the South African War. In all those cases at first—in the case of Walcheren not only at first—there were lamentable losses. In all those cases there was the fiercest denunciation of the Government of the day and of the generals who had charge of the operations. Did I hear the noble Earl deny that?

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: No, I said there was a great deal of truth in it.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I do not know whether the noble Earl has read the life of the Duke of Wellington, recently published, written by Sir Herbert Maxwell—a most admirable book.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: Yes.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: Then the noble Earl will have noticed that even so dignified, sedate, sober, and far-seeing a body as the Common Council of the City of London denounced the

rashness and inexperience of the Duke of Wellington, and exhorted the Government to recall him. In the case of Walcheren the miscarriage was too great to allow for any mistake that was made, and nobody interfered on behalf of Lord Chatham and Sir Richard Strachan. In the Crimean war, as the noble earl will himself remember, a fierce attack was made on the unfortunate Duke of Newcastle, who was a very able and conscientious man, and not in the least degree guilty of the things laid to his charge, but the fury of popular indignation was so great that he made way before it. I think he made a great mistake in doing so, because before a couple of years had passed away a complete reaction set in. But the moral I wish to draw from this uniformity of experience is that it is not the extraordinary folly or feebleness of particular Ministers or generals with which you have to deal, which is the sole cause of your reverses. There must be something else. We cannot have been so unlucky as to have fought four times and to have lighted upon the most incompetent and worthless Ministers that the world has ever produced. It is evident there is something in your machinery that is wrong, and that leads me to accept with a very doubting mind the glowing eulogism which the noble Earl passed upon the fighting qualities of the British Constitution. I am inclined to doubt these qualities, and I will recommend to the meditation of the noble Lord these considerations. The art of war has been studied on the continent of Europe with a thoroughness and self-devotion that no other science has commanded, and at the end we find ourselves surrounded by five great military Powers, and yet on matters of vital importance we pursue a policy wholly different from those military Powers. Do not understand for a moment that I am guilty of such profanity as to blame the British Constitution. I am not. I am pointing out that in this matter we enjoy splendid isolation. Of course, first and foremost stands conscription, and no one imagines, even among the youngest of us, that he will ever live to see conscription adopted in this country. Then comes the employment as experts of persons sitting in Parliament exercising power over the military administration, who are named by the Government, but who have not to obtain the approval of the electors and the con-

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stituencies. It is an important and very difficult question. Then there is the big question of promotion by seniority, a delicate subject; but I doubt if you will find that promotion by seniority prevails in any of the great armies of Europe to the extent it prevails here. Then there is that matter of secret service to which I have already referred. There is no other country which is content to protect itself with so slight a supply of funds as our own; and last of all I feel I am laying my hand on the sacred feature of the Constitution when I say there is the Treasury. At the present time I feel assured that the powers of the Treasury have been administered with the greatest judgment, and the greatest consideration, and do not imagine for a moment that I support the idiotic attacks which have been made on the present Chancellor of the Exchequer. He is a Minister who has filled the office with the greatest consideration to the powers of the Treasury; but I say that the exercise of its powers in governing every department of the Government is not for the public benefit. The Treasury has obtained a position in regard to the rest of the departments of the Government that the House of Commons obtained in the time of the Stuart dynasty. It has the power of the purse, and by exercising the power of the purse it claims a voice in all decisions of administrative authority and policy. I think that much delay and many doubtful resolutions have been the result of the peculiar position which, through many generations, the Treasury has occupied. Do not imagine for a moment that I say it is in any way due to those with whom I have had the honour of sitting in the Cabinet. Now I notice these things because I was stimulated to it by the enthusiasm—what I call the 1688 enthusiasm—which has animated the mind of the noble Lord. I do not think that the British Constitution as at present worked is a good fighting machine. I have stated that it is unequalled for producing happiness, prosperity, and liberty in time of peace; but now, in time of war, when great Powers with enormous forces are looking at us with no gentle or kindly eye on every side, it becomes us to think whether we must not in some degree modify our arrangements in order to enable ourselves to meet the dangers that

at any moment may arise. I have only been induced to make these remarks by what has fallen from the noble Earl, but I confess—and it is a humiliating confession—that both he and I have been wasting a good deal of time of the House this evening. I do not think that this looking back on past history, this examination of the particular blame that may attach to this or that Minister, or the particular force that we may lend to the speech of any Minister—I do not think that these quite come up to the dignity of the present crisis. We have something more to do than to examine into the past action of Ministers or the present reputation they bear. If you are able to come forward and say, “We have a better set of Ministers to propose to the Crown,” and if you can persuade the House of Commons to that opinion, of course, you are doing your duty; but if you are not able to do this, I do not think there is much use in discussing it in such a crisis as this. We must all join together to exercise all the powers we can give in order to extricate ourselves from a situation that is full of humiliation, and not free from danger. I do not say that the danger may not be easily exaggerated. Many a country has begun a great war with difficulties of the kind. We have only to look at what the Northern States of America went through at the beginning of the Civil War, to see how easy it would be to draw a mistaken inference from the reverses with which we have been met at the opening of this war. We have every ground to think that if we set ourselves heartily to work, and exert all the undoubted instruments of power we possess, we shall bring this war to a satisfactory conclusion. I think we must defer the pleasing task of quarrelling among ourselves until that result has been obtained. We have a work that now appeals to us as subjects of the Queen—as Englishmen; and it must throw into shadow the ancient claim, the well-known and acknowledged claim, which party expediency has upon the action of all our statesmen. The noble lord has spoken of what men have said in the other House. I confess I saw with some regret that a noble lord of great position is about to bring this great issue into a party conflict. It is much to be regretted. The only place where he will create sympathy, where he will arouse enthusiasm, is at Pretoria. Our object

must be to retrieve ourselves as rapidly as possible from the situation into which we have got. We are in this position. It is worse than many we have gone through before, for we are repelling men who have invaded our territory, and the reverses we have suffered are in consequence of our inability to drive them back. That is a position which cannot last. Remember that this Empire which we sustain is a valuable, splendid, but also a very responsible possession to support. If anything happens to tear asunder the great continental countries, by the mere force of their geographical juxtaposition, they must come together again, and the evil will be repaired. There is not in our Empire any coercing or retaining force which will answer the same end; and unless we can sink all lesser issues, unless we take all smaller passions into the one great duty of sustaining our country in this crisis, we shall run the danger of convulsions which will certainly tarnish its lustre, and perhaps menace its integrity.

THE EARL OF ROSEBURY: My Lords, I can say, with the utmost truth, what many say by way of rhetorical figure, that when I entered this House I had no more idea of addressing your Lordships than the clock I see in the gallery. But I confess that the speech which we have just heard moves me against myself to make one or two remarks which are pertinent to the extreme gravity of the situation in which we stand. May I, in the first place, say what has not been said before—how truly and deeply I am sure I voice the sympathy of this House for once with the noble Marquess in the terrible bereavement which has robbed him since we last met of the noble and gifted lady who shared the triumphs of his career. But when I pass from that reflection to the speech we have just heard, I ask myself, Why is it that the Prime Minister of this country makes it so hard for “the man in the street”—to which august category I belong with others—to support his Government? He said just now that the speech of the noble Earl behind me was unworthy of the dignity of the occasion.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I am afraid that the noble Lord has misunderstood me if he understood me to

say that the manner of the noble Earl was in any way unworthy. I meant to say that both of us in examining the past conduct of the Government had been dealing with a matter which was not the most pressing at the present moment.

THE EARL OF ROSEBURY: The past conduct of the Government is a matter which some day will come up for investigation and for inquisition, and they will have to meet an indictment not without force or without gravity. But I hope in my heart and conscience that the investigation may not take place till such a time as the Government and all those who are serving the Queen at this moment may be covered with such a blaze of triumph and of glory that the eye of investigation may be somewhat dazzled and dimmed. When I think of where we stand I am appalled by the nature and the style, the manner and the matter, of the speech of the Prime Minister of Great Britain addressing this ancient and hereditary House. How do we stand at this moment? We have 120,000 men in South Africa, and we at this moment have not been able to advance into the enemy's territory at all. Indeed, we have difficulty in holding our own. The attitude of foreign nations is described by the usual language of courtesy as friendly, but that language is considerably mitigated by the observation of the noble Marquess himself. It does not strike me as being as amicable as the word used would imply, and as it is stated to be in the Speech from the Throne. Here I must differ for one moment from the noble Earl behind me. He thinks it a mistake that our newspapers should reproduce so accurately the language of the foreign press when it is hostile to ourselves. He said—I think he made a slip there—that we reproduce all the hostile language of the foreign press which is addressed to ourselves. Our press can undertake no such gigantic task as that of reproducing all the hostile language of the foreign press. It is not a fiftieth or a hundredth part of that hostile language which we are privileged to read in our own papers. But I welcome the enterprise of our journalists in reproducing some of it, because otherwise we should be living in a fool's paradise—an insular paradise—believing that the nations who have long been envious of our prosperity and have recently been alienated by the

language of our diplomacy are by no means unfriendly to us. We stand in a parlous position. We have had explanations as to what is the present position in the view of the Government; and I confess I think that my noble friend was fully justified in touching on those explanations, which are the only authoritative ones that we have had. The noble Marquess brushed them contemptuously aside. He said, as he has often said on similar occasions, that it is not fair in this House to criticise speeches delivered by those who do not belong to this House. That is a hard saying; and he did not soften it, I may mention, by adding, as his own view of the British Constitution—on which he dilated at great length and with startling novelty and originality—that it was wrong to criticise a Government if you were not able to turn it out. That is a contention which would reduce the sacred but limited band behind me to silence and exile for the rest of their lives. But if my noble friend was not to criticise the speeches of Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain, or of any one who is not privileged by creation or succession to a seat in this House, whom was he to criticise? I scan the opposite bench, and I cannot see any one, except my noble friend who is President of the Council and who is also the President of the Defence Committee, which has been such a bulwark for our country—excepting the noble Duke, who made a speech at the Imperial Institute on education, a speech which would not therefore have been pertinent to any part of the argument of my noble friend, I cannot see any Minister who has broken silence since the month of November. We stand, therefore, in a strange position. The noble Marquess brushes aside all criticism of the only Ministerial utterances which we have had to clear up the position. He says that if he had had the slightest idea that those speeches would have been called in question in this House he would have had them bound and placed on the Table before him for comment. Did ever any one hear such a defence of two of the most important members of the Cabinet delivered by the Prime Minister at such a crisis of his country's history? There is, at any rate, one question which we are anxious to have answer to. That question was pressed home and was not met. We have a right to know, and though we cannot enforce it by any vote—if the

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men in the street of whom we hear so much had seats in this House it would be carried by an overwhelming majority—we have a right to know from the noble Marquess, or whoever may succeed him in the debate, whether there was adequate information given to the Government before the crisis in the Transvaal appeared; or whether even there was sufficient information to guide them in their diplomacy and negotiations. That is the point which the nation will insist upon knowing, whether in this House or the other. If you had not sufficient information, dismiss your Intelligence Department, dismiss Mr. Conyngham Greene and your Consular Agents wherever they exist and had touch with this matter, at Lorenzo Marques and elsewhere. If you did know of it you have a heavy responsibility to bear. The noble Marquess says, "How can we see through a deal board?" I suppose he meant by that to allude to pianoforte cases in which, with more knowledge than he gave himself credit for, he unofficially states that the ammunition was taken into Pretoria.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I am only told so.

THE EARL OF ROSEBURY: The noble Marquess only states it unofficially. He says that he cannot see through a deal plank, and that therefore he has no means of knowing what was smuggled into Pretoria. I should be glad of any official statement to balance the unofficial statement of the noble Marquess. Then he proceeded with a statement which struck me as more startling still. He said, "Give us more secret service money and we will receive and, in our turn, give you more information." My Lords, the Government is in possession of a very commanding majority in this House—I reckon it at 95 per cent.—it may be more or it may be less. They have in the House of Commons a majority which it is impossible to compute, but which I should say would roughly be represented by three-quarters of the House, or, if that is an exaggerated estimate, by two-thirds of the House. If they have the responsibility of Government they are bound to ask for such funds, whether for secret service or any other, as they may think necessary for the safety of the Empire. They cannot devolve that responsibility upon your

Lordships by speaking of the working of the British Constitution. I ask you to analyse the speech of the noble Marquess which is still ringing in your ears. It is the speech of a Minister explaining a disastrous position to Parliament; and he practically has only given two explanations of that situation. They are, first, that the Government have not enough secret service money to obtain information; and, secondly, the mysterious working of the British Constitution. I suppose there are foreign representatives in the gallery listening to this debate; and I suppose that the speech of the Prime Minister will be flashed all over Europe to-night to tell Europe what the Prime Minister has to say in this crisis. And Europe, which is watching with a keen and not a benevolent interest the proceedings of our armies in South Africa, will learn that the causes of our disasters are—one avoidable, and the other inevitable. The avoidable cause is the inadequate amount of the secret service vote, and the inevitable one is the secular working of the British Constitution. I pass from that question to ask another which is of much more interest for me. We do not care to know at this moment how it is that the war began and found us unprepared and has left us in a position almost of humiliation ever since. But what we have a right to know now is—What do the Government intend to do? There is a paragraph in the Queen's Speech, a paragraph which I rejoice to see, of a somewhat didactic character in its first sentence, but not without interest in its second—

"The experience of a great war must necessarily afford lessons of the greatest importance to the military administrations of the country. You will not, I am convinced, shrink from any outlay that may be required to place our defensive preparations on a level with the responsibilities which the possession of so great an Empire has laid upon us."

The noble Marquess made no reference to that paragraph, except to say that he does not think we shall see compulsory service in the life of the youngest Peer present. I do not affirm or question that proposition. But I do not see that it is as immeasurably remote as the noble Marquess considers that some form of compulsory service should have to be introduced to meet the growing exigencies of the Empire; and I am quite sure that neither from that nor from any other

sacrifice will the nation recoil to preserve the predominance of this Empire. We have sent from our island a vast mass of the troops which usually garrison it. Situated as we are, as has been more than once said, in the centre of a universe which is by no means friendly to us, that we should not have a hint from the First Minister of the Crown as to what military measures they propose to take in the face of the disasters with which we have met, and as to the sacrifices which we must inevitably be called upon to make to redress them—that is one of the most extraordinary features of the working of the British Constitution on which the noble Marquess has laid such stress. I agree with him in saying that the country will carry this thing through. It will carry it through, in spite of all the impediments, both of men and of methods, which have shackled it in the past. But I venture to say that it will have to be inspired by a loftier tone and by a truer patriotism than we have heard from the Prime Minister to-night.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (the Marquess of LANSDOWNE): My Lords, the noble Earl has asked Her Majesty's Government a question which, no doubt, he had an excellent right to ask. He asked us what were our intentions as to the military measures which the critical circumstances of the present moment seemed to him to require. If I do not give the noble Earl a detailed answer to that question it is not because I dispute his right to ask it, but because I confess that the Debate on the Address scarcely seems to us the proper opportunity for unfolding to Parliament a full statement upon a very technical matter. The noble Earl will believe me when I say that I give this answer not with any idea of putting him off, but merely because I do not regard the present as the proper moment for answering the question. I can state to him to-night that I shall be ready on a very early date to explain fully to your Lordships what military measures Her Majesty's Government have in contemplation. Both the noble Earls who have spoken opposite have reproached Her Majesty's Government, first, with their ignorance as to the Boer preparations, and, next, with their unpreparedness for war when it broke out. The noble Earl the leader of the Opposition in this House quoted from a speech

of Mr. Balfour's a passage in which Mr. Balfour seemed to admit that we were open to the reproach of unpreparedness for war. But I think the statement of Mr. Balfour was that we were unprepared for war on the spot, and that is, after all, a very different thing. That we were not altogether unprepared for war is surely obvious when we consider the statement of the noble Earl below the gangway (the Earl of Rosebery) that we have been able within a few weeks to send 120,000 troops 6,000 miles across the sea, and land them in a full state of efficiency and equipment. That, surely was no proof of unpreparedness at home. Then the noble Earl complained that we were without information as to the military preparations of the South African Republic. I think that he has done us an injustice. There are, no doubt, many cases in which munitions of war have passed through Lorenzo Marques under the various disguises indicated by the Prime Minister, but I am able to tell the House that the Intelligence branch has been able from time to time to supply us with information which I believe to be extremely correct as to the extent and the nature of the Boer preparations. The estimate made by the Intelligence branch of the number of armed men to be found in the two South African Republics is, I believe, a correct estimate, and one which our experience of these military operations has not in any way falsified. I think it extremely likely that the Intelligence branch may have wrongly conjectured the exact number of men whom we were likely to find at any particular point opposing us in the field. It is clearly a matter for conjecture whether the two Republics were likely or not to detach a part, and if so what part of their fighting force, either for the purpose of garrisoning their cities or for the purpose of watching the native tribes at different portions of their borders. It is also fair to the Intelligence Department to add that they had no means of forming a very precise estimate of the additions which the Boer forces have received from various sources—to some extent, I am afraid, from amongst the disloyal Dutch of our own colonies, and also to some extent by the gradual accretion of small bodies of mercenaries of different nations, who, like the munitions of war, found their way more or less surreptitiously

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through Portuguese territory into the Transvaal; but with these two reservations, I am able to say that in my belief the estimate given to us by the Intelligence branch was, on the whole, a trustworthy estimate. When I come to the question of guns, I believe in the same way that they were able before the war began, or became inevitable, to tell us, at any rate with approximate accuracy, what was the nature of the armaments in the hands of the two Republics. What I think we did possibly underrate—and I do not care how frankly I confess it—was not the numbers or the armaments of the Boers, but their value as fighting men. They have shown an amount of resource, an amount of mobility and of tenacity for which I think most of us were not prepared; and I think it is in that sense that my noble and gallant colleague, the Commander-in-Chief, in a speech he delivered in the autumn, very frankly admitted that the Boers had shown themselves more powerful and more numerous than we had been led to expect. With regard to our unpreparedness for war, the noble Earl told us that if we were not sufficiently informed as to the preparations of the Boers we undertook a great responsibility in making war upon them. My Lords, I believe that every member of Her Majesty's Government in the summer of last year realised perfectly well that war in the end might prove inevitable; but we did not believe that it was inevitable, and so long as by any action consistent with our self-respect we could avoid that war we were anxious to avoid it, knowing as we did that it would prove a very serious and a very costly war—costly not only in treasure, but costly, I mean, in the loss of precious lives which cannot be replaced. We were determined, my Lords, that we would take no steps which might have the effect of precipitating a collision with the South African Republic. We believed that it was perfectly possible to draw an intelligible line between those military measures which were necessary for the purpose of securing our colonies in South Africa and those other measures which might be necessary should an invasion of the two Republics be determined upon. My Lords, while negotiations were still in progress we determined to restrict ourselves to those purely protective measures which seemed to us sufficient for the purpose and which, in our belief,

were not calculated to provoke a rupture of the negotiations which were proceeding. I believe that at that time the country was with us in this policy. Throughout the summer of last year the negotiations were proceeding, and proceeding, on the whole, hopefully. We received from the South African Republic one proposal after another, each of them apparently more hopeful and more encouraging as to a satisfactory issue, and I think we are not to blame if, while those negotiations were going on, we shrank from such measures as, for example, the calling out of the Reserves or the sending of a large expeditionary force which could only be intended for aggressive purposes. It may be argued that that policy was too hazardous for us; but I think we are not open to that charge unless it can be shown that there was reason for believing that the precautions which were taken were inadequate to protect the colonies during the time which must necessarily elapse before we were able to send out a field force and to assume the offensive. We were advised that it was possible for us by sending out reinforcements of moderate size to make the two colonies perfectly safe. We took the best military advice obtainable as to the number of the reinforcements which it was necessary to send out for that purpose. We sent out those reinforcements, and they arrived in South Africa before British territory was invaded by the Boer forces. There is another aspect of the matter which deserves your Lordships' attention. That is this. Supposing we had, as the noble Earl opposite suggests, as I understand—supposing we had during the summer, and when negotiations were still pending, made overt preparations for occupying the colonies on a large scale—

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: I never contended that.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: I think such a demand has been made.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: Not during the negotiations. I never contended that.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: I am sorry if I have misunderstood the noble Earl. According to my lights, if

a certain demand had been made, accompanied by the preparation of a large and dominating force, that would only have had the effect of precipitating the negotiations, and at the same time, on the presumption that the Boers were preparing for hostilities, of inducing them to make an attack upon us.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: Not during the negotiations.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: I am sorry there is a misunderstanding.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: That was not my point.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: At any rate the noble Earl will not dispute that, if at the moment we had chosen to make large overt preparations in this country for war, clearly indicating to the world that we were about to coerce the South African Republic, at that moment it would have been possible for them to strike at us before we could possibly strike at them.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: I did not mean that.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: We had this matter thoroughly considered by our military advisers, and we were told that it would take us at least thirteen weeks to land and concentrate and prepare a field force consisting of an army corps and a cavalry division in South Africa. During those thirteen weeks it is perfectly clear that it would have been in the power of the South African Republic to have taken the initiative. We knew that nothing we could do would deprive them of that advantage, and we considered that it would be better to limit ourselves to those purely defensive measures to which we actually limited ourselves, and which were thought sufficient for securing the two colonies against attack. I have only to add that if your Lordships should desire these matters to be more thoroughly investigated, I shall be ready to follow the noble Lords opposite into any details as to which they may require information. For the present I hope I have said enough to show your Lordships, in the first place, that we were not, as has been alleged, unprepared, and, in the next place, that we had excellent

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reasons for not pushing our preparations at first further than we actually did. It remains for me only to repeat what has been said already by more than one noble Lord, and to express my deep acknowledgments, in the first place, to the people of this country for the manner in which they have supported us in all our military preparations, and in the next place to the citizens of our great colonies for the extraordinary loyalty which they have shown, and the extreme generosity with which they have placed the whole of their resources at our disposal: and, finally, I must say one word to those numerous members of the civil population who have by contributions of all kinds, and particularly in the matter of hospitals, done so much to diminish the sufferings of our troops and secure the success of our military operations.

THE EARL OF ROSEBURY: Could the noble Marquess tell us the day on which he proposes to make his statement?

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: I am not in a position to name a date now, but I can assure the noble Earl that it will be a very early date.

On question, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty in reply to her gracious speech," agreed to, *nemine dissente*, and same ordered to be presented to Her Majesty by the Lords with White Staves.

COMMITTEES.

The EARL OF MORLEY—Appointed, *nemine dissente*, to take the Chair in all Committees of this House for this session.

Committee for Privileges—Appointed.

Committee for the Journals—Appointed.

Stoppages in the Streets—Order to prevent, renewed.

Appeal Committee—Appointed.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS (RECESS).

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the following papers

having been commanded to be presented to this House by Her Majesty had been so presented on the following dates by delivery to the Clerk of the Parliaments, pursuant to order of the House of the 17th February, 1896, viz.—

PUBLIC RECORDS (IRELAND).

Appendix to the Thirtieth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Records in Ireland. (October 30.)

EVICCTIONS (IRELAND).

Return for the quarter ended 30th September, 1899. (November 1.)

IRISH LAND COMMISSION.

Judicial Rents: Return for March, 1899. (November 3);

Judicial Rents: Return for April and May, 1899. (November 14);

Proceedings: Return for September, 1899. (November 15);

Proceedings: Return for October, 1899. (December 29).

METEOROLOGICAL COUNCIL.

Report for the year ending 31st March, 1899, to the President and Council of the Royal Society. (November 9).

TREATY SERIES.

No. 18. (1899). Convention for the exchange of Money Orders between the United States of America and the Colony of British Honduras; signed at Washington, 20th February, 1899. (November 10);

No. 19. (1899). Exchange of notes between the United Kingdom and the United States of America providing for the establishment of a Provisional Boundary between the Dominion of Canada and the Territory of Alaska in the region about the head of Lynn Canal, 20th October, 1899. (November 14);

No. 20. (1899). Additional Articles to the Convention of 11th July, 1896, between Great Britain and Italy respecting the exchange of parcels by parcel post; signed at Rome, 28th October, 1899. (December 19).

No. 1. (1900). Exchange of notes between the United Kingdom and France respecting the waiver of consular fees on the issue of Certificates of Origin. (January 3).

No. 2. (1900). Agreement between the United Kingdom and France for the exchange of press telegrams by night at reduced rates; signed at Paris, 8th November, 1899 [Ratifications exchanged at Paris, 16th December, 1899]. (January 11).

No. 3. (1900). Declaration between the United Kingdom and France, prolonging for one year the Declaration of 11th December, 1888, regulating telegraphic communication between the two countries; signed at London, 20th March, 1899. [Ratifications exchanged at Paris, 30th December, 1899]. (January 19).

COLONIES (ANNUAL) REPORTS:—

No. 277. Bahamas, 1898. (November 10).

No. 278. British Honduras, 1898. (November 10).

No. 279. Mauritius and Rodrigues, 1898. (November 10).

No. 280. Grenada, 1898. (December 4).

No. 281. St. Vincent, 1898. (December 4).

No. 282. Hong Kong, 1898. (December 5).

No. 283. Jamaica, 1898-99. (December 14).

No. 284. Lagos, 1899. (December 22).

No. 285. Seychelles, 1898. (January 19).

No. 286. Christmas and Cocos-Keeling Islands, 1899. (January 19).

No. 287. Straits Settlements, 1898. (January 24).

CROFTER COLONISATION.

Tenth Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to carry out a scheme of colonisation in the Dominion of Canada, of crofters and cottars from the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland; with appendices. (November 13).

TRADE REPORTS:—

Annual Series: Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance:—

No. 2363. Portugal (Angola), 1898. (November 18).

No. 2364. France (French Guinea), 1898. (November 24).

No. 2365. Russia (Agriculture in Transcaucasia), 1898. (November 24).

No. 2366. Russia (Odessa and District), 1898. (November 28).

Annual Series: Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance:—

- No. 2367. Central Italy, 1898. (November 28).
- No. 2368. Persia (Khorassan, 1898 and 1899). (December 9).
- No. 2369. China (Newchwang) 1898. (December 22).
- No. 2370. Greece (Finances), 1898. (December 29).
- No. 2371. Denmark (Supplementary), 1898. (January 13).
- No. 2372. France (Senegal and Dependencies), 1898. (January 19).
- No. 2373. Germany (German East African Coast Towns, 1899). (January 20).
- No. 2374. Denmark (Finances, 1896-97 to 1900-1). (January 25).

Miscellaneous Series: Reports on Subjects of General and Commercial Interest:—

- No. 517. Mexico (Federal District). (November 18).
- No. 518. Germany (Law of 1900 on Sickness and Old Age Insurance). (December 29).
- No. 519. Belgium (Flax Industry of Courtrai). (January 5).
- No. 520. France (Colonies). (January 12).

GERMANY, No. 1. (1899.)

Despatch to Her Majesty's Charge d'Affaires at Berlin, enclosing Copies of the Convention and Declaration between Great Britain and Germany, of 14th November, 1899, for the Settlement of the Samoan and other Questions. (November 18.)

MINES (EXPLOSION AT LLEST COLLIERY).

Reports to the Secretary of State for the Home Department by Mr. Chester Jones, Barrister-at-Law, and Mr. J. T. Robson, Her Majesty's Inspector of Mines, on the circumstances attending an explosion which occurred at the Llest Colliery, Pontyrhyl, on the 18th August, 1899. (November 22.)

SOUTH AFRICA.

Correspondence relating to the Despatch of Colonial Military Contingents to South Africa. (November 27.)

RAILWAY AND CANAL TRAFFIC ACT, 1888.

Returns made to the Board of Trade in pursuance of Section 39, Sub-section 2 of the Act, in respect of the Canals and Navigations in the United Kingdom for the year 1898. (November 29.)

PETERHEAD HARBOUR.

Reports respecting Peterhead Harbour Works (in continuation of [C.-9113.] (December 4.)

EXPLOSIVES (EXPLOSION AT UPTON TOWANS FACTORY, GWITHIAN).

Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department by Captain J. H. Thomson, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Explosives, on the circumstances attending an explosion of blasting gelatine which occurred in a mixing house of the Factory of the National Explosives Company, Limited, at Upton Towans, Gwithian, near Hayle, Cornwall, on 19th October, 1899. (December 5.)

RAILWAYS (CONTINUOUS BRAKES).

Return by Railway Companies of the United Kingdom for the six months ending 30th June, 1899. (December 21.)

POST OFFICE (PARCEL POST WITH EGYPT).

Agreement concerning the exchange of postal parcels concluded between the Post Office of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the Postal Administration of Egypt. (December 29.)

METROPOLITAN WATER SUPPLY (ROYAL COMMISSION).

Final Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the subject of the water supply within the limits of the Metropolitan Water Companies; with index to the First and Final Reports of the Commissioners. (January 6).

INDIA (TRADE).

Statement of the trade of British India with British Possessions and Foreign Countries for the five years 1894-95 to 1898-99. (January 9.)

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP.

Annual Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops for the year 1898. Part II.—Reports. (January 11.)

JUDICIAL STATISTICS (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1869.

Report on the Judicial Statistics of Scotland for the year 1898. (January 11.)

ACCIDENTS TO RAILWAY SERVANTS (ROYAL COMMISSION).

Report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the causes of the accidents, fatal and non-fatal, to servants of railway companies and of truck owners. Part I.—Report. (January 24.)

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

NATAL.

Correspondence relating to the defence of Natal.

CANADA—AUSTRALIA.

Further correspondence relating to the proposed construction of a cable across the Pacific Ocean (in continuation of [C.-9283], May, 1899).

SOUTH AFRICA.

Further correspondence relating to Affairs in South Africa (in continuation of [C.-9,530], October, 1899).

WAGES AND EFFECTS OF DECEASED SEAMEN.

Account of the sums received and paid in respect of the wages and effects of deceased seamen in the year ended 31st March, 1899.

METROPOLITAN WATER SUPPLY (ROYAL COMMISSION).

Minutes of Evidence taken before Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the subject of the water supply within the limits of the Metropolitan Water Companies. Volume I.

TRADE REPORTS, 1900 (ANNUAL SERIES).

No. 2,375. Prussia (Finances, 1897-1900).
No. 2,375. Italy (Southern Italy).

Presented (by command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE ACT, 1877.

I. Statute made by the Governing Body of Pembroke College, Oxford, on

3rd March, 1899, amending Clause 9 of Statute II. and Clause 3 of Statute VIII. of the Statutes of that College.

II. Statute made by the Governing Body of Worcester College, Oxford, at a meeting held on the 22nd of February, 1899, and continued by adjournment the 8th March, 1899, amending Statute III., 10, of the Statutes of that College.

III. Statute made by the Governing Body of Brasenose College, Oxford, the 15th March, 1899, altering Statutes III. and XVI. of the Statutes of that College.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and to be printed. (No. 1.)

COLLEGE CHARTER ACT, 1871.

Application received from Mason University College, of the City of Birmingham, for the establishment of a university at that city, which was submitted to the Queen in Council and referred by Her Majesty for the consideration and report of a Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council, 14th July, 1899; together with a copy of the draft of the charter applied for.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and to be printed. (No. 2.)

TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION ACTS.

Minutes of Committee of Council on Education sanctioning the subjects to be taught under Clause 8 of the Act of 1889 for counties of—

I. Dorset (second minute).

II. East Suffolk (sixth minute).

III. Norfolk (eighth minute).

IV. Yorks, North Riding (seventh minute).

V. Berks (fourth minute).

VI. Sussex (Western Division) (third minute).

VII. Oxford (fifth minute).

VIII. Devon (seventh minute).

LUNACY.

Report to the Lord Chancellor of visits made, patients seen, and miles travelled by visitors of lunatics, between 1st April, 1899, and 30th September, 1899

COUNTY COURTS ACT, 1888

Order of the Lord Chancellor, dated 15th December, 1899, under section 45 of the Act, ordering that William Henry Whitelock, Registrar of the County Court of Warwickshire holden at Birmingham, shall not practise as a solicitor, and that Section 20 of the Supreme Court of Judicature (Officers) Act, 1879, shall not apply to the office of the said Mr. William Henry Whitelock.

INDIA (LOANS RAISED IN INDIA).

Return of all loans raised in India under the provisions of any Acts of Parliament chargeable on the revenues of India outstanding at the commencement of the half-year ended on the 30th September, 1899, with the rates of interest and total amount payable thereon, &c.

RAMSGATE HARBOUR.

Statement of the receipts and payments made by the Board of Trade for the year ended 31st March, 1899, together with an account of the receipt and issue of stores.

SEAMEN'S SAVINGS BANKS, MONEY ORDERS, AND TRANSMISSION OF WAGES.

Account of all deposits received and repaid by the Board of Trade, under the authority of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, during the year ended 20th November, 1898, and of the interest thereon; statement showing the number and amount of seamen's money orders issued and paid, at ports in the United Kingdom and at ports abroad, from 1855 to 31st March, 1899; also, statement showing the receipts and payments in connection with the transmission of seamen's wages from 1878 to 31st March, 1899.

LIGHTHOUSES ABROAD.

Account showing the dues received, and expenditure incurred in the construction, repair, and maintenance of lighthouses in British Possessions abroad during the year 1898-99.

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP.

1. (Manufacture of bichromate or chromate of potassium, or sodium): Special rules with regard to the employment of persons in chemical works in which is carried on the manufacture of bichromate or chromate of potassium or sodium.

2. (Use of phosphorus in the manufacture of matches): Special rules with regard to the employment of persons in lucifer match factories in which white or yellow phosphorus is used.

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS.

1. Charter of Incorporation of the Borough of Pudsey, Yorks, dated 13th November, 1899.
2. Charter of Incorporation of the Borough of Swindon, Wilts, dated 22nd January, 1900.

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS, 1853 to 1891 (CONDITIONAL LICENCES).

Licences granted by Her Majesty to—

- I. Sarah Jane Cook, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting the said Sarah Jane Cook to be at large, on condition that she enter the East End Refuge, Finchley.
- II. Rose Ann Casey, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting the said Rose Ann Casey to be at large, on condition that she enter the East End Refuge, Finchley.
- III. Elizabeth Franklin, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting the said Elizabeth Franklin to be at large, on condition that she enter the Elizabeth Fry Refuge, Hackney.
- IV. Fanny Honey, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting the said Fanny Honey to be at large, on condition that she enter the Royal Victoria Home, Horfield, near Bristol.
- V. Jeanne Marie Dubosq, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting the said Jeanne Marie Dubosq to be at large, on condition that she enter the Royal Victoria Home, Horfield, near Bristol.
- VI. William Tunney to be at large under the provisions of the Acts to which are annexed conditions other than those contained in Schedule A. of the Penal Servitude Act, 1864.
- VII. Margaret Dearnley, a convict under detention in Aylesbury

Prison, permitting the said Margaret Dearnley to be at large, on condition that she enter the Royal Victoria Home, Horfield, near Bristol.

VIII. Dewhannah Jones, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting the said Dewhannah Jones to be at large, on condition that she enter the East End Refuge, Finchley.

IX. Emily Lazenby, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting the said Emily Lazenby to be at large, on condition that she enter the Royal Victoria Home, Horfield, near Bristol.

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1899.

I. Annual Statistical Report to the Secretary for Scotland by—

1. The University Court of the University of Aberdeen ;
2. The University Court of the University of Edinburgh ;
3. The University Court of the University of Glasgow.

II. Abstract of accounts for the year ending 31st August, 1899, being the annual report of the state of the finances of the—

1. University of Aberdeen ;
2. University of Edinburgh.

PRISONS (SCOTLAND).

Rule made by the Secretary for Scotland appointing the police cells at Falkirk, in the county of Stirling, to be a legal prison for the detention of prisoners for a period not exceeding fourteen days before or during or after trial.

LUNACY (SCOTLAND).

General rules made by the Midlothian and Peebles District Lunacy Board for the government of the Midlothian and Peebles District Asylum.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

House adjourned at a quarter before Seven of the clock, to Thursday next at a quarter past Four of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, 30th January, 1900.

The House met at Two of the clock.

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners by Black Rod.

The House went ; and, having returned :—

NEW WRITS (RECESS).

Mr. SPEAKER acquainted the House that he had issued during the Recess Warrants for New Writs :—

Clackmannan and Kinross (Combined Counties)—in the room of the Right Hon. John Blair Balfour, Lord Justice General and Lord President of the Court of Session in Scotland.

County of Somerset (Wells Division)—in the room of the Hon. Hylton George Hylton Jolliffe, called up to the House of Peers.

NEW WRITS.

York Borough—in the room of Rear Admiral Lord Charles Beresford (Chiltern Hundreds).

London University—in the room of the Right Hon. Sir John Lubbock, baronet, called up to the House of Peers.

Mid Armagh—in the room of Dunbar Plunket Barton, esquire, Judge of Her Majesty's High Court of Justice in Ireland.

NEW MEMBERS SWORN.

Walter Murray Guthrie, esquire—for Tower Hamlets (Bow and Bromley Division).

Sir Edgar Vincent, K.C.M.G.—for Exeter Borough.

Robert Edmund Dickinson, esquire—for County of Somerset (Wells Division).

Eugene Wason, esquire—for Clackmannan and Kinross (Combined Counties).

ELECTIONS.

Ordered, That all Members who are returned for two or more places in any part of the United Kingdom do make their election for which of the places they will serve, within one week after it shall appear that there is no question upon the return for that place ; and if

anything shall come in question touching the return or election of any Member, he is to withdraw during the time the matter is in debate ; and that all Members returned upon double returns do withdraw till their returns are determined.

Resolved, That no Peer of the Realm, except such Peers of Ireland as shall for the time being be actually elected, and shall not have declined to serve, for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, hath any right to give his vote in the election of any Member to serve in Parliament.

Motion made and Question proposed—
“That it is a high infringement of the liberties and privileges of the Commons of the United Kingdom for any Lord of Parliament, or other Peer or Prelate, not being a Peer of Ireland at the time elected, and not having declined to serve for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, to concern himself in the election

of Members to serve for the Commons in Parliament, except only any Peer of Ireland, at such elections in Great Britain respectively, where such Peer shall appear as a candidate, or by himself, or any others, be proposed to be elected ; or for any Lord Lieutenant or Governor of any county to avail himself of any authority derived from his commission, to influence the election of any Member to serve for the Commons in Parliament.”—(Mr. A. J. Balfour.)

Amendment proposed—

“To leave out the words from the word ‘kingdom,’ in line 2, to the word ‘for,’ in line 8.”—(Mr. James Louther.)

Question put—“That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question.”

The House divided :—Ayes, 337 ;
Noes, 101. (Division List No. 1.)

AYES.

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir A. F.
Aird, John
Allan, William (Gateshead)
Allsopp, Hon. George
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Archdale, Edward Mervyn
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Bainbridge, Emerson
Baird, John George Alexander
Baker, Sir John
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r)
Balfour, Rt. Hn. G. W. (Leeds)
Banbury, Fredk. George
Barlow, John Emmott
Barnes, Frederic Gorell
Barry, Rt. Hn. A. H. Smith (Hunts)
Barry, Sir Francis T. (Windsor)
Bathurst, Hn. Allen Benjamin
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir M. H. (Bristol)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Begg, Ferdinand Faithfull
Bemrose, Sir Henry Howe
Bhownaggee, Sir M. M.
Biddulph, Michael
Bigwood, James
Billson, Alfred
Blakiston-Houston, John
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bolitho, Thomas Bedford
Bonsor, Henry Cosmo Orme
Bowles, Capt. H. F. (Middlesex)
Brassey, Albert
Brigg, John
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brookfield, A. Montagu
Brown, Alexander H.
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Bullard, Sir Harry

Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carlile, William Walter
Carmichael, Sir T. D. Gibson
Causton, Richard Knight
Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lanes.)
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbysh.)
Cayzer, Sir Charles William
Cecil, Evelyn (Hertford, East)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chaloner, Capt. R. G. W.
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. (Birm)
Chamberlain, J. Austen (Wor.)
Channing, Francis Allston
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Charrington, Spencer
Clarke, Sir Edwd. (Plymouth)
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. A.
Comville, John
Compton, Lord Alwyne
Cook, Fred. Lucas (Lambeth)
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Cornwallis, Fiennes Stanley W.
Courtney, Rt. Hn. Leonard H.
Cox, Irwin Edw. Bainbridge
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Currie, Sir Donald
Curzon, Viscount
Dalbiac, Colonel Philip Hugh
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Denny, Colonel
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Digby, Jn. K. D. Wingfield
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dorington, Sir John Edward
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)

Douglas-Pennant, Hon. E. S.
Doxford, William Theodore
Drage, Geoffrey
Drucker, A.
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir Wm. Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph D.
Emmott, Alfred
Engledew, Charles John
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Evershed, Sydney
Fardell, Sir T. George
Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn E.
Ferguson, R. C. M. (Leith)
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manch'r)
Field, Admiral (Eastbourne)
Finch, George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Firbank, Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Fitz Wygram, General Sir F.
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Fletcher, Sir Henry
Flower, Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Foster, Col. (Lancaster)
Foster, Sir W. (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Fry, Lewis
Garfit, William
Gedge, Sydney
Gibbons, J. Lloyd
Gibbs, Hn. A. G. H. (City of Lond.)
Giles, Charles Tyrrell
Gladstone, Rt. Hon. Herbt. J.
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gold, Charles
Goldsworthy, Major-General
Gorlon, Hon. John Edward
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John E.

Graham, Henry Robert
 Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
 Green, Walford D (Widnesbury)
 Greville, Hon. Ronald
 Grey, Sir Edward (Berwick)
 Griffith, Ellis J.
 Gull, Sir Cameron
 Gordon, Sir W. Brampton
 Guthrie, Walter Murray

Hall, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
 Halsey, Thomas Frederick
 Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord Geo.
 Hanson, Sir Reginald
 Hardy, Laurence
 Harwood, George
 Haslett, Sir James Horner
 Hayne, Rt. Hon. C. Seale
 Hazell, Walter
 Healy, Maurice (Cork)
 Healy, Thomas J. (Wexford)
 Healy, Timothy M. (N. Louth)
 Hedderwick, Thomas Charles H
 Helder, Augustus
 Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Chas. H.
 Hill, Rt. Hon. A. Staveley (Staffs)
 Hoare, Edw Brodie (Hampstead)
 Hobhouse, Henry
 Holland, William Henry
 Horniman, Frederick John
 Houston, R. P.
 Howard, Joseph
 Howell, William Tudor
 Howorth, Sir Henry Hoyle
 Hozier, Hon. J. H. Cecil
 Hubbard, Hon. Evelyn
 Hudson, George Bickersteth

Jackson, Rt. Hon. Wm. Lawies
 Jebb, Richard Claverhouse
 Jeffreys, Arthur Frederick
 Jessel, Capt. Herbert Merton
 Johnson-Ferguson, J. E.
 Johnston, William (Belfast)
 Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
 Joicey, Sir James
 Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
 Jordan, Jeremiah

Kay-Shuttleworth, Rt Hon Sir U
 Kearley, Hudson E.
 Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir J. H.
 Kenyon, James
 Kenyon-Slaney, Col. Wm.
 Kimber, Henry
 Knowles, Lees

Lafone, Alfred
 Langley, Batty
 Lawrence, Sir E. Durning (Corn)
 Lawson, John Grant (Yorks.)
 Leese, Sir J. F. (Accrington)
 Leigh-Bennett, Henry Currie
 Leng, Sir John
 Lewis, John Herbert
 Llewellyn, E. H. (Somerset)
 Lloyd-George, David
 Lockwood, Lt.-Col. A. R.
 Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
 Long, Col. C. W. (Evesham)
 Long, Rt. Hon. W. (Liverpool)
 Lowe, Francis William
 Loyd, Archie Kirkman
 Lucas-Shadwell, William

Lyell, Sir Leonard
 Lyttelton, Hon. Alfred

Macartney, W. G. Ellison
 Macdona, John Cumming
 MacIver, David (Liverpool)
 M'Arthur, C. (Liverpool)
 M'Arthur, W. (Cornwall)
 M'Crae, George
 M'Ewan, William
 M'Killop, James
 Malcolm, Ian
 Manners, Lord Ed. Wm. J.
 Marks, Henry Hananel
 Massey-Mainwaring, Hn W. F.
 Mellor, Colonel (Lancashire)
 Mendl, Sigismund Ferdinand
 Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
 Middlemore, J. Throgmorton
 Milward, Colonel Victor
 Monckton, Edward Philip
 Monk, Charles James
 Montagu, Sir S. (Whitechapel)
 Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
 Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
 More, R. J. (Shropshire)
 Morgan, Hn. F. (Monm'thshire)
 Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
 Morley, Rt. Hon. J. (Montrose)
 Morrell, George Herbert
 Morton, A. H. A. (Deptford)
 Moss, Samuel
 Muntz, Philip A.
 Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
 Murray, Chas. J. (Coventry)
 Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
 Myers, William Henry

Newdigate, Francis Alexander
 Nicholson, William Graham
 Nicol, Donald Ninian
 Nussey, Thomas Willans

Oldroyd, Mark

Palmer, G. W. (Reading)
 Parkes, Ebenezer
 Parnell, John Howard
 Paulton, James Mellor
 Pease, Alfred E. (Cleveland)
 Pease, H. P. (Darlington)
 Pease, J. A. (Northumberland)
 Pease, Sir J. W. (Durham)
 Penn, John
 Phillpotts, Captain Arthur
 Pickersgill, Edward Hare
 Pierpoint, Robert
 Pilkington, R. (Lancs., Newton)
 Pilkington, Sir G. A. (Lancs SW)
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick
 Plunkett, Rt. Hon. Horace C.
 Pollock, Harry Frederick
 Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
 Pretymann, Ernest George
 Price, Robert John
 Provand, Andrew Dryburgh
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
 Purvis, Robert

Randell, David
 Renshaw, Charles Bine
 Rentoul, James Alexander
 Richardson, J. (Durham, S.E.)
 Rickett, J. Compton
 Bidley, Rt. Hon. Sir M. W.

Ritchie, Rt. Hon. C. Thomson
 Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
 Roberts, J. H. (Denbighs.)
 Robertson, H. (Hackney)
 Rolit, Sir Albert Kaye
 Rothschild, Hon. Lionel W.
 Russell, Gen. F. S. (Chltnhm.)
 Russell, T. W. (Tyrone)
 Rutherford, John

Samuel, J. (Stockton-on-Tees)
 Savory, Sir Joseph
 Schwann, Charles E.
 Scoble, Sir Andrew Richard
 Sharpe, William Edward T.
 Shaw, Chas. E. (Stafford)
 Shaw-Stewart, M. H. (Rnfrw.)
 Sidebotham, J. W. (Cheshire)
 Sidebottom, W. (Derbyshire)
 Sinclair, Capt. J. (Forfarshire.)
 Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
 Skewes-Cox, Thomas
 Smith, Abel H. (Christchurch)
 Smith, J. Parker (Lanarks.)
 Smith, Samuel (Flint)
 Soames, Arthur Wellesley
 Spencer, Ernest
 Spicer, Albert
 Stevenson, Francis S.
 Stewart, Sir M. J. M'Taggart
 Stone, Sir Benjamin
 Strachey, Edward
 Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
 Stuart, James (Shoreditch)
 Sturt, Hon. Humphry Napier
 Sutherland, Sir Thomas

Talbot, Rt. Hon. J. G. (Oxf'd Uni.)
 Tennant, Harold John
 Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
 Thorburn, Walter
 Thornton, Percy M.
 Tomlinson, Wm. Edw. Murray
 Trevelyan, Charles Philips
 Tritton, Charles Ernest
 Usborne, Thomas

Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
 Wanklyn, James Leslie
 Ward, Hon. Robert A. (Crewe)
 Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
 Webster, Sir Richard E.
 Weir, James Galloway
 Welby, Lieut.-Col. A. C. E.
 Whitmore, Charles Algernon
 Williams, Col. R. (Dorset)
 Williams, J. Powell- (Birm.)
 Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
 Wilson, Frederick W. (Norfolk)
 Wilson, John (Govan)
 Wilson, J. W. (Worcestersh., N.)
 Wilson-Todd, W. H. (Yorks.)
 Wodehouse, Rt. Hon. E. R. (Bath)
 Woods, Samuel
 Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart-
 Wylie, Alexander
 Wyndham, George
 Wyvill, Marmaduke D'Arcy
 Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong
 Young, Com. (Berks, E.)
 Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
 Sir William Walrond and
 Mr. Anstruther.

NOES.

Abraham, Wm. (Cork, N.E.)
 Allhusen, Augustus Hy. Eden
 Ambrose, Robert
 Ashton, Thomas Gair
 Austin, M. (Limerick, W.)
 Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
 Bartley, George C. T.
 Birrell, Augustine
 Blake, Edward
 Bond, Edward
 Boulnois, Edmund
 Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
 Burns, John
 Cameron, Robert (Durham)
 Commins, Andrew
 Crean, Eugene
 Crilly, Daniel
 Curran, Thomas B. (Donegal)
 Curran, Thomas (Sligo, S.)
 Daly, James
 Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
 Dillon, John
 Donelan, Captain A.
 Doogan, P. C.
 Duncombe, Hon. Hubert V.
 Ellis, John Edward
 Esmonde, Sir Thomas
 Farquharson, Dr. Robert
 Farrell, Thomas J. (Kerry, S.)
 Fenwick, Charles
 French, Peter
 Flavin, Michael Joseph
 Flynn, James Christopher
 Foster, Harry S. (Suffolk)
 Fox, Dr. Joseph Francis

Galloway, William Johnson
 Gibbs, Hon. Vicary (St. Albans)
 Gibney, James
 Goulding, Edward Alfred
 Gourley, Sir Edward T.
 Haldane, Richard Burdon
 Hammond, John (Carlton)
 Harrington, Timothy
 Hayden, John Patrick
 Heath, James
 Heaton, John Henniker
 Hogan, James Francis
 Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
 Jacoby, James Alfred
 Jameson, Major J. Eustace
 Jones, W. (Carnarvonshire)
 Kinloch, Sir John George Smyth
 Kitson, Sir James
 Laurie, Lieut.-General
 Macaleese, Daniel
 MacDonnell, Dr. MA (Queen's C)
 Maclean, James Mackenzie
 MacLure, Sir John William
 MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
 McCartan, Michael
 McDermott, Patrick
 McGhee, Richard
 M'Hugh, Patrick A. (Leitrim)
 McKenna, Reginald
 McLeod, John
 Maddison, Fred
 Mandeville, J. Francis
 Maple, Sir John Blundell
 Moore, Arthur (Londonderry)
 Murnaghan, George

Norton, Capt. Cecil William
 O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
 O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
 O'Connor, J. (Wicklow, W.)
 O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
 O'Malley, William
 Perks, Robert William
 Pinkerton, John
 Pym, C. Guy
 Reckitt, Harold James
 Redmond, William (Clare)
 Reid, Sir Robert Threshie
 Roche, John (East Galway)
 Runciman, Walter
 Scott, Chas. Prestwich (Leigh)
 Shee, James John
 Sheehy, David
 Souttar, Robinson
 Stanhope, Hon. Philip J.
 Steadman, William Charles
 Sullivan, Donal (Westmeath)
 Sullivan, T. D. (Donegal, W.)
 Tanner, Charles Kearns
 Thomas, Alfred (Glamorgan, E.)
 Thomas, D. Alfred (Merthyr)
 Tully, Jasper
 Wason, Eugene
 Wedderburn, Sir William
 Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
 Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
 Woodhouse, Sir J. T. (Huddersfield)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
 Mr. James Lowther and Sir
 Wilfrid Lawson.

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Resolved, That it is a high infringement of the liberties and privileges of the Commons of the United Kingdom for any Lord of Parliament, or other Peer or Prelate, not being a Peer of Ireland at the time elected, and not having declined to serve for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, to concern himself in the election of Members to serve for the Commons in Parliament, except only any Peer of Ireland, at such elections in Great Britain respectively where such Peer shall appear as a candidate, or by himself, or any others, be proposed to be elected; or for any Lord Lieutenant or Governor of any county to avail himself of any authority derived from his commission, to influence the election of any Member to serve for the Commons in Parliament.

Resolved, That if it shall appear that any person hath been elected or returned a Member of this House, or endeavoured so to be, by bribery, or any other corrupt practices, this House will proceed with the utmost severity against all such persons as shall have been wilfully con-

cerned in such bribery or other corrupt practices.

WITNESSES.

Resolved, That if it shall appear that any person hath been tampering with any witness, in respect of his evidence to be given to this House, or any Committee thereof, or directly or indirectly hath endeavoured to deter or hinder any person from appearing or giving evidence, the same is declared to be a high crime or misdemeanour; and this House will proceed with the utmost severity against such offender.

Resolved, That if it shall appear that any person hath given false evidence in any case before this House, or any Committee thereof, this House will proceed with the utmost severity against such offender.

METROPOLITAN POLICE.

Ordered, That the Commissioners of the Police of the Metropolis do take care that, during the Session of Parliament, the passages through the streets leading to this House be kept free and open, and that no obstruction be permitted to

hinder the passage of Members to and from this House, and that no disorder be allowed in Westminster Hall, or in the passages leading to this House, during the sitting of Parliament, and that there be no annoyance therein or thereabouts; and that the Sergeant at Arms attending this House do communicate this Order to the Commissioners aforesaid.

VOTES AND PROCEEDINGS.

Ordered, That the Votes and Proceedings of this House be printed being first perused by Mr. Speaker; and that he do appoint the printing thereof; and that no person but such as he shall appoint do presume to print the same.

PRIVILEGES.

Ordered, That a Committee of Privileges be appointed.

OUTLAWRIES BILL.

"For the more effectual preventing Clandestine Outlawries," read the first time; to be read a second time.

JOURNAL.

Ordered, That the Journal of this House, from the end of the last session to the end of the present session, with an Index thereto, be printed.

Ordered, That 500 copies of the said Journal and Index be printed by the appointment and under the direction of Sir Reginald Francis Douce Palgrave, K.C.B., the Clerk of this House.

Ordered, That the said Journal and Index be printed by such person as shall be licensed by Mr. Speaker, and that no other person do presume to print the same.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS (RECESS).

The following Papers, presented by Command of Her Majesty during the Recess, were delivered to the Librarian of the House of Commons during the Recess, pursuant to the Standing Order of the 14th August, 1889:—

1. Crofter and Cottar Colonisation Scheme.—Copy of Tenth Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to carry out a Scheme of Colonisation in

the Dominion of Canada of Crofters and Cottars from the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland, with Appendices.

2. Judicial Statistics (Scotland).—Copy of Report of the Judicial Statistics of Scotland for the year 1898.

3. East India (Trade).—Copy of Review and Tables relating to the Trade of British India with British Possessions and Foreign Countries for the five years 1894-5 to 1898-9.

4. Public Records (Ireland).—Copy of Appendix to Thirteenth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records and Keeper of the State Papers in Ireland. An Index to the Act or Grant Books and Original Wills of the Diocese of Dublin from 1800 to 1858.

5. Evictions (Ireland).—Copy of Return for the quarter ended 30th September, 1899.

6. Irish Land Commission (Judicial Rents).—Copy of Returns of Judicial Rents fixed during March, 1899.

7. Irish Land Commission (Judicial Rents).—Copy of Returns of Judicial Rents fixed during April and May, 1899.

8. Irish Land Commission (Proceedings).—Copy of Return of Proceedings of the Commission during the month of September, 1899.

9. Irish Land Commission (Proceedings).—Copy of Return of Proceedings of the Commission during the month of October, 1899.

10. Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888.—Copy of Returns made to the Board of Trade in pursuance of section 39, subsection (2), of the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, 1888, in respect of the canals and navigations in the United Kingdom, for the year 1898.

11. Railways (Continuous Brakes).—Copy of Return by the Railway Companies of the United Kingdom on the progress made in the use of Continuous Brakes, etc., for the six months ending the 30th June, 1899.

12. Meteorology.—Copy of Report of the Meteorological Council to the Royal Society for the year ending the 31st March, 1899.

13. Peterhead Harbour. — Copy of Reports respecting Peterhead Harbour Works.

14. Post Office (Parcel Post with Egypt).—Copy of Agreement concerning the Exchange of Postal Parcels concluded between the Post Office of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the Postal Administration of Egypt.

15. Colonial Reports (Annual).—Copies of Reports, Nos. 277 (Bahamas, Annual Report for 1898), 278 (British Honduras, Annual Report for 1898), 279 (Mauritius and Rodrigues, Annual Report for 1898), 280 (Grenada, Annual Report for 1898), 281 (St. Vincent, Annual Report for 1898), 282 (Hong Kong, Annual Report for 1898), 283 (Jamaica, Annual Report for 1898-9), 284 (Lagos, Annual Report for 1899), 285 (Seychelles, Annual Report for 1898), 286 (Christmas and Cocos Keeling Islands, Annual Report for 1899), and 287 (Straits Settlements, Annual Report for 1898).

16. South Africa.—Copy of Correspondence relating to the despatch of Colonial Military Contingents to South Africa.

17. Mines (Explosion at Llest Colliery).—Copy of Reports to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Home Department by Mr. Chester Jones, Barrister-at-Law, and Mr. J. T. Robson, Her Majesty's Inspector of Mines, on the circumstances attending an explosion which occurred at the Llest Colliery, Pontyrhyl, on the 18th August, 1899.

18. Explosions (Upton Towans, Gwithian).—Copy of Report by Captain J. H. Thomson, R.A., Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Explosives, to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Home Department, on the circumstances attending an Explosion of Blasting Gelatine which occurred in a mixing house of the factory of the National Explosives Company, Limited, at Upton Towans, Gwithian, near Hayle, Cornwall, on the 19th October, 1899.

19. Metropolitan Water Supply (Royal Commission).—Copy of Final Report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the subject of the Water Supply within the limits of the Metropolitan Water Companies, with Index to the First and Final Reports of the Commissioners.

20. Factories and Workshops.—Copy of Annual Report of the Chief Inspector of

Factories and Workshops for the year 1898, Part II., Reports.

21. Accidents to Railway Servants (Royal Commission).—Copy of the Report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the causes of the accidents, fatal and non-fatal, to Servants of Railway Companies and of Truck Owners, Part I., Report.

22. Accidents to Railway Servants (Royal Commission).—Copy of Report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the causes of the accidents, fatal and non-fatal, to Servants of Railway Companies and of Truck Owners, Part II., Minutes of Evidence and Appendices.

23. Treaty Series (No. 18, 1899).—Copy of Convention for the Exchange of Money Orders between the United States of America and the Colony of British Honduras. Signed at Washington, 20th February, 1899.

24. Treaty Series (No. 19, 1899).—Copy of Exchange of Notes between the United Kingdom and the United States of America, providing for the Establishment of a Provisional Boundary between the Dominion of Canada and the Territory of Alaska, in the Region about the Head of Lynn Canal, 20th October, 1899.

25. Treaty Series (No 20, 1899).—Copy of Additional Articles to the Convention of 11th July, 1896, between Great Britain and Italy respecting the Exchange of Parcels by Parcel Post. Signed at Rome, 28th October, 1899.

26. Treaty Series (No. 1, 1900).—Copy of Exchange of Notes between the United Kingdom and France respecting the Waiver of Consular Fees on the Issue of Certificates of Origin.

27. Treaty Series (No. 2, 1900).—Copy of Agreement between the United Kingdom and France for the Exchange of Press Telegrams by night at reduced rates. Signed at Paris, 8th November, 1899. Ratifications exchanged at Paris, 16th December, 1899.

28. Treaty Series (No. 3, 1900).—Copy of Declaration between the United Kingdom and France prolonging for one year the Declaration of 11th December, 1888, regulating the Telegraphic Communication between the two Countries. Signed at London, 20th March, 1899. Ratifications exchanged at Paris, 30th December, 1899.

29. Germany (No. 1, 1899).—Copy of Despatch to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin, inclosing Copies of the Convention and Declaration between Great Britain and Germany of 14th November, 1899, for the Settlement of the Samoa and other questions.

30. Trade Reports (Annual Series).—Copies of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 2363 to 2374.

31. Trade Reports (Miscellaneous Series).—Copies of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Miscellaneous Series, Nos. 517 to 520.

Ordered, That the said Papers do lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

METROPOLITAN WATER SUPPLY (ROYAL COMMISSION).

Copy presented,—of Minutes of Evidence taken before the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the subject of the Water Supply within the limits of the Metropolitan Water Companies, Volume 1 [by Command]: to lie upon the Table.

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS (CONDI- TIONAL LICENCES).

Copy presented,—of Licence granted to Jeanne Marie Dubosq, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the Royal Victoria Home, Horfield, Bristol [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Licence granted to Fanny Honey, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the Royal Victoria Home, Horfield, Bristol [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Licence granted to Elizabeth Lazenby, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the Royal Victoria Home, Horfield, Bristol [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Licence granted to Margaret Dearnley, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the Royal Victoria Home, Horfield, Bristol [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

VOL. LXXVIII. [FOURTH SERIES.]

Copy presented,—of a Licence to be at large granted to William Tunney, to which are annexed conditions other than those contained in Schedule A of the Penal Servitude Act, 1864 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Licence granted to Rose Ann Casey, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the East End Refuge, Finchley [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Licence granted to Dewhannah Jones, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the East End Refuge, Finchley [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Licence granted to Sarah Jane Cook, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the East End Refuge, Finchley [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Licence granted to Elizabeth Franklin, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the Elizabeth Fry Refuge, Hackney [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS (NEW CHARTERS).

Copy presented,—of Charter of Incorporation of the Borough of Pudsey, Yorks, dated 13th November, 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Charter of Incorporation of the Borough of Swindon, Wilts, dated 22nd January, 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACTS (MANUFACTURE OF BICHROMATE OR CHROMATE OF POTASSIUM OR SODIUM).

Copy presented,—of Special Rules with regard to the employment of persons in Chemical Works in which is carried on the manufacture of Bichromate or Chromate of Potassium or Sodium [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACTS (USE OF PHOSPHORUS IN THE MANU- FACTURE OF MATCHES).

Copy presented,—of Special Rules with regard to the employment of persons in

Lucifer Match Factories in which White or Yellow Phosphorus is used [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

SOUTH AFRICA.

Copy presented,—of Further Correspondence relating to Affairs in South Africa [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

NATAL.

Copy presented,—of Correspondence relating to the Defence of Natal [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

PACIFIC CABLE (CANADA-AUSTRALIA).

Copy presented,—of Further Correspondence relating to the proposed construction of a Cable across the Pacific Ocean [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

WAGES AND EFFECTS OF DECEASED SEAMEN.

Account presented,—of the Sums received and paid in respect of the Wages and Effects of Deceased Seamen in the year ended 31st March, 1899 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

RAMSGATE HARBOUR.

Copy presented,—of Statement of the Receipts and Payments for the year ended 31st March, 1899, together with an Account of the Receipt and Issue of Stores [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 1.]

LIGHTHOUSES ABROAD.

Account presented,—showing the Dues received and Expenditure incurred in the construction, repair, and maintenance of Lighthouses in British Possessions Abroad during the year 1898-9 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 2.]

SEAMEN'S SAVINGS BANKS (MONEY ORDERS AND TRANSMISSION OF WAGES).

Accounts presented,—of all Deposits received and repaid during the year ended 20th November, 1898, and Statement as to Money Orders issued and paid from 1855 to 31st March, 1899, and of Receipts and Payments in connection with the transmission of Seamen's Wages from 1878 to 31st March, 1899 [by Act];

to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 3.]

UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE ACT, 1877 (OXFORD).

Copy presented,—of a Statute made by the Governing Body of Brasenose College, Oxford, on 15th March, 1899, altering Statutes III. and XVI. of the Statutes of that College [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 4.]

Copy presented,—of a Statute made by the Governing Body of Pembroke College, Oxford, on 3rd March, 1899, amending Clause 9 of Statute II. and Clause III. of Statute VIII. of the Statutes of that College [by Act]; to lie upon the Table and to be printed. [No. 5.]

Copy presented,—of a Statute made by the Governing Body of Worcester College, Oxford, at a meeting held on 22nd February, 1899, and continued by adjournment on 8th March, 1899, amending Statute III. 10 of the Statutes of that College [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 6.]

COLLEGE CHARTER ACT, 1871 (UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM).

Copy presented,—of an Application received from Mason University College of the City of Birmingham for the establishment of a University at that City: which was submitted to the Queen in Council and referred by Her Majesty for the consideration and report of a Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council on the 14th July, 1899; together with a Copy of the Draft of the Charter applied for [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION ACT, 1889.

Copies presented,—of Minutes sanctioning the subjects to be taught under Clause 8 of the Act for the following counties:—

County of East Suffolk (Sixth Minute), dated 12th October, 1899.

County of Berkshire (Fourth Minute), dated 12th October, 1899.

County of Norfolk (Eighth Minute), dated 31st October, 1899.

County of Dorset (Second Minute), dated 9th November, 1899.

County of the North Riding of Yorkshire (Seventh Minute), dated 9th November, 1899.

County of Oxford (Fifth Minute), dated 20th November, 1899.

County of Sussex (Western Division) (Third Minute), dated 27th November, 1899.

County of Devon (Seventh Minute), dated 4th January, 1900

[by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

LUNACY (SCOTLAND).

Copy presented,—of General Rules made by the Midlothian and Peebles District Lunacy Board for the government of the Midlothian and Peebles District Asylum [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN.

Copy presented,—of Annual Statistical Report by the University Court of the University of Aberdeen for 1898-9 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 7.]

Copy presented,—of Abstract of Accounts of the University for the year ending 15th September, 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 8.]

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

Copy presented,—of Report on the State of the Finances of the University, made by the University Court, for the year to 31st August, 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 9.]

Copy presented,—of Annual Statistical Report by the University Court of the University of Edinburgh for the year 1898-9 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 10.]

UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

Copy presented,—of Annual Statistical Report by the University Court of the University of Glasgow for 1898-9 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 11.]

PRISONS (SCOTLAND).

Copy presented,—of Rule made by the Secretary for Scotland appointing the Police Cells at Falkirk, in the county of Stirling, to be a legal Prison for the detention of prisoners for a period not exceeding fourteen days before or during

or after trial [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

EAST INDIA (WARS ON OR BEYOND THE BORDERS OF BRITISH INDIA).

Return presented,—relative thereto [Address 17th March, 1898: *Mr. John Morley*]; to lie upon the Table.

EAST INDIA (LOANS RAISED IN INDIA).

Copy presented,—of Return of all Loans raised in India, chargeable on the Revenues of India, outstanding at the commencement of the half-year ending on the 30th September, 1899, etc. [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 12.]

SALISBURY PLAIN (PROPERTY PURCHASED).

Return presented,—relative thereto [Address 26th October, 1899; *Mr. Thomas Bayley*]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copies presented,—of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, Nos. 2365 and 2376 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

PAPERS LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

1. County Courts Act, 1888, and Supreme Court of Judicature (Officers) Act, 1879.—Copy of Order made by the Lord Chancellor, dated 26th September, 1899, directing that the Registrar of the County Court of Warwickshire, held at Birmingham, shall not practise as a solicitor, and that section 20 of the Supreme Court of Judicature (Officers) Act, 1879, shall not apply to the office of Registrar of the said County Court.

2. Lunacy.—Copy of Report to the Lord Chancellor of the number of visits made, the number of patients seen, and the number of miles travelled by the Visitors of Lunatics between 1st April, 1899, and 30th September, 1899 [by Act].

RESIGNATION OF THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. SPEAKER acquainted the House that he had received a letter from Sir Reginald Francis Douce Palgrave, K.C.B.,

the Clerk of the House, which Mr. Speaker read, as followeth :—

Library, House of Commons,
30th January, 1900.

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint you that as I have been more than forty-six years in the service of the House of Commons, of which the last thirty-one years were devoted to the work at the Table of the House, I desire to resign the Patent whereby Her Majesty assigned to me the office with which I have been so highly honoured, of Clerk of the House of Commons.

Severance from the performance of such distinguished duties, and, on my part, so long continued, must occasion regret, and pain, but I shall be able to retain in cordial remembrance a grateful sense of the generous consideration shown me by yourself and your predecessors in the Chair, and by the honourable Members who have sat in the eleven Parliaments during which I have been permitted to offer my services to the House of Commons.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,
REGINALD F. D. PALGRAVE.

The Right Honble.

The Speaker of the House of Commons,
&c. &c. &c.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I beg to give notice that on Thursday next I shall move a vote of thanks to Sir Reginald Palgrave, late Clerk of the House.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

FIRST DAY'S DEBATE.

MR. SPEAKER reported Her Majesty's Speech, and read it to the House.

*CAPTAIN PRETYMAN (Suffolk, Wood-bridge): It is a kindly custom of this House to regard with special indulgence the Member to whom is entrusted the duty which I have to discharge to-day, and I feel sure that I shall have given me even double indulgence because the occasion is not an ordinary one, and I cannot and do not pretend to have that special knowledge which alone would enable me to do full justice to it. Ordinarily our discussions here are upon controversial matters. As mover of the Address it is difficult to be non-controversial without being colourless. But to-day there is common ground I shall have

to traverse, and there are feelings which we shall all share on whichever side of the House we sit. The first of these feelings is that of deep sympathy, which it is our privilege to express, as representing the nation, with all sufferers by the war which is going on in South Africa. It will hardly be necessary to enumerate the sufferings which are in the minds of everyone of us here, but I think we must first refer to those who are suffering from wounds and from bodily disablement. Then, Sir, our sympathy must go out to those who are bereaved, to the widow and childless, and also to the weary watchers who have their dear ones at the front, and who are daily waiting for news—painful news such as we received this morning, and which carries sorrow and distress into many a home. There is one other expression of sympathy which I am sure will not be wanting, and that is an expression of the deepest sympathy with the sufferings of colony of Natal. Half the colony is in the hands of the enemy, and not only have they put into the field a force far out of proportion to their numbers, but they have suffered grievous loss of property and life. I trust we may be in a position at the end of the war to recompense them for the losses and suffering they have experienced. We have also feelings of the deepest admiration for the gallantry which our soldiers have displayed. Whether it be in the gallant defence of Mafeking, or the no less gallant and protracted defence of Ladysmith, or in the gallant action of Wauchope and the Highland Brigade at Magersfontein, where so many lost their lives, the story is the same, and it is a story of which we are all proud. It is our only regret that so many of those to whom our pride goes out are lost for ever. In addition to that we have another common ground. We have pride not only in the gallantry that this contest has evoked, but also in the national spirit which has been evinced. That national spirit is not confined to the British Islands. It has found expression to the utmost bounds of this Empire. If we look at the present position of the Empire as a whole, we may say with truth we have set a girdle round the globe, and every link rings true and clear at this moment. I believe when this war is over we may look forward to South Africa being peaceful and tranquil and con-

tented, and that any rift which may exist can and will be repaired in a way which will cause less offence and less trouble in the future. Although at the end of the war there will, no doubt, remain a certain amount of race antagonism, which is the natural result of a contest of this description, we shall at any rate have purged the contempt with which that race antagonism was previously associated; the races will have learned to respect one another, and will be able to live side by side in amity, the hatreds of the past being merged into a mutual liking. Contempt is the kindling which fans antagonism into flame; and it was that contempt combined with race antagonism which brought about the present conflict. When the struggle is concluded let us hope that the contempt which has arisen from surface causes will have been purged, that Boer and Briton will live side by side in peace, and that both will have a great future before them under the British flag. One other feeling we have in common, and that is the feeling of regret for the reverses which we have suffered in South Africa. Further than that we have the unanimous determination to retrieve those reverses. We wish to examine and to investigate the causes of the reverses and the failures, if they may be so called, which have occurred in our campaign. I am here, perhaps, on delicate ground, but I think I may say this. We may ask ourselves with advantage whether our weakness or our failures, if I may use that word, are due to any deep-seated and inherent national weakness, or to temporary and removable causes. I think the latter can only be the answer. The Empire and the resources of the nation were never stronger than at this moment, but our power does not lie on the surface. It is deep-seated, and the causes which we have to inquire into if they are temporary and removable must be inquired into with a view to their being removed. I feel sure that no obstacle will be thrown in the way, but that the Government will welcome an inquiry in any form which may be agreeable to the House and which will enable us to discover the causes of the difficulty, and to remove them. There is one consideration which occurs to me, and that is that of "inadequate preparation." Is that one of the principal causes for our difficulties? I would rather say it is not so much inadequate preparation as the insufficient

estimate of the forces arrayed against us. In the case of the Crimean war the preparations were inadequate for any war, but I doubt if we were ever so well prepared to undertake a campaign on a certain scale as when this war broke out three months ago. If there was a fault it was the under-estimate of the forces arrayed against us, and it will be for us to consider how the under-estimate arose. There are many factors to be considered, some of which are new, but I think that we shall find—or, at any rate, it so appears to me—that those factors in themselves were to a certain extent foreseen, and that there was some knowledge of them. But the result of the combination of all those factors and the strength of the enemy, from a defensive point of view, which we had to engage, was not foreseen or measured, so far as I am aware, by any person. The want of prophetic power was not confined to the Government alone, it was common to the country as a whole. That, at all events, was the impression at which I arrived in this House three months ago: that nobody on this or that side of the House, or in the country, had measured the strength of the enemy arrayed against us; or, if so, the expressions of opinion were few and far between. Who could have realised that this campaign would resolve itself into the taking of a series of natural fortresses of enormous strength, ably defended by troops of unexampled mobility, instructed by Continental experts, and armed with the most perfect weapons ever used in warfare? It is perhaps difficult to realise how small a factor will determine success or failure. Such a thing as a barbed wire fence may easily turn a victory into a defeat, and to sum up all these factors is almost impossible after fifty years of peace, which we have passed through, when many of these factors are to a large extent unknown. There has been some criticism in which I as an artilleryman feel particularly interested. Our field guns have been condemned on all sides because they are of less range than the guns of the enemy; but one thing has been forgotten, and that is that our field guns have been compared with guns of the enemy, which are guns of position and not field guns at all, and for an artilleryman to estimate the efficiency of a field gun solely by its range is—I should look on

—as very much the same thing as a press-man who would judge the merits of a newspaper solely by its circulation. The situation is a most grave one, but it has its better side: I do not think that the resources of our opponents were immediately realised. The Boer Republic had formed itself into a vast military machine, every part of which was perfect; our military machine was imperfect in the sense that our resources had not been called together. Is it therefore any wonder that the smaller perfect machine should for the moment be successful? But we have resources, and I hope that this House will support the Government in bringing every one of those resources into action to bring about our supremacy. They are only just now coming into play, and although we have now been checked more than once, when once the ring is broken the collapse may be as sudden as our progress, up to the present, has been slow. The last struggle for the relief of Ladysmith, it was hoped, would be the beginning of the end, as it is only the end of the beginning. But this House has not only to consider the cause of the difficulty, but the cause and the motive which led up to the war itself. Here I am on very delicate ground, and it would not become me in the duty I have to perform to-day to examine the questions which have been, and which will have to be, discussed here; but I should like to make one observation. Although some may attribute a motive to this or that person or politician, I think we may all agree that the national motive for this war is a pure and just one. The motive which has for centuries animated this country, and which animates it now, is that we shall obtain justice and freedom for all races and all creeds. That is the great stream in which our national sentiment has run in the past and is running now. It will always occur that where there is a great stream of pure water there will be draining into it streams which are not so pure as the river itself, and no doubt uses will be made and motives attributed that do not exist. The motive that animates us here, and the House and country generally, is to restore peace and freedom to all throughout South Africa. So far as I have observed that is the motive animating us all, and although we may have to engage our attention with that legislation which we are more accustomed to consider, our

hearts will be with our soldiers in South Africa. But that is no reason why we should not consider other measures. We have submitted to us to-day no measures of heroic legislation or costly legislation. The only costly legislation will be the estimates for the war in South Africa. Last year the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer asked for a vote of eight millions. He would be a bold man who would say how much we shall be asked for this session. But whatever is asked for I hope will be cheerfully given. We cannot set money against the lives of our fellow subjects now being risked in South Africa. We shall be asked to sanction measures of improving and remodelling the Companies Act, and that a matter we shall gladly do because we know the loss which is suffered by those who are induced to part with their money under false pretences by fraudulent companies. Another measure we shall be asked to consider is what is called an Agricultural Holdings Bill, and anything that this House can do towards the improvement of our agriculture will be greatly welcomed. We have, however, to remember that the conditions of our agricultural industry vary greatly in different parts of the country. We have also to consider the incoming tenant as well as the outgoing tenant. Sir, the situation before us is indeed a serious and a difficult one. It is, perhaps, the most serious and, perhaps, the most difficult situation which this country has had to face since the earliest years of the century. This is, indeed, a momentous session. Our ill-wishers, we know, are looking eagerly for any signs of weakness, of vacillation, or of disunion within these walls. On the other hand, the country, and the Empire in arms, are looking to us to express their unanimous determination to bring this struggle to a successful issue. Now, Sir, I need hardly ask the House to which of these we should afford satisfaction. The question can have but one answer. Therefore, I trust that the touchstone of all criticism will be not party advantage, but the needs and necessities of the Empire.

MR. H. P. PEASE (Darlington): In rising to second the address I claim the indulgence of the House on similar grounds to those enunciated by my hon. friend, and also for what I may consider

Captain Pretyman,

a weightier reason, that I have never before taken part in a debate. Impressed by the consciousness of my own inexperience, I ask for that consideration which the House so generously extends. My hon. friend has referred to points in the Queen's Speech; but I propose to deal with some of those with which he has not dealt. Sir, it was with feelings of satisfaction that the nation received the news that a treaty had been concluded between this country and the German Emperor. It appears to me that this is additional evidence of the friendliness of the great German Empire towards us whose commercial interests are so closely bound up with our own. I observe that there is a Bill to be brought in this session with reference to the Federation of Australia. I believe that there is no announcement in the Queen's Speech that will give greater satisfaction. It is the fulfilment of a dream of far-seeing Imperial statesmen and of many of those who do not take great interest in other political questions. I believe, Sir, that that long-cherished idea being brought to a conclusion is the cause of great satisfaction to our colonists, and it is a satisfaction that is all the deeper because the change has been brought about by the wish and the action of those colonists themselves. It has come to maturity through them. I believe, Sir, that the result of this spontaneous co-operation will be to provide means whereby these colonies will be able to defend themselves in the future, and that they will be able to take such action in making representations to the mother country in reference to trade—which is such an important factor between us—as will lead to our mutual benefit. And I believe that such is the wish of the people of the United Kingdom. Sir, I must make some small reference to the very sad events which are happening in India at the present time with regard to the plague and famine. I congratulate the Government of this country upon having such an administrator at the head of affairs as we have in Lord Curzon. I am sure that the House will feel, as I do, that in him we have a man who grasps the situation, and one who will do all he can to help those unfortunate people who are suffering from plague or from famine. As has been said by my hon. friend, and as mentioned in the Queen's Speech,

the time is not propitious for legislation requiring great grants of money; but there are several Bills which will be brought in which are of great importance. There is the law governing limited liability companies, which my hon. friend has dealt with. I think it would not be wise that any legislation should be introduced which would prove of a vexatious character; but at the same time, there is a crying need for legislation by way of amendment of the laws relating to limited liability companies. We have lately seen many prospectuses issued which have been a perfect disgrace to those who sent them. Then there is an important Bill with regard to technical and secondary education which is to come before this House. This is a measure which I think the vast majority of Members are greatly interested in. I presume the objects of the Bill will be to bring within the province of the Government so important a factor as secondary education; and I trust the Government will have the support of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Aberdeen, who has done so much for secondary and commercial education, both by his Commission and also by his article in the *North American Review*, which has been so widely read. There is also a measure to be introduced with reference to the Housing of the Working Classes; and I believe the whole of the House will agree with me that this is a very important Bill. It is one that demands our earnest attention. The evil of overcrowding, especially in the North of England, is great in populous areas; and the powers of the local authorities must be so defined as will lead to the diminution of the evil in these areas. It appears to me that the remedy is a very simple one, and it is very desirable that the powers of the local authorities should be increased so that this crying evil shall be reduced to a minimum. Sir, with reference to the other Bills, I will not trouble the House with any remarks. I must ask you, however, to bear with me while I make a few remarks with regard to the war. In the closing year of a century which has been so conspicuous for the march of civilisation, and also for the development of our moral and religious progress, it seems to me sad that we should find ourselves involved in a great war, especially as but twelve months ago we were

warmly welcoming the rescript of the Tsar. At the same time, I believe the nation's eyes are open at the present moment to the fact that we are, as the right hon. Gentleman oppositesaid the other day, "engaged in a just and necessary war." I do not believe it is a war so much for the supremacy of British interests as it is a war for the supremacy of right and the suppression of wrong. I believe, Sir, that this war, which has been so disastrous hitherto, will bear good fruit in the future. It was alleged not very long ago that this was a war of greed for territory and lust for gold. I think recent evidence has shown that this was not the case. I verily believe that the wishes of the Boers have never been to secure a peaceful settlement of the difficulty, but to overthrow the dominion of the Queen. I do not propose on this occasion to deal with any of the criticisms which have been hurled at the Government over this controversy, because I do not consider it within my province to do so. It is not my duty to deal with controversial matters. I do not speak for the Government, but I shall not be indulging in any indiscretion if I state in public that the last thing the Government desire to do is to conceal any knowledge in reference to this campaign, and if a public inquiry is desired it will certainly not be refused. It would not be within my province, nor would it be wise for me to speculate as to the future of South Africa; but as the whole policy of this country has been in the direction of the development of our colonies, close knit by the closest ties, always under the national flag, I trust that the opportunity will arise, when this war has been brought to a conclusion in the only way that the nation will allow, when peace has been restored, that the same blessings and advantages may be assured for all time to all the inhabitants of those unfortunate territories whose only bar to progress has been that they have been denied that equity of administration and stability of rule which have been the crowning glory of every community over which our flag flies. Sir, in seconding the Address I wish to note that Her Gracious Majesty has expressed her great gratification at the spontaneous loyalty of our colonies and the great bravery of our colonial troops in the present struggle. I think that we, as the representatives of this nation, should

re-echo that expression. We trust that the link which binds us will be more firmly welded together in the future and never be broken; and we know that the memory of that spontaneous loyalty, self-sacrifice and devotion to Imperial interests will never die.

Motion made and Question proposed—

"That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, as followeth:—

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Captain Pretyman*).

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): I am confident that the whole House will join with me in congratulating the two hon. Members on the manner in which they have discharged the duty imposed upon them. The ability which they have shown and the tone which they preserved were alike worthy of all praise. The hon. and gallant Member for the Woodbridge Division of Suffolk is one whom we always listen to with admiration and with such a degree of pleasure as the peculiar character of his favourite topic allows us to experience. The hon. and gallant Gentleman is a past master in the law of death duties, not an exhilarating topic at the best, but now that bimetallism is dead and gone the death duties hold the field above all Parliamentary subjects in point of incomprehensibility, and I hope that when the hon. and gallant Gentleman next addresses us he will find a theme of more interest for the general body of Members of the House. As regards the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down, he comes to us recommended by the memory of his father, for many years a respected Member of this House, and he has the advantage not only of this inheritance but of the broader and more disengaged view of things which comes from belonging to a family which is not tied by any lazy uniformity of political opinion. The hon. Members may be sure we shall always be pleased to welcome their intervention in our

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debates. On the gracious Speech itself I will only make this remark, that I have seldom known so little said in such a large number of words. But I make no complaint of it either on the ground of the paucity of its topics or the poverty of its promises for legislation. We are in a state of war, and as the war advances it seems to become more serious, more anxious, and even more critical, and I am not surprised that the Government turned away from the idea of proposing any formidable programme of legislative measures. The affairs of South Africa, political and military, will undoubtedly engage the attention of this Parliament to a very great extent, and the modest tale of legislative work which is promised to us—although I must say there are some very remarkable omissions from it—will, I believe, suffice for the energies of Parliament during this session. As to the measure promised for the federation of certain Australian colonies, it will be received with the greatest satisfaction. We have long followed with interest and with hope the efforts made for this great and beneficial object, and if, after so long delay, this year sees that object accomplished, I am sure there will be sincere rejoicing on all hands. The language of the paragraph relating to India does not at all exaggerate either the gravity of the situation or the regret and sympathy for the people of India which are universally felt in this country. That the calamity of famine should be superadded to the already existing scourge of plague is, indeed, a terrible misfortune; but we must hope that the measures taken by the capable officers of the Indian Government will enable them to cope with this difficulty and with this great evil. The last of those topics to which I would refer is the question of Samoa and Tonga, of which I will only say that we shall require further explanation of it before we can form a judgment upon it. Now I turn to that which is, after all, the subject uppermost in our minds. It is impossible for us to come together to-day without contrasting our position now with the circumstances under which we parted at the end of October. We had then only recently become involved in this war with the two South African Republics. The earliest engagements had been fought during the brief session of Parliament, and, brave as we knew our foemen to be, and formidable

as might be the nature of the country, the universal expectation was that we should soon have present in South Africa such a number of our troops as to enable them rapidly to advance into the interior and to clear the Queen's dominions of the invader. Ah! I am afraid that our expectations are greatly sobered since that time. Week after week we have met—I have not the courage of the hon. and gallant Gentleman, and I hesitate to use the word "reverses"—with checks and disappointments accompanied by deplorable loss of life, and now there is no apparent indication that we have advanced any practical step towards the attainment of the object in view. The enemy is in occupation at this moment of a larger extent of the Queen's territory than he had then overrun, and although some of our forces have in certain quarters made considerable advances, in every instance their further progress is stayed by the resistance of great bodies of men in situations all but impregnable. Our people have been subjected during the last three months to a most severe test and trial, a trial, let me say in passing, which has not been made at all easier for them by the scrappy and imperfect manner, in some cases apparently the reluctant manner, and in others the perplexing manner, with which news has been communicated to them. Now, it is unnecessary, and if we wish to retain the goodwill of anybody in the world it is surely most undesirable, that we should pursue a practice which we have too often been in the habit of pursuing—namely, imputing to ourselves a larger share of manly virtues than our neighbours possess. But there is one thing we can do without offence to anyone—we may compare ourselves with ourselves, and, going back over our long history, as once and again we have come through perils and disaster greater than these, borne with courage and composure, so now I think we may say that our people in this instance and in this severe ordeal have not fallen short of the high traditions of our nation. The courage and fortitude of the British soldier were never more conspicuous than in this war, and when I speak of his courage and fortitude I wish to associate with him his comrades who are sons of the colonies, whether African, American, or Australian, and who have shown not only equal qualities of a

military kind, but an extraordinary aptitude for the particular kind of warfare in which they are engaged. And, on the other hand, on their side the British people have sustained their character by the generally calm, equal, and determined mind which they have been able to preserve under heavy trials and anxieties. I think it is but right—and the hon. and gallant Gentleman eloquently discharged his part of this—it is but right that the House of Commons should make a full and grateful recognition of these facts, and we should not do justice to our feelings if we did not also express our deep sorrow for the sufferings endured by our gallant countrymen in the field and by their anxious relatives at home, and also our heartfelt sympathy with all who are mourning the loss of those dear to them. In yet another matter I think we shall be all of one mind. We can all appreciate and admire the fine spirit of gallantry and devotion which have led numbers of our countrymen within the last two or three weeks to spontaneously offer their services for the war. I think we shall have to be informed of the reasons which have necessitated this unusual method of reinforcing our Army in South Africa by transforming one kind of force into another kind of force, and by employing for the purposes of active service at the other side of the world members of our domestic Army of defence. We shall also probably be told under what authority, statutory or other, all this has been done. But while these are questions which are natural and proper to be asked, and while they will necessarily be answered, there will be no discord whatever in our note of admiration for the men themselves who have answered to the call. The hon. and gallant Gentleman said he was glad that he was on common ground. Now, Sir, I wish to keep on common ground as long as possible between the two sides of the House, and for a moment more I am able to do so. I repeat, on my own part and on behalf of those for whom I am entitled to speak, our readiness to support the prosecution of this war with vigour and with unstinted means, in order that as rapidly as possible the integrity of the Queen's dominions may be vindicated and a successful issue attained. For that purpose I imagine there will be no difficulty in obtaining the additional supplies that may prove to

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be necessary. But when I pass to another part of this great subject, I am sorry to say my agreement with Her Majesty's Government ceases. When I look to the circumstances antecedent to the war, when I consider the conception that Her Majesty's Government appear to have formed from their very first accession to office of the proper spirit in which to approach this great South African problem, when I contemplate the tone and temper with which they conducted their negotiations not only with the Transvaal Republic but with our Dutch fellow-subjects at the Cape, and when, further, I see the evidence now before us of the narrowness of their provision of the military requirements arising out of hostilities—hostilities which their policy made possible, and which their mode of furthering their policy made probable—then I am constrained to open condemnation of their administration of affairs. I believe that this feeling is largely shared in the House, and that being so I am glad that my noble friend near me will to-night make a motion which will give us all an opportunity to express and to record our opinion on this momentous subject. Now, let me anticipate one argument which possibly may be used. We shall be told that this is not the time for criticism. Are we to be told that when we are all patriotically united in supporting the war, criticism is out of place, and that our objections, however serious, ought to be deferred until the war is over? That is a theory which I altogether repudiate and dispute. This is the very time for effective criticism, and those of us who wish to disclaim responsibility for the policy of the Government must and ought to do so now; and I need hardly point out that the convenient season of which we hear so much might never occur, or when it did come the matter would be stale and unprofitable. An ingenious friend of mine, well known to everyone in the House, referring to this subject the other day, described to me the sort of thing that would probably occur. In a homely metaphor he spoke of it as "mustard after dinner." I am bound to say that although this theory is urged strongly in the press and elsewhere on the supporters of the Government, those supporters are in this matter, as I suspect they often are in other matters, more loyal than the King. I must admit that right hon. Gentlemen

opposite, so far from deprecating criticism, have openly invited it.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BAUFOR, Manchester, E.): Hear, hear.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: In this the Colonial Secretary has acted in accordance with opinions which he expressed many years ago. I have found some language of his—and by quoting it I pay the right hon. Gentleman the greatest compliment I can pay him; it is no *tu quoque*, but, on the contrary, it shows how the right hon. Gentleman preserves an even mind in this matter—in the report of a debate almost exactly analogous to this. It was in 1878. Does the right hon. Gentleman object?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham, W.): Oh, no.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Does the right hon. Gentleman object to it as being too recent or too far back? I will give him the choice of the evils. These are the words used by him in 1878—

"Some hon. Members have invented a convenient theory by which opposition is silenced in the presence of foreign complications. If we attempt discussion before war breaks out we are hampering the Government in negotiations and endangering peace. If we wait till the war is upon us, then it is said that in an unpatriotic way we are dividing the country in the presence of the enemy; while if we postpone discussion until the war is over, we are told we are guilty of futile fault-finding and unnecessary retrospection. The thing, in fact, comes to this—that it is not the business of the House of Commons or the people to express an opinion on foreign affairs. This should be left to the responsible advisers of the Crown."

That is a complete answer to all those tirades in the newspapers challenging our conduct to which we have been accustomed, and I quote it because it shows how consistent the right hon. Gentleman can be when he chooses. Now, Sir, having disposed of that preliminary objection, and looking back over the 4½ years during which the present Government have had charge of this matter—4½ years which I cannot think they themselves can contemplate with much pride, and which certainly have not yet

culminated in a triumph, looking back upon them—I find that the key-note of the whole history is to be found in the phrase used by my right hon. friend the Member for East Fife a few weeks ago, when he said that the negotiations were poisoned by suspicion. I will not go into the circumstances which may have created, if they did not fully justify, the intense suspicion which the Boers entertained of designs against their independence. I merely state the fact that the suspicion existed and exists. Surely that is indisputable. It has become a suspicion, not so much against us, not so much against our Government, not so much even against the Imperial authorities at the Cape, as against certain powerful personages who are supposed to be extremely influential in this matter, and who, either in pursuit of their own personal pecuniary advantage or in following some ambitious scheme, did desire to break in upon the integrity and independence of the South African Republic. The Boers were right if they did not direct their suspicions in a great degree against the people of this country, because the mass of ordinary Englishmen had no desire to take either an inch of their territory or an item of their liberties from them. The ordinary Englishman wished to see the States and colonies of South Africa living in harmony and peace among themselves. But no one can deny that the Boers had ground for suspicion from the quarter to which they mainly directed their attention. Who can doubt, Sir, that the wise course for a Minister to take was to avoid every step that could possibly aggravate or encourage that suspicion, to disclaim not only connivance in or knowledge of any designs against their independence, but to disclaim approbation of or sympathy with the authors of those designs, and thus to pave the way to a better understanding? Why should we take so much trouble, why should we go out of our way, why should we go almost any length in order to establish more confident relations with the Boer Republic? I have often heard them spoken of as a little State on our borders, in some degree, more or less, independent, with which we were unfortunately engaged in controversy, but whose friendship was not, after all, very material to us. But that is a total mistake. This is a community not only with a racial affinity to our own fellow subjects, but almost in solidarity

with them by reason of intermarriage and constant intercommunication. Seeing that, as it has been well said, the Dutch and the English must live together at the Cape, surely the first thing to do is to take this root of bitterness away from among them. My complaint against the right hon. Gentleman is that, so far from this evil having been mitigated under his guidance, it has actually been materially increased. I have referred to the *dictum*—and a very wise *dictum*—that the Dutch and English must live together at the Cape, and even after your negotiations and after your war, whatever the result may be, they must live together. But there are other grounds on which I cannot give my confidence to the right hon. Gentleman, and again I invoke the ordinary Englishman who may be taken as expressing in a complete form the national conscience and to some extent the national intelligence, and I affirm that, whatever his feelings may be at this moment with the war upon us, in quiet times the ordinary Englishman has no desire whatever that men of British descent should lord it over men of Dutch descent, and he has just as little desire that men of Dutch descent should lord it over men of English descent. That the Imperial authority should be maintained as the supreme authority we are all agreed. But in the individual States the right hon. Gentlemen opposite and their supporters have found a most convenient formula in talking of equal rights for white men. Well, I am glad to find the party opposite are so anxious for equal rights among white men. When they have done with it in South Africa perhaps they will kindly transfer that doctrine to this country, where there are many instances in which it could be applied. But the value of equal rights for white men, when you have attained them, depends very much upon the way in which they are used; and I find now that the organs of public opinion in South Africa which have supported and incited the policy of the Government from the first are hinting at the suspension of the Constitution of Cape Colony. Why? Because the Dutch have a majority in it. They claim openly—I have read articles and letters to that effect—that when the arrangements after a successful war are made there should be some re-arrangement of the boundaries, or in some other

way a contrivance should be made which would secure them from such a catastrophe in the future as a Dutch majority at the Cape. Do not let it be supposed for a moment that I do right hon. Gentlemen opposite the dishonour of supposing that they have any personal sympathy with any such monstrous proposals as these, but I assert that their policy has been infected by this spirit, and that too little consideration has been shown from first to last with the loyal Dutch in the colony, whose good faith and friendliness have been put to a strain beyond all measure; and also I say that under the *régime* of the right hon. Gentleman the Ministers of Cape Colony, who are as much Ministers of the Queen as he is, have been treated with a coolness little calculated to allay doubts and fears, and also little calculated to retain that good feeling which is essential, not only for good government generally, but especially for any satisfactory settlement of the future of South Africa. Sir, I have thought it right frankly to give these broad indications of two of the principal grounds upon which I say I am opposed to the general policy of Her Majesty's Government. But I am well aware that this is not the part of the subject which the public cares most about just now. It is the war, the course of the war, and the provision made for the effective prosecution of the war, in which the country is interested at this moment. Now, in regard to these we had no opportunity of obtaining much insight into the Ministerial mind when Parliament was sitting in October, but the recess, with its speeches, has brought us enlightenment, and we have gone on from astonishment to astonishment. It would be interesting to trace, if we could, the phases of feeling and of opinion in the Ministerial mind as disclosed by what we have been told during the recess. To begin with, there is the initial and rudimentary question—Was there to be war at all? It is now said that war was inevitable. That is obviously an *ex post facto* opinion. Some right hon. Gentlemen object to being saddled with an afterthought, so I will express very much the same thing in a more formal manner. If it was not an *ex post facto* opinion they would be hopelessly condemned, because if, during last summer, they thought war was inevitable, and yet they went on with their negotiations in the way they did, and pursued

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them in the manner they did, then I do not hesitate to say, putting aside altogether the disrespectful manner in which they treated this House and the country, that they ought on that hypothesis to be hurled from power. No, they did not know it; they could not have known it. Then did they look upon the war as probable? What I say of that is, that there was nothing whatever in the merits of the question with which they were dealing in their controversy with the Transvaal in which could be found a *casus belli*, and if there was no reason for war, equally there was no reason for special military preparations. I do not think this will be denied, because there is surely no one who says we ought to have gone to war on the question of seven or five years residence before you could acquire the right of enfranchisement in the South African Republic. I put that aside from the principle altogether. Therefore there was nothing to justify war, and nothing to justify preparations for war. That is a thing which in the course of last summer I repeated two or three times. I hold the opinion still. But if I was careful to say what I did as to preparations for war—that there was nothing to justify it then—the reason was that I wished, if possible, to stop the practice which the Government were pursuing of sending out week after week small detachments of men, small dribbles of force, which were certain to spoil their negotiations and lead to irritation, certain to throw doubt and discredit upon their professions of a sincere desire for a peaceful issue, and yet were ludicrously insufficient, absolutely futile, idle, trivial, and trumpery if they were intended to lend any substantial strength to the garrisons of the colony. If the object of the Government in sending out these small forces week after week was to give strength to the colony, then all I can say is that they must have known, or if they did not know they ought to have known, for they had the means, and they alone had the means of knowing, that it was a perfectly ludicrous measure to take from that point of view. And, therefore, we are driven to the conclusion that all they did was done with a view to frightening and coercing the Boers into submission. A more ludicrous conception of their antagonists and a more complete miscalculation of the case we have never seen in any history. If, on this point of

escaping war, the Government's idea was, and I believe it was, that they could frighten the Boers, and that the Boers did not really wish, and were not really ready, to go to war, then I should like to know who advised them in that matter, and who was it from whom only they could derive that impression. Was it our official representatives in any part of the Cape, or was it again those evil geniuses who have been hanging behind them all along, and to whose influence and advice we believe they were too ready to listen? We find that they were wrong as to the war, because they thought that there would be no war, and there is war. That is quite sufficient. They were wrong in their expectations. Then the next question which arose was this, If it comes to war, with whom shall we have to fight? Early in October there was a day of sad surprise for the First Lord of the Treasury when he opened his morning newspaper—if he ever does open his morning newspaper—and was obliged to exclaim, "What an extraordinary thing. The Orange Free State are joining the Boers. I should have sooner expected a declaration of war from Switzerland!" Sir, what a frame of mind; what an estimate of known facts; and what a depth of false information does this disclose!

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That is not my opinion.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: If it is not the right hon. Gentleman's opinion, he has very much misled everybody who has read his speeches. It is a great part of the case put forward by the Government that they did not expect the Free State would go to war. I say, first of all, there was the fact of the treaty of alliance between the two States, as to which there was no secret; but, putting that formal instrument aside, what is the case? The Government of the Free State had always been anxious to maintain peace, and they had exerted themselves with the greatest energy and ability in endeavouring to assist to a peaceful solution of the difficulty between us and the Transvaal. But if it came to a war in which the independence of the Boer Republic was to be staked, apart altogether from the question of blood affinity and the almost interchangeable character of the two communities, is it not natural that the Govern-

ment of the Free State would say, "How shall we be left when this ends in the loss of their independence by the Boer Republic? We shall find ourselves one solitary State in South Africa, to be the next prey to the machinations of the very men to whom the Boers are now falling victims"? So far from being a cause for surprise, that was a most natural conclusion for them to come to. Their decision was one which I for one greatly deplored, but which at least caused me no surprise whatever. On this subject I can quote to the First Lord of the Treasury the opinion expressed by a most shrewd observer a few years ago, who was explaining what he thought it was reasonable to expect in the case of a war between the Boers and ourselves in South Africa. He said—

"Lord Salisbury no doubt has been consistent. He was in favour of the war in Zululand. He was in favour of the annexation of the Transvaal. He was in favour of maintaining the occupation of that country by force, even after it had become apparent that the annexation itself had been made on false information. If the Orange Free State had, as would most probably have been the case, joined with the Transvaal Boers, no doubt Lord Salisbury would have declared war upon it too, and if then the whole Dutch population of the Cape had risen Lord Salisbury would have, with a light heart, led this country into a war more serious in its consequences, more certain to be fruitless of good results, than any war in which we have been engaged since we tried to compel the allegiance of the American colonies."

If the First Lord of the Treasury and the Colonial Secretary wished to form a judgment on what would be the probable action of the Free State they should have read some of the earlier speeches of Mr. Chamberlain. Now, again I say, if the Government did not expect that the Free State would join the Boers against us, who advised them to that effect? Whose opinion was it on which they formed their judgment? Well, Sir, it comes to this, that the Government were mistaken as to the outbreak of war, and they were mistaken as to our antagonists in the war. Let us now see if they were more accurate in their foresight with regard to the requirements for the war. Sir, the outside world, in which I include all persons not in the inner circle of officialdom, were startled beyond measure when they found what the enormous military strength of the Boers was. There are controversies on this subject as to the

time during which and the purposes for which those great armaments were required. But at present I put those controversies on one side, because I am dealing with the fact only that those armaments did exist. We see the number of men that they can put into the field; we see the abundance and excellence of the munitions of war, the military weapons, both great and small, which they have accumulated. The point I wish to push is, was the Government aware or not, say in the middle of last summer, of these great military resources of the Boers? Had the Intelligence Department of the War Office information on the subject? Did they know how many combatants the Boers could count upon; did they know of all the modern guns from Essen and Creusot, the Mauser rifles, and so forth? I should be much surprised if the Intelligence Department of the War Office, which is manned by capable officers and is always active and alert, did not know and was not in possession of the whole of this information in great detail. There was nothing of a surreptitious character about the acquirement of these munitions of war. I have been told—I cannot vouch for the correctness of it—that some of these great guns of which we stand so much in awe now were actually landed in Cape Town and passed up through the streets of Cape Town on their way to Pretoria. That was not surreptitious. But at all events we had our agents, military and civil, on the spot, and I should be altogether surprised if I am informed that the Intelligence Department of the War Office did not know every fact about them. It would be a serious matter if they did not. We may almost take it as certain that they did; but I ask the question. Well, then, did the Intelligence Department communicate this information to the Commander-in-Chief? Did he duly convey it to the Secretary of State? Did the Secretary of State dutifully submit it to the Cabinet Committee of Defence—that Aulic Council which the present Government has set up for the purpose of overriding the decisions of the Secretary of State for War and watering down his responsibility? The supreme apex of this hierarchical edifice is the Duke of Devonshire. Did the Duke of Devonshire receive the information and snatch a few moments from his educational functions in order to communicate it to his col-

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league, the Colonial Secretary, who was busy at that moment putting as many pin pricks as he could into the letters and speeches, with the help of which he was conducting his negotiations with the Transvaal Government? But if the Lord President did not receive the information, where did it stop in that hierarchical chain which I have described? That is a plain question which requires a plain answer, and I hope we shall have one. Again, it is a matter of common report that General Butler, Commander of the Forces in South Africa, sent home a minute, or despatch, or some document in which he set forth his view of the military situation, of the forces required to be employed, and the disposition which should be given to that force: Sir W. Butler is an excellent soldier, and also he is a man who, in previous years, had acquired a familiar acquaintance with South Africa. He was recalled and covered with obloquy, because it was believed he had been running counter to the policy of the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): Because he was an Irish gentleman and a Catholic.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Will these papers of his be produced?

Sir, we are entitled to demand that they shall be produced, and no excuse of the custom of the service or any excuse of that kind will avail, for it is to the interest of the country that the truth should be known. Now, on this question of the military resources of the Boers and the steps taken by the Government to meet them, the First Lord of the Treasury has been, as we might well expect, most fertile in explanations. The first plea of the First Lord to which I will refer was that the Government knew no more than "the man in the street," on which I would only say—and it is a sufficient reply—that if that were so it means a grave neglect of duty on the part of the Government, a grave neglect of the means and appliances for information with which they are furnished. But he has another plea, which is that they knew of the development of the military strength of the Boers, but that they could not venture to remonstrate with them because of the unfortunate Jameson raid, which furnished the excuse and pretext for them. I leave the House to reconcile

these two pleas, which answer each other. The third plea is that the Government hoped that a settlement of the franchise question would tide over the year, and then at the end of the year—he did not tell us what would occur; he left us quite in the dark, but at the end of the year the Boers would be weaker and we should be stronger. But the last plea to which I will refer is the most astounding and the least admissible of all; it is the perfectly baseless plea—and to my astonishment the Secretary for the Colonies joins in it—that if the Government had come to the House of Commons and had proposed an adequate strengthening of the garrison they would not have had the support of the House of Commons. [AN HON. MEMBER: Shame!] I give to that assertion the flattest contradiction. I say that right hon. Gentlemen opposite are not entitled to impute either to us of the Opposition or to their own followers, who were expressly included in the imputation, any such conduct. If they had come to the House of Commons and had given us, who were entirely ignorant of it, an adequate idea of the great disproportion between the military strength of the Boers and the garrisons and defences of the colonies, and had asked for powers, they would have received those powers from this House. If they had not received them it would have been their clear duty, in the interests of the Empire and of the colonists, of those men to whom the hon. and gallant Member opposite very properly referred, the inhabitants of Natal, who have suffered so much from the war—in the interests of all these they were bound, in order to show that when they could not discharge their duty they failed to fulfil their position—they were bound to resign their office. But here, by the use of this plea—*habemus confidentem reum*—we have them confessing that which we are seeking to know, whether it is true or not—that, for fear of Parliamentary complications and difficulties, they were content to leave the colonies with this great avalanche of Boer power impending over them. But not only so, they chose that particular moment to enter upon and push with great acerbity a controversy with the Boer Government which was almost certain to start the avalanche, just as a pistol shot will start an avalanche in the Alps, and which has, as a matter of fact,

brought the avalanche down. I think I have dealt with the leading excuses and pleas, and I think the First Lord of the Treasury will find it necessary to give some explanation more consistent and reasonable than he has yet been able to offer to us. I have only a few more words to say, and they will take the form, as a good deal of what I have been saying has taken the form, of questions, and they have regard to the actual conduct of the war. I was delighted, everyone was delighted, to find that certain members of the Government qualified to speak said, in effect, that the generals were to have a free hand. I never expected that the home Government or any members of it would interfere with any general in the field. They knew better. The First Lord of the Treasury has spoken of the "entanglement" of Ladysmith. Now that is a remarkable and significant word. It is not "accident," not "disappointment," not even "embarrassment," but "entanglement." We are entangled when taken hold of by something which against our will and intention prevents our freedom of movements. What anyone can see is that the position of Sir G. White with a large force at Ladysmith has had a most important effect—I will not use any stronger word—upon the campaign; that it has had the effect of altering altogether the original plan of military operations. We are aware from the despatch of Sir G. White that the occupation of Glencoe and Dundee was determined upon under the advice and at the instance of the civil Governor of Natal, and I wish to ask, in the first place, was that so, and was that step taken after consultation in any way with authorities at home? Was it sanctioned by the Government at home, and was the sanction of military authorities at home received before a conclusion was arrived at? Then I wish to ask, secondly, whether the accumulation of stores at Ladysmith and the detention of a large body of troops there were in any degree subject to similar influence? My last question is whether it was of his own accord and on purely military grounds that Sir Redvers Buller himself abandoned his original intention and went to Natal, taking a large force with him? I need hardly say that, while there should be desire in time of war to leave generals free to obey their own judgment, yet if there are extraordinary reasons for inter-

fering with that freedom, then the interference had better come from the responsible Government at home than take place on the opinions and views of a colonial Government. Now I have concluded what I have to say, and I trust the right hon. Gentleman will pardon my many questions, though I cannot expect universal or general concurrence in the views I have expressed. I have merely stated my own views on certain points, but I believe there are many of these questions I have thought it my duty to raise which the whole country expected would be raised, and the whole country awaits the answers with anxiety.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am far from complaining, Sir, either of the number of questions the right hon. Gentleman has put to me, the character of those questions, or the tone in which he put them, and I propose to deal with those questions, if the House will allow me, at, I hope, not inadequate length. Before, however, I come to the main part of the right hon. Gentleman's attack, for attack it was, I join with him in congratulating my two hon. friends behind me upon the skill and success with which they have carried out the difficult and delicate task entrusted to them. The task is always difficult and always delicate, and when the House meets in so grave a position of public affairs and in an inevitable mood of sadness brought about by the loss of so many valuable lives, a heavier burden is thrown upon the mover and seconder of the Address than on an ordinary occasion. My two hon. friends, while not refusing to touch adequately our programme of legislation, have in the main confined their attention to that single, all-absorbing topic of which each one of us, and certainly not least Her Majesty's Government, think day and night—I mean the war. The speech of the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down, following, and rightly following, their example, was occupied with the same great theme, and to-night I shall be compelled by the turn the debate has taken to dwell upon criticisms upon what has happened before I turn to the more absorbing topic of what still remains to be done. But if I dwell, in reply to the right hon. Gentleman, chiefly on the past and say nothing about the future, I hope the House will not think on that account that we, the Government, are not

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far more concerned with that future than we are with any mere party conflict in this House, or with the task of defending ourselves against a criticism which, I venture to think, is singularly unfair in its character, but which, whether unfair or not, does little harm to those against whom it is directed; and, if it did do harm, that harm would be insignificant, immaterial, negligible in comparison with the great national issue we are called upon to face. The right hon. Gentleman, in a sentence which began with the true patriotic ring, told us that he and those for whom he speaks were determined to support the war by every means in their power, so long—as I understood him—so long as that war was confined to driving invaders from Her Majesty's dominions.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The words I used were that we would support the war, the vigorous prosecution of the war, or something to that effect, in order as rapidly as possible to vindicate the integrity of the Queen's dominions and attain a successful issue.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am glad I gave the right hon. Gentleman an opportunity of repeating, and of repeating, so far as my memory goes, with perfect accuracy, that somewhat cryptic but most important announcement of policy. The right hon. Gentleman, as obviously he was bound to do, carefully considered the terms in which that announcement was made, and I think he was right. I interpret it, and I think the country will probably interpret that announcement, as indicating that the right hon. Gentleman promises his support should he be in Opposition, and even more effectually by his policy should he be in power, towards prosecuting the war so long as we are engaged in repelling invasion, but that he declines to commit himself, he declines deliberately to commit himself to any statement indicating that, in so far as he can exercise any control over the destinies of the country, the war shall proceed until we make ourselves absolutely supreme over the whole region of South Africa. Well, the right hon. Gentleman does not contradict my inference.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Now I know how to do it. You take a sentence your opponent has used, you misstate it—[“No, no.”]—let hon. and

right hon. Gentlemen keep their equanimity—you misstate it, and then, when your opponent rises to give the exact words used, you express satisfaction that you have given him the opportunity of doing a thing he was under no necessity to do, and then put an entirely new, and an entirely different construction on what was said, reading into it anything you like, and then when your opponent is tired of getting up and sits still, then you say, “judging by his silence, I am not misrepresenting him.” The right hon. Gentleman will not succeed either in reading into my words anything not there, or in driving me to say anything I do not desire to say.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am sorry failed to satisfy the right hon. gentleman. I can assure him he has entirely satisfied me. I want no more than what he has told us. I have given him the opportunity of saying, if he wished to say it, that he intends, in so far as he can, to aid the war, in Opposition or in the Government, until that conclusion is reached to which I have referred, the complete supremacy of Great Britain in South Africa. I have given him the opportunity for saying that, and he has declined to say it.

AN HON. MEMBER: We seek no territory.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Perhaps I may remind the right hon. Gentleman of another passage, to the effect that we were all agreed that the Imperial authority must be the supreme authority in South Africa.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not wish to pursue the controversy. I will not say I have every reason to be satisfied, for I confess it comes to me with somewhat a shock of surprise and dismay that there should be this doubt of what is meant by active support of the war. Well, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman proceeded to make an attack upon the diplomacy pursued by the Government, and in particular by my right hon. friend the Secretary for the Colonies, during the last five years. He called it inflicting pin-pricks, he used a great many hard words in regard to it, and he indicated, not for the first time, that in his opinion

it was that diplomacy, the want of dexterity of that diplomacy, the roughness of that diplomacy, which caused, and which alone caused, the outbreak of hostilities between the Boer Republics and ourselves. I have several observations to make upon that matter. In the first place, this diplomacy has been before the country all these years, and the right hon. Gentleman has been in a position not merely to make an occasional Parliamentary criticism, but to call the whole policy in question by a vote of censure. I do not remember that that ever was done. It is to be done to-night—strengthened by the checks which this country has received in the field. The right hon. Gentleman feels himself in a position to do that which, by his own account, he ought to have done any time during the course of the last five years. I doubt whether the move will be more successful to-night than it would have been on any of these previous occasions, but on that matter I may have to say a word directly. But, still limiting myself to this attack on my right hon. friend's diplomacy, I refer the right hon. Gentleman to the Boers themselves, who have given an account—which at all events should commend itself to the right hon. Gentleman—of the causes which have produced these international difficulties. They do not stop at the year 1895, they have nothing to do with drafting the Amendment which is to be moved to-night by the noble Lord on that bench, they go right back through one British Administration after another, including all the Administrations of which the right hon. Gentleman has been an ornament. It has been the continuous course of that diplomacy right back from the beginning, for twenty or thirty years—for twenty years at least—it has been the course of that diplomacy for twenty years, not what my right hon. friend has done or said in the last three or four years, which has at last brought to a culmination the controversy between the two nations or the two races. I think the right hon. Gentleman on reflection will feel that history did not begin in 1895, though amendments have begun in reference to events since 1895, and that if he wants to study the causes which have led to the present state of things, the historic causes, he must of necessity go back into more distant days. Then the right hon. Gentleman, before coming to his criti-

cisms of the war, made one further attack on my right hon. friend—well, I do not know whether it was an attack on my right hon. friend, but I presume it was an attack on the Government or some servant of the Government. He said that in certain un-named Cape newspapers articles had been appearing in which it was suggested that when the war was successfully terminated the Constitution of Cape Colony should be suspended and the Dutch population should be put under the heel of the English-speaking population. Well, I have not the least doubt that the right hon. Gentleman has accurately quoted those newspapers, though he did not tell us what they were, but may I ask how we are responsible for these utterances? What have we said to suggest that the object of the war, or one result of the war, is to produce inequality? Where have we said that the triumph of British arms is to be marked by the diminution of civil liberty? Sir, we have said, and we have said continuously and consistently, exactly the reverse. Whatever the right hon. Gentleman may choose to say with regard to South African journalists, I do beg that he will not interpolate his criticism on that body of men into an indictment of her Majesty's Government. We have not very much time before us, but I may incidentally observe that the right hon. Gentleman, who was very angry with me just now for giving the substance of his words before an audience which heard the words, and before the speaker of the words, who could correct me, quoted—no, not quoted, that is not what he has been doing, he has been attacking my right hon. friend for this or that want of tact and discretion in his despatches—he quoted not one single syllable in this House in support of that indictment, nor do I believe that such quotations could be made. The right hon. Gentleman left the question of diplomacy and came to the more absorbing topic, and, as I think, the far more relevant topic, of the conduct of the war, and, if I understood him rightly, he declared it was a monstrous heresy to assert that the war was an inevitable war. I understood the right hon. Gentleman to attack us for having said that, as the upshot and conclusion of all these negotiations, we could not conceal from ourselves now that the war probably was an inevitable war. Well, it is not only the

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Ministerial mind which has taken this curious twist, but the minds of some of the right hon. Gentleman's nearest friends and most devoted colleagues. I believe Lord Rosebery has taken this view; I believe the Member for Haddingtonshire has committed himself to such a statement; I rather think the Member for East Fife has committed himself to a similar statement; and I almost think that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton and the hon. Baronet the Member for the Berwick Division have spoken in similar language. All those persons have, as far as I can discover, gone through the same phases of opinion on this subject as the Government have gone through. We believed up to a very late date, not only that war could be avoided, but that probably war would be avoided. But on looking back over the whole history of the transactions, and on comparing subsequent statements made by Boer authorities, we have come to the conclusion that from the very beginning the Boer Government did not mean to make those concessions which, if they were not made, we always knew must lead to hostilities between the two countries.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: It is a strange request I am going to make of him, but would the right hon. Gentleman be good enough to repeat his statement?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Certainly.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: It may be discourteous.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Oh, no; I assure the right hon. Gentleman it is not. What I said was that he had been criticising us for taking the view towards the end, or after the close of the diplomatic transactions, that war was inevitable, having held before that a different opinion. I went on to say that that was not an eccentricity of the Members sitting on this bench alone, but that the same phases of opinion had been gone through, in the same order as I understood it, by a great many distinguished gentlemen closely connected with the right hon. Gentleman upon that bench.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: No, no; I meant the statement in regard to the Boer Government.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I, at least, never entertained any doubt that, if the Boers persisted in refusing a reasonable measure of justice to the Uitlanders it would no doubt end in hostilities, and I remember saying so on some public occasion in July—I think it was about the 20th of July—holding, however, the hopeful opinion that those concessions would be made.

'AN HON. MEMBER: Which?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: When did I make the statement? It is a matter of opinion on which we need not enter now. Then the right hon. Gentleman having taken this view, having passed this criticism upon our changes of opinion as regards the inevitability of war, went on to attack the military preparations which we made during the months, I suppose, of July, August, and September, and he described us as through those months—he did not mention the months, but I imagine it was those he had in view—sending dribblets of men week by week into the colonies. We did nothing of the kind; the right hon. Gentleman is entirely mistaken in his facts. I am quite sure the War Office would not have the slightest objection to laying a return on the table of the House showing the dates on which troops arrived in South Africa, or were sent from here, and, if my hon. friend will lay such a return, and hon. Gentlemen will take the trouble to study it, they will see that no accusation ever was less founded than this accusation of sending dribblets of men week by week into our colonies for the purpose of defending them. And let me remind him, when he denounces us for having sent 10,000 men into Natal, in September I think it was, and says that you cannot expect to carry on negotiations successfully if you take military steps of that kind, that the colony of Natal itself sent an earnest request to us that we should do so, and, in my opinion, we should have been committing a gross dereliction of duty if we had not responded to that call. Then the right hon. Gentleman asks us how we came to be ignorant of the intentions of the Orange Free State, and he misinterprets, quite unintentionally, some observations I made in a speech delivered on, I think, November 28, in which I expressed my surprise that the Orange Free State should have done a

thing so risky for its own future as to join with the Transvaal against us. I was not thinking at that moment of diplomatic negotiations of such and such a week, or such and such a month. I was thinking of the broad fact that the Orange Free State had lived at peace with us, flourished side by side with us, not interfered with or threatened by us, year after year, and generation after generation; and I say it is not astonishing, ought not we to feel surprise, that a State like that, absolutely secure in our midst, should threaten its own existence, and its own future, by thus throwing in its lot with our enemy? That was the gist of my argument. On the diplomacy of the Orange Free State, with which I was not concerned at the moment I was speaking, the right hon. Gentleman has referred to a statement made by the President of the Orange Free State on August 28th to the Prime Minister of the Cape Colony with reference to the discussion about the importation of arms and ammunition—

“With reference to the discussion about the importation of arms and ammunition into the Orange Free State, I trust that no assurance is necessary upon my part to contradict the ridiculous, lying, and malicious rumours that there exists with this Government any desire or intention to take up arms in any aggressive or offensive manner against the British Government or any British colony or territory.”

So much for the diplomacy of the Orange Free State. Then the right hon. Gentleman comes to a very important question, namely the forces of the Boers, our knowledge of those forces, and the inference that we ought to have drawn from them. He speaks with innocent surprise, as if the first time we ever heard that the Boers were arming was subsequent to the display of military efficiency which they have shown since the war broke out; but the Government never concealed, not from themselves only, but from the House, that armaments on the most formidable scale had been and were being introduced into the Transvaal. My right hon. friend, I believe, in answer to questions in this House, has stated it more than once, and it has formed, I know, one of the links in the arguments which we have from time to time addressed to the House and the country in connection with the relations between this country and the Orange Free State. The general fact was perfectly

notorious; but a much more interesting and important question is raised when we come to the estimate, or, as I have already admitted in public, the under-estimate, which the Government made of the military power of the Boers. I do not think, sir, that that under-estimate should be laid to the charge of the Intelligence Department. As regards armaments, I may say that it is impossible now—we have not the information now at our disposal—to correct the estimates made at the beginning of the war. We cannot do it yet. We shall be able to do it no doubt at the end of the war. But at present I really have seen no evidence to show that the Intelligence Department were wrong in any of the facts which it was within their power to authoritatively investigate. By that I mean the number of Boers between the ages of military service, whether in the Orange Free State or in the Transvaal. I believe they had material for forming that estimate, and as far as I know it was correctly formed and was communicated by the military authorities at the War Office to the Government. I am sure my right hon. friend, if he did not communicate it to the House, would have been quite willing to do so if he had been asked. But of course there was a margin which it was impossible for any Intelligence Department exactly to gauge. It has been suggested to me—I do not know on what evidence—that to avoid commandeering for native wars and other things there were some Boers who did not give their names in for the official return. I do not know whether it is true or not. If true there is, of course, an element very difficult to gauge. Another element which it was impossible to gauge was the number of Uitlanders who would take service with the Boers. We do not know now whether that number is large or small; but evidently it could not be accurately estimated by the Intelligence Department, however well equipped; and there is another doubtful element—the number of our own colonists who would, under certain circumstances, throw in their lot with the Boer Republic. Therefore some uncertainty existed, and could not but exist; but I think the Intelligence Department ought to be free from attacks, which, as far as I am able to judge, have no basis in fact. But, it will be asked, how comes it that this great under-

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estimate of the strength of the Boers came to be made, if we knew approximately what the number of the Boer army was and what numbers were likely to take the field? I do not know that I have any very satisfactory answer to give to that question. It is purely and strictly a military problem, and a problem which, as history shows, it is very difficult to answer satisfactorily. You can gauge the military strength of a European nation with a fixed army, with all the modern military apparatus and military statistics at your disposal. You can say how many men Germany could mass in a given time on the French frontier, or how many France could mass on the German frontier, and so on with regard to Austria and Russia, I suppose. But when you come to the problem of States whose military position is not of that elaborate kind, you will find that great mistakes have been made in the past, and I doubt not that great mistakes will be made in the future. They certainly have been made by almost every military nation of which we have any record. But if this is an attack on the military experts at the War Office, it is surely an unfair one. Experts not given generally to agree with one another were absolutely unanimous on this point. I do not think you can quote the opinion of a single soldier, of any position, or no position, delivered, say, before 31st July or 31st August last, indicating that the force sent out to South Africa in the first instance would not be amply sufficient, or more than amply sufficient—["What about Butler?"]—for all purposes. ["Butler! Butler!"] I think that hon. Gentlemen might let me finish the sentence, especially as I have nothing but disappointment in store for them. The right hon. Gentleman put a question about Sir William Butler—a question reiterated with a fervour of expectation by hon. Gentlemen below the gangway, and which unfortunately we are unable to meet. We have not the slightest trace at the War Office of any communication, public or semi-public or private, no communication of any sort, kind or description which indicated in Sir William Butler's opinion that the force we sent out was not sufficient—I was going to say not doubly sufficient—for any work it might be called upon to do. I know

not where the opposite view found its origin; but you will not find it in any document in the possession of the War Office.

AN HON. MEMBER: Or the Colonial Office.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Let me say that Sir William Butler does not communicate with the Colonial Office.

AN HON. MEMBER: When he was acting Governor.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Hon. Gentlemen may take it from me that I am not trying to play with them or evade the question. I say that in no shape or form, to anybody or through anybody who had access to the Government, or who was a member of the Government, or who had to advise the Government, had we the slightest reason to believe that Sir William Butler's opinion on the military question was what the right hon. Gentleman apparently thinks it is, and what certainly hon. Gentlemen below the gangway think it is. He held the opinion common to every military authority in the country—namely, that the force we had sent to South Africa was in point of number and equipment quite sufficient and more than sufficient to deal with the military difficulties of the case. Sir, one other point I must mention in connection with this controversy about the war. The right hon. Gentleman, who is so easily perturbed at the smallest appearance of misquoting his words, has occupied a great deal of the latter part of his speech in attributing to me a series of opinions which I never held and never expressed. I believe that certain of those opinions were attributed to me in leading articles in certain eminent journals; but I am quite sure that the right hon. Gentleman would not go to that source. If he will take the trouble of reading my speeches—a penalty which I would not willingly inflict on my worst enemy—he will find that I am not guilty of the statement which he has quite unintentionally extracted by some strange and violent process from the words which I actually used.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The "violent process" was a red pencil

and a copy of *The Times* newspaper with the report of the speech.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I should have been glad if the right hon. Gentleman had quoted the words. I do not take much interest in speeches myself; but I will give a specimen of the right hon. Gentleman's accuracy of interpretation. He led the House to believe that I had said that with regard to this whole question of the war, and the forces of the Boers, the Government had no more knowledge than the man in the street. I never said anything of the kind. What I did say was that in dealing with the intentions of Boer statesmen, with the intentions of President Kruger, and of those who work with President Kruger, the public were peculiarly well circumstanced by the fact that there was so much communication between this country and the Transvaal; and that we had no special means of information as to their intentions which any well informed man in the street had not equally at his disposal. That seems to me a perfectly true and honest statement, and disposes of our supposed ignorance with regard to armaments and all the rest of it, of which so much has been made. But, Sir, there is a much more important misinterpretation put upon my views by the right hon. Gentleman than any careless utterance which may, perhaps through my fault, lend itself to misinterpretation and misquotation. The right hon. Gentleman has, on the strength of something he supposes that I have said, attributed to the Government the view that they believed in August that war was inevitable; but because they were afraid of Parliamentary difficulties and complications, they deliberately left undefended the colonies they were bound to defend. Sir, I deny that I ever said anything which would lead any fair interpreter to any such conclusion as that. I should think it a disgrace for ever if I belonged to a Government that, for the sake of avoiding a little Parliamentary inconvenience, betrayed the great interests of the Empire. I deny that I ever said anything of the kind. What was the general plan of the Government with regard to this war? We believed, as we have said here and elsewhere, that war was improbable. We also believed that war was possible, and that possibility was a contingency against which it was our business to provide; but

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we held that there were great diplomatic advantages in not, in August, coming down to the House, and asking for a great Vote in view of the possibilities of immediate hostilities in the Transvaal. We thought that that would have been bad diplomacy—in fact, that it would have been diplomacy doubly bad, because I think we should not have been able to persuade the House that the necessity for the Vote was pressing and urgent. If any hon. Member will honestly put himself back into the frame of mind in which he was on the 10th August last, when this House broke up, he will, I think, agree with that statement. But, Sir, we recognised that we had a duty to perform, and our view was that the improbable contingency of war could be provided against by sending to Cape Colony and Natal a force sufficient to defend the frontiers of those colonies until the large field force we were preparing to send out had arrived and aggressive action was possible. You will say the force sent out was insufficient. Well, it has proved insufficient in the sense that at this moment, we grieve to think, there are portions of both Cape Colony and Natal in the occupation of the enemy, and undoubtedly, therefore, it was insufficient. But let me remind the House that just as our field force was much more than adequate to meet any necessity which military men thought would come upon us, so the defensive force we sent out to Cape Colony and Natal was largely in excess of what we were told was necessary to carry out our policy. Our hope was that the colonies would be fully defended by this force, and we believed, and hoped that before the 25th September a field force, complete in all its parts, transport and everything else, would be accumulated at the Cape, and that the forward movement would go on through the Orange Free State, and would, as we hoped, have the effect of bringing the war to a very distant conclusion. Well, Sir, as the House knows, that plan of campaign was not the one which was carried out. The forces we sent to South Africa have been on the one hand diverted to Natal, and on the other hand diverted to Kimberley, and that forward movement has not yet taken place. No doubt it will do so. Well, Sir, I have been perfectly open with the House. I have told you exactly what we intended to do; and I think it will be admitted by candid critics—if candid

critics remain—that the general scheme of operations was not one which in itself was either foolish or reckless, or of a kind likely to sacrifice grave Imperial interests. But the right hon. Gentleman will say: “Your plan of campaign has not been carried out. Has anybody been interfering with the generals either in Natal or elsewhere?” Sir, the generals and the commanding officers we sent to South Africa have not been interfered with at home; they have had absolute discretion as to the military steps they would take to carry out the general intentions of the Government. The right hon. Gentleman pressed me upon the subject of a communication made by the Governor of Natal, at the instance of his own Ministers, and not at our instance, to the commanding officer in that Colony. My right hon. friend the Colonial Secretary is going to lay Papers on the table giving the whole account of that transaction. We had nothing to do with it. We did not prompt it. The communication was made by the Governor at the instance of his Ministers—we do not see how it could be otherwise—but it was not mandatory, and the whole power and responsibility, from the beginning to the end, rested upon the military officer commanding.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN :
With regard to Glencoe and Dundee ?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes, with regard to everything; with regard to every step, and with regard to the whole plan of campaign. Every move in that plan rested, and has rested, on the generals, and we have not thought it right or desirable to interfere, directly or indirectly, with their responsibility.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN :
I hope the right hon. Gentleman will excuse me for interposing again, but I wish to make sure. My object is to inform and satisfy the public mind, which has been greatly exercised upon this point. I asked the right hon. Gentleman three questions. I asked him with regard to Glencoe and Dundee. That was one point. I asked him with regard to Ladysmith itself. The third point was with regard to the transference of a considerable force from a central point in South Africa to Natal. I understand the right hon. Gentleman to say that in all

these three cases it was purely the discretion of the military authorities that determined the issue?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes, the right hon. Gentleman has perfectly correctly interpreted my words. I think I have now finished with the right hon. Gentleman's attack on our military policy. But I noticed an expected omission. I noticed the right hon. Gentleman said nothing about the adequacy of our armaments and the excellence of our guns to carry out the work of the Army. I think the omission was intelligible, because the right hon. Gentleman himself with great tact, but with no very reforming spirit, was responsible for Army matters for two, three, or four years—I will not say eventful years, because they were eminently uneventful so far as the War Office was concerned, for none of the great increases in our forces, none of the great improvements in the accommodation for our men, none of the increases in our armaments, none of the improvements in our Army, can be dated from the right hon. Gentleman's tenure of office. If hon. Gentlemen will look back on the many debates which occurred on this topic, if they will look back over the history of the War Office for any period of years they like, so long as they go back before 1895, to make a comparison with sacred '95—which was the beginning of the date of wisdom—they will find that all increases in efficiency, in numbers, all improvements in organisation, have emanated from this side of the House without exception; and it is within the last three years that the greatest improvements have been made as regards barrack accommodation, the number of our troops, and in artillery and guns. I therefore think the right hon. Gentleman was well advised in not carrying on his criticism of the Government into our military policy, so far as to call in question the action of the War Office in connection with our forces. The right hon. Gentleman asked us whether we held that criticism at this stage of our proceedings was out of place. No, Sir, I think the right hon. Gentleman was perfectly right in criticising us. I could have wished that the criticism were based on a more accurate study of documents, and were fairer in spirit, but to criticism itself I make no objection whatever. But I

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understand the right hon. Gentleman and his friends are going further in criticism to-night. I understand they propose doing their best to take upon their own shoulders and their superior intelligence and knowledge of affairs the further conduct of the affairs of this Empire in general and of the war in particular. The noble Lord the Member for the Cricklade Division, who, I presume, will follow me, has got this task in hand. I can assure him I wish him well through it. He has on his side some advantages, for he speaks to the House, and through the House to the country, which is justly disappointed with the result of the war up to the present date, and which feels, and must feel acutely, how its hopes, its natural hopes—I was going to say its legitimate hopes—have been disappointed. That is a good audience to appeal to when you are attacking those in power; and I am sure the noble Lord is not less endowed with that wisdom so plentifully distributed amongst the sons of men, but which is not more precious than rubies—I mean wisdom after the event. But while the noble Lord has some advantages in preaching from that text, surely he has some disadvantages. The whole object of the Amendment, rumour assures me, the speech of the leader of the Opposition assures me, is to urge the complaint made against us as to our want of foresight—that foresight with which hon. Gentlemen opposed to us, who wish to take our places, consider themselves liberally endowed. There are many kinds of foresight. The foresight with which men are endowed is not always of the same kind. For instance there is the foresight of the hon. Baronet the Member for the Berwick Division. The foresight of the hon. Baronet tells him that we ought to have made greater preparations at an earlier date, but the foresight of the right hon. Gentleman himself tells him that the mistake we made was in making any preparations at all, and the quality of foresight of the right hon. Gentleman is shared by another eminent Member on that bench, who wrote an article in one of the reviews, in which he quoted with approval the famous sentence of the right hon. Gentleman:—"Not only was war not necessary, but warlike preparations were not necessary."

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN :
I said so to-night.

Mr. A. J. Balfour.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am pointing out, not that the foresight of the Opposition is bad, but that there are so many kinds of foresight. In the right hon. gentleman's indictment the whole scope of the negotiations since 1895 down to the outbreak of war is included. Very good. But the foresight of one-half of the Opposition leads them to believe after that survey that the war is an unjust one and a war that could have been avoided. The foresight of not less distinguished members of the same Opposition leads them to exactly the opposite conclusion—namely, that the war is a just war and could not have been avoided. I suppose in defence of the Opposition foresight hon. Gentleman from Ireland will go into the lobby in support of the vote of censure. They think to a man that the war was unjust in its inception, and ought to be put an end to as quickly as possible. That is their foresight. The right hon. Gentleman apparently thinks, though probably he will be very angry with me for saying so, that the war ought to be put an end to immediately we have driven, or soon after we have driven, the enemy from our own territory. But, on the other hand, there are Members sitting near him, and colleagues of his own in the other House, whose foresight is of an altogether different kind, and they agree with us in being absolutely determined that this war shall be driven to a successful issue, and that by a successful issue is not meant any suzerainty, any shadowy supremacy in South Africa, but the real, substantial supremacy of Great Britain over all these regions. There are two kinds of foresight upon that important subject; and to make the whole thing as absurd as it can be—who is going to be the Gentleman to put into one fold these sheep and these goats? Who is it who is going to do his best to put the Government into a minority, and to transfer the future administration of the country to Gentlemen on the other side? A very distinguished Member of this House only a few days ago told the country that the last thing that was desirable in the present crisis was a change of Government.

MR. GLADSTONE (Leeds, W.): I said it was the last thing we should wish.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I thought you would probably wish what was desirable.

But while the Opposition have in their discretion taken this course, they have announced—though none of their sections agree as to the justice of this war or as to the mode in which it should be pursued—that they mean to do their best to turn us out. Sir, they are quite at liberty to take that course. All I ask for is this, that if, on their part, they find that this Government has the confidence of the House, that confidence will not in future during this great national crisis be disturbed by unnecessary or petty criticism or unnecessary or petty questioning. I, on my part, engage that if the right hon. Gentleman succeeds, and if the country endorses his action, I, if still a member of this House, will do my best to support the Ministry of the day in any steps they may take to pursue the war to the conclusion I have already described. I refrain from alluding further to the noble Lord's Amendment, on which I shall probably have to speak once again before these debates come to an end. Let me conclude by saying that the Government do not minimise the magnitude of the task which is before us, and we have no desire to conceal what shortcomings may be detected in the past. We are anxious to learn every lesson which that past can teach. We know that the future is, and must be for some time, full of anxiety and full of difficulty for those who are responsible for the management of public affairs. That responsibility, great as it is, we shall endeavour to fulfil as long as we have the confidence of this House. And, as we shall never advise peace until the war has brought forth its legitimate fruits, so we believe that, in spite of any ambiguity of utterance from any quarter of the other side of the House, the country will insist that the Ministers who serve it, be they drawn from one side of the House or from the other, will see not only that the military honour of this country is amply vindicated, but that we leave in South Africa no root from which again may spring forth any of the bitter and poisonous fruits from which for so many years we have been suffering.

***LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE** (Wilts, Cricklade): Sir, there have been many sessions within the knowledge and recollection of Members here to-night when the speeches upon the Address in reply to Her Majesty's most gracious

Speech have been of a formal character, and I hope Members opposite will believe that I speak from the bottom of my heart when I express the wish that the proceedings on the present occasion could have partaken of that nature. It is no pleasure to rise to impugn the policy of the Government in regard to foreign affairs. My own past conduct in this House enables me to say that I have never offered a factious opposition to any Government with regard to foreign affairs. Last year I gained some ill-will from hon. Gentlemen on my own side of the House because I considered it my duty to support Her Majesty's Government in the lobby upon the critical questions which had for the time overclouded our relations with France. I had previously considered it to be my duty at public meetings in my own constituency and elsewhere, at the risk of offending those with whom I generally agree, to record the opinion that in the controversy with France, the country with which of all others we ought to be on good terms, right and justice lay with Her Majesty's Government. If I thought for one moment that such was the position of affairs to-day, I would not hesitate again to do what I should consider to be my duty, even at the risk of again separating myself from hon. Members of my own party, in supporting the Government. I honestly regret that that is not the case. I am glad, however, that the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House, although he has severely condemned by anticipation the Amendment I am going to move, has not contended that we on this side of the House have no right to move such an Amendment. I have been astonished to read the criticisms which, in certain influential newspapers, have been levelled against the Opposition. Not only is it common sense, but all historical precedent and every constitutional doctrine points to this, that the first and legitimate duty of the Opposition, whether in regard to foreign or home affairs, is to indulge in criticism of the proper kind and at the right moment. On the other hand it is not their right to go one inch outside their proper position, and allow that criticism to degenerate into faction, and I earnestly trust that not one word of mine to-night will appear so to degenerate. If we were not to indulge in criticism upon occasions of this kind we should perhaps be obliged to have recourse to some such course as

that adopted by Mr. Fox and his followers, when they thought fit to abandon their duty in Parliament, and he retired to St. Ann's Hill. But the verdict of the historian and the biographer has been adverse to the course they then adopted, and has endorsed the action of Mr. Tierney, who at the head of a small and diminished section, remained here, and attended this House. It has been said that I have against me the great precedent of the conduct of the elder Pitt, but I am afraid that those who say that if we follow the example of the elder Pitt we should abandon opposition and criticism in this House must be very insufficiently acquainted with that statesman's character, conduct, and career. The elder Pitt was not only a successful war minister, but a leader of opposition, and nobody denies that one of the greatest chapters in his life is his persistent opposition (when Lord Chatham) against what he considered to be the unwise and impolitic war with our American colonies. I think above all of that famous speech in which he spoke of the "spring hopes and verdant promises" of Her Majesty's Government, and I cannot help fearing that in regard to some passages of our South African affairs we have been till recently in danger of realising the force of that sarcastic description in which Lord Chatham warned the House of Lords in 1776 against listening to "spring hopes and verdant promises" in regard to military affairs. That was the moment when a large British army was in America in a difficult and isolated position, and was described by the elder Pitt as being too many to make peace and too few to make war. It is not my wish to turn this debate into a criticism of War Office details, or to impugn the position of any particular person or office. I venture to remind the House that attacks on particular Ministers and particular departments have not proceeded from this side of the House, nor have they been made at public meetings addressed by members of the party to which I belong. All those criticisms have emanated from the Ministerial side of the House and from newspapers representing Ministerial views. I altogether repudiate them. About six weeks ago the grim silence of a London Sunday morning was enlivened by an article in a Ministerial journal which said that the country was in danger, and that

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the only way to save it was to call for the immediate resignation of the Lord Privy Seal and the President of the Local Government Board. I have very great respect for the President of the Local Government Board, but I have yet to learn that Pretoria is subject to the Orders of the Local Government Board, while, as to the Lord Privy Seal, some years ago I attempted to ascertain what his duties were, but I do not recollect that it was ever said that he had any special responsibility for South Africa or that South Africa was under his particular control. The House must recollect that the *Daily Mail* is not the organ of the Front Opposition Bench, nor are we very influential with regard to the policy of the *Spectator* newspaper, but those are the quarters from which the attacks upon particular departments have emanated. In their columns it is stated that the only thing which can save the country is the immediate expulsion of the Secretary of State for War, and the substitution for him of the hon. Member for West Belfast. According to the *Spectator* the hon. Member should go to Pall Mall, clad, I suppose, in complete armour like the ghost of Hamlet's father, and immediately do some great or striking action which will deliver this unfortunate country and so alarm President Kruger that he will at once sue for peace upon bended knees. I will only mention one other of these ridiculous proposals, which, remember, emanate from organs representing the Ministerial side of the House. I am told that in a Yorkshire newspaper the weakness of the Government has been stated to consist in the fact that the Member for the Ecclesall Division of Sheffield is not a member of the Government, and that he ought to be at once called in to advise Her Majesty's Ministers. Unfortunately, he is not here at present; he has gone to the seat of war, as he went to Greece and Turkey two years ago. He was then taken prisoner by the Greeks at sea, and is now probably undergoing a second period of captivity. I am sure when he returns we shall listen to him with great interest. But, Sir, I do not believe that the presence or absence of any of the hon. Members to whom reference has been made is at all the question before the House. I agree with the right hon. Gentleman that during the last five years very great alterations and improvements have been made at the War Office. But it is

also perfectly possible at the same time to believe that the preparations made necessary by this sudden war in South Africa cast a burden upon the War Office which it was not ready to undertake, and therefore the blame is not upon the War Office or any departmental Minister who represents the military or the civil side of the War Office, but it is upon the Cabinet and upon the Government. Being a civilian, I would hesitate to offer even the most modest opinion of my own upon any military question whatever, but I have been very much struck by the opinion of a writer of great knowledge and authority, whose name I believe is known, but which I am not at liberty to mention—the writer of a very able article in the January number of the *Edinburgh Review*, in which the whole of this military question is discussed with great knowledge and admirable impartiality. The writer points out that the responsibility for this war, and therefore for the preparations necessitated by the war, is not a matter which you can trace to the War Office as a separate department of the State, and that therefore it is not possible to make any particular Minister responsible, excepting in so far as he is a member of the Cabinet, and jointly responsible with his colleagues for whatever mistakes have been made. The war, he says, is not due to the War Office. Their business has solely been to organise the strength of the nation with the means placed at their disposal and to render to the Government an account of the British readiness to take the field. It has been the duty of successive Governments and Parliaments to decide upon the scale of our armaments on land and on sea, and the duty of the Military and Naval Departments is to give the very best army and navy procurable under those conditions in order to carry out the general objects which those Governments and Cabinets have had in view. That is a true and legitimate description of the constitutional relations of the War Office and the Government. My case against the Government is not a departmental case against the War Office, but it is, following the words of the writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, that the general objects which you suddenly thrust upon the War Office by embarking them in a great war in South Africa, were objects for which your War Office was not organised, is not organised,

and never has been organised, and for which you had not voted estimates. We all value our civil rights and political liberties, and it is an alarming thing to see the light way in which plans are being now put forward to introduce military conscription into this country, and in which we are called as a matter of course, almost without discussion, to vote enormous sums in order to send 120,000 men to South Africa. Your War Office and existing military organisation was never intended for such a purpose. The policy of this country was never fixed upon lines meant to make this country a great military Power. I want to know under what conception, not only of military policy, but also of law and government, is it that friends and supporters of the Government come forward with a light heart and say that at every cost, never mind what, never mind the number of men who may be swallowed up in South Africa, we are to be ready in future to hurl masses of men across the ocean regardless of the consequences to our own institutions and liberties which entering upon a gigantic policy of this kind must entail. An army or a navy is a sufficient and efficient force, not in the abstract, but according to the burdens which the Government of the time calls upon it to bear; and my case against the Government is that the burden which they have placed upon the War Office is one which no War Office could possibly have supported without greater notice and fuller time than that which was allowed. In the article already referred to the author, speaking evidently with an inside knowledge of affairs, says that, in his opinion, the War Office has placed the defences of the United Kingdom upon a sound basis, and that about a year ago that work was well forward and was fast approaching completion. But the very fact that so much energy and skill had been put into it had fully occupied the time of the officials of the War Office, and prevented them giving the time which they intended to Imperial defence, which they desired to take up at the proper time. Those facts must have been within the knowledge of the Government, and yet, notwithstanding this, the War Office is suddenly called upon by what I venture to call an irritating and reckless policy, to perform duties for the performance of which you have not given them the

proper means, and in regard to which you have not allowed adequate time for preparation. I must protest, at the same time, against what fell from the right hon. Gentleman when he said that nothing had been done for the defences of this country by previous Administrations. It is almost impossible to separate naval and military administration. Does the right hon. Gentleman mean to tell this House that he thinks Lord Spencer did nothing for the administration of the Navy? The two things largely hang together, and I venture, in the first place, to ask him that question. I venture to deny the statement that nothing was done for military reform during the Administration of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Rosebery. I would remind him that on the very day when this Government came into power a great personal change took place which undoubtedly enabled a new era of military affairs to be opened. It is beyond dispute that the Duke of Wellington was the greatest soldier of his day, and yet when he died everybody felt that military reforms which had before been looked upon as impossible afterwards became more possible than they otherwise would have become. I apply that analogy now, and I venture to say that although no man was more devoted to his profession, or threw himself with greater zeal into the discharge of his duties than the Duke of Cambridge, nevertheless, when the change in the command in chief took place at the time the present Government came into power, and the Duke of Cambridge gave way to Lord Wolseley, certain reforms became more easy. I say this notwithstanding all my admiration for the services and great career of the Duke of Cambridge. It was ungenerous for the right hon. Gentleman to stand up in this House and say that nothing whatever had been done for military reform by the Government of Lord Rosebery when we recollect that there were certain advantages entirely unconnected with the personality of Her Majesty's present Ministers which undoubtedly facilitated the reforms which all Governments desired to carry out. The Government have thrown on the back of an already overburdened War Office the gigantic task of transporting a large army across the sea. I think I may say, so far as the War Office is concerned, that the transport of these men has been well carried out, and if anybody had told us a few

years ago that it would be possible at such very short notice to send, not across the Channel, but to the uttermost ends of the earth, across the ocean, a large and, on the whole, a well equipped army, even allowing for some inevitable failures in small details, it would have been said that was a matter of which we might well be proud. But it is perfectly possible to hold, as I do, this view, and to hold the view at the same time that the War Office ought never to have been called upon to perform this duty owing to the circumstances which I have explained. The War Office were engaged upon reforms which would have enabled them, when completed, a few years hence, to have performed their duties in an effectual manner, because then the whole question of the military defences of the Empire would have been taken into consideration. Who can doubt when the Bill mentioned in Her Majesty's gracious Speech for the federation of the Australian colonies is carried through it will be a measure which will very greatly facilitate the solution of the problem of Imperial defence, and will enable them to co-operate with us in a manner which they cannot do now. That is one reason why the War Office should not have been called upon to send this army across the sea now. It is further the undoubted fact—and nothing that fell from the right hon. Gentleman enables me, much as I should wish, to alter the opinion that everybody has formed, even his own followers and supporters, from the perusal of his speeches—that the belief of the Government was that the Transvaal would never, of its own accord, declare war against England. That is not a question of War Office administration, but a question of the belief of the Government. They believed that the Orange Free State, which had shown very great independence of the Transvaal in many ways in regard to commercial matters, never was likely to turn round and enter into an alliance, offensive as well as defensive, with the Transvaal Government. They believed that under no circumstances would the Transvaal or the Free State armies invade British territory, and they did not believe that the forces of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State combined represented anything like the number of men who are now gathered under their standards. The right hon. Gentleman

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has answered, no doubt, many of the queries of my right hon. friend in regard to Sir William Butler's despatches, and the answers he has given us, as far as I am able to form an opinion, are of a satisfactory kind. But as I have already pointed out neither my right hon. friend nor myself base our case upon the existence or non-existence of some particular despatch or paper in the War Office or the Colonial Office. We base our case upon far larger grounds. We do not impugn any particular minister. If we are to impugn anybody it would be that extraordinary body the Committee of National Defence. What is this Committee of National Defence, and what are its duties? Of whom does it really consist? Where does it meet? When the Government was formed, I recollect there was a great flourish of trumpets about the Committee of National Defence. I was always of opinion that the true Committee of National Defence consisted of the First Lord of the Admiralty and the Secretary of State for War, and what I want to know is what is the advantage of calling into council men who, as far as I can make out, are none of them military men, but are certain civilian members of the Cabinet, presided over by the Lord President. The very name of the Committee of National Defence has to me an ominous ring. We have all heard of the Government of National Defence in France, which only lives in history because it failed to drive out the invader and to prevent the capitulation of Paris. My right hon. friend has happily compared the Committee of National Defence to the Aulic Council of Vienna, which historians have said is responsible for all the great military disasters which have befallen the Austrian Empire. I cannot help noticing in this connection another unfortunate circumstance which originated with the present Government, and that is that the great office of Prime Minister has been associated with that of the Minister for Foreign Affairs. I am quite willing to acknowledge that if I was to look at this matter from the point of view of the inside of the Foreign Office, I might see some advantages in it, because the combination saves time in the passing backwards and forwards of despatches before final signature. But that is only a small part of the question. The office

of the Prime Minister, so far as it is capable of definition, is to control the general policy of the Cabinet. Now if ever there was a case where the general control of the Prime Minister was desirable, and where unfortunately it was found wanting, that was the case of our negotiations with the South African Republic. I can hardly imagine that any minister having to deal with South African affairs would not have desired to obtain what might be called a good second opinion upon nearly every important step of the negotiations. Without wishing to suggest anything disrespectful of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for the Colonies, I would remind the House that Lord Russell, who had been Foreign Minister, stated in his place in the House of Lords in 1871 that he had himself—more particularly on two famous occasions—found an enormous advantage through not being Prime Minister as well as Foreign Secretary, because he was able to submit his despatches for criticism to the superior knowledge and judgment of Lord Palmerston. If a man who had himself been Prime Minister, like Lord Russell, was able, in his old age, publicly and willingly to make an admission of that kind, you may be perfectly certain that when great negotiations of this kind are going on, that what is true of the Foreign Minister is equally true of the Colonial Minister, and it would have been a great advantage if the despatches of the Colonial Secretary, so many of them unfortunate in their tone and irritating in their manner, had been first submitted to the ripper wisdom of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who, we all admit, is a statesman of the greatest experience, and who has, on the whole, been singularly successful as Foreign Minister. In regard to the military aspect of this expedition, the real indictment against the Government is that they have plunged into it like the administration of Lord Aberdeen plunged into the Crimean war. The main fact of the present situation is that which my right hon. friend put forward at the commencement of his remarks—the main, broad, and terrible fact that we are at war. As he very truly said, that fact by itself may be said to shift the burden of proof from me, or anybody else on this side of the House, on to the Government, to show why war has become necessary. Lord Clarendon, one

of the greatest Foreign Ministers we ever had, passed, perhaps, unintentionally, the severest condemnation on the Crimean War, by acknowledging that we had drifted into it. I believe the honour of that phrase has been divided between him and Lord Aberdeen, the Prime Minister at the time, but in any case it was used; and I think it very accurately describes the circumstances under which this country has been involved in this most unfortunate war. I hope I shall not be charged with this imputation of faction, by again quoting the First Lord of the Treasury, in the first of the series of speeches he delivered in East Manchester—so often alluded to, and to be alluded to again. He used language about the Opposition which, I confess, I read with regret. He said that the Opposition “merely exist—politically exist—to take some argumentative or controversial advantage of the Government which happens to be in power.” Such language coming from the First Lord of the Treasury was very unfortunate. Some day or another, under the stress of party warfare, the right hon. Gentleman may again find himself on this side of the House, and I hope that the Government of that day may not be exposed, as a matter of course, to an Opposition of that kind. I can recollect myself, when I held office with my right hon. friend beside me, some forms of opposition which might come within the description of the First Lord of the Treasury, and I would suggest to him that he should not indulge in language which might revive recollections we are all quite willing to forget, and prefer if we can to involve in an atmosphere of philosophic doubt. The broad question is, and we have a right to ask it, How is it that we are at war? I venture to say that we cannot answer that question satisfactorily without examining the history of those negotiations which preceded the war. I assure the House that it is not my intention to weary it by going over in any detail the ground that was trod in our long debates in October last. But if I wanted to do so I might find a justification for it, and for a great deal more, on account of what fell from the First Lord of the Treasury. He attempted to pour ridicule upon the fact that the history of these negotiations, as touched upon in this Amendment, only began in 1895. Well,

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does he want to go still further back? If I were to do so I would have to prolong my observations to a greater extent than I desire to trespass on the attention of the House. But if I were to accept the invitation of the right hon. Gentleman to extend my inquiries behind the year 1895, I should only strengthen my own case. Because my case is this—and I desire to put it in perfectly clear and unambiguous language—that Her Majesty's Government have been all along far too ready to forget the events before 1895, and to forget that although in comparatively recent years we have had considerable grievances against the Transvaal Republic, there are behind these years, memories of facts and transactions which have sown, and not unnaturally sown, in the breast of the Boers of the Transvaal feelings of suspicion, and in some cases of hatred, which it is the duty of every Colonial Minister to bear in mind if he desires to have a reputation for wise and prudent statesmanship. My regret is that the papers presented to us, and discussed in October, showed that the Colonial Minister had not taken these feelings into consideration, and had pursued an irritating course of diplomacy, very largely on his own responsibility, and without that wise control which the Prime Minister might have given to it if he had not been also Foreign Secretary. The Colonial Secretary thus embittered the relations between this country and the South African Republics. The proposals of the Colonial Secretary were in themselves not open to objection, but when they considered the manner in which they were made, they became the object of suspicion, because they were associated in the minds of the Boers of the Transvaal Republic with events and embittered memories of their youth. I do not want to go beyond 1895. The last days of that year and the earliest days of 1896 marked a point of departure. The events happened which are associated with the raid and its immediate results and consequences. Now, the raid was not the work of one or two entirely independent people, as was at first thought. It was part of a conspiracy, long and deeply planned by the Prime Minister of Cape Colony; and when that fact, first denied and long artfully concealed, came out, can it be wondered at that people naturally prone to suspicion were

plunged into an atmosphere of still deeper suspicion—an atmosphere which in any case it would have been difficult to remove. But that difficulty was made an impossibility, not only by the course of the diplomacy of the right hon. the Colonial Secretary, but by various events in this country which I do not hesitate to allude to in this debate. This country is not merely judged abroad by the language, courteous or discourteous, of its representatives abroad or at home. There is a large world even more important than any world of officialdom; and I venture to say that the worst thing about the Raid was that, not only was the punishment meted out by the courts of law, so far as the offenders came within reach of English justice, certainly not excessive—and I do not advocate excessive punishment—but that much of it was remitted at a very early date, so far as one can judge, after a course of agitation in this country which made the heroes of this raid—which, had it been on sea, would have been called an act of piracy—for the moment some of the most popular people in this country, so far as outward manifestations could point. The leaders were the darlings of London drawing-rooms, and the privates were the cheap heroes of every music-hall. Do you think these facts were not known abroad, and in the Transvaal? Can you wonder, then, that these suspicious people in the Transvaal, seeing people of great social position and influence taking so incorrect a view, believed that, although the War Office had properly punished these men, and did its duty in the matter, there was an opinion in England stronger than the War Office; stronger than the Courts of Justice—the opinion of the “man in the street,” if I may use that current expression, which would force the hands of justice in this country, and would eventually enable a larger, and stronger, and if possible more successful raid to be made against the Transvaal. Now, what was the conduct of the Government, as represented by the Colonial Office? In the first place it was most injudicious. If you turn to the Blue Book you will find that hardly had the embers of the raid died down than the Colonial Minister began telegraphing to Sir Hercules Robinson—whose death and disappearance from office and responsibility this country cannot too

much deplore—regarding the desirability of beginning negotiations about the grievances which existed in the Transvaal. Sir Hercules Robinson, a man of the soundest judgment in South African affairs, both telegraphed and wrote back to say that nothing, in his opinion, would be more unwise than to commence these negotiations, and to appear at that moment, almost red handed from the raid, to be cramming reforms down the throats of the Transvaal Republic. But the Colonial Secretary was not to be denied, and telegraphed positive instructions to Sir H. Robinson to proceed with these negotiations. These despatches were the beginning of the long and unfortunate negotiations, the end of which is that we are involved in war in South Africa. I wish that I could terminate my observations on that chapter of history here, but I shall not hesitate to say in this House—where, after all, freedom of speech has existed for centuries, and where no power in the press, or anywhere else, is great enough to put it down—that in my opinion the punishment, or rather the escape from punishment and blame of the prime organiser of the raid, was one of the most fatal things that ever happened. It is time that this should be said from these benches. Sir, I have said, and I do not retire by one jot from the statement, that if the raid had been an expedition at sea, it would have been an act of common piracy, and the man who stays at home and organises an act of piracy is an accessory before the fact, and is as criminal as the men who carry it out. The prime organiser was Mr. Cecil Rhodes, and he is still on the roll of Her Majesty's Privy Council. It was universally believed that one of the first acts of the Government would have been to have struck off Mr. Rhodes from the roll of that Council. Suppose this raid had been organised against some powerful Continental State like France or Germany, do you imagine for a single moment that we would have kept the prime mover in it on the roll of the Privy Council, the roll of everything most honourable and distinguished in this country? But because the offence was against a small and weak State, miles away in the interior of Africa, we folded our hands and nothing was done. Then came the years 1897-98, when we had the inquiry into the raid at the Cape—a very

valuable and useful inquiry—followed by the inquiry here. I was not then a Member of this House, and am not conversant with some of the details, but I venture to say that nobody who is a student of constitutional history or a lover of that great heritage of political privilege and right which belongs to the House of Commons can doubt that the manner in which that inquiry ended struck a very heavy blow at the right of the House to what is justly regarded as important a privilege as any it possesses—the privilege of inquiry—quite as important as our legislative privilege or the general control exercised over administration. I recollect perfectly well that at the time of the Crimean war, when Lord John Russell was Leader of this House and Lord Aberdeen was Prime Minister, he wrote a letter which is contained in his *Life* by Mr. Spencer Walpole. He there placed on record, as against some of the objections of his colleagues, that he considered this right of inquiry on the part of the House of Commons to be one of its most precious privileges. There was no higher constitutional authority than Lord Russell, and his name will always be mentioned on this side of the House, and I believe on the other side also, with great honour. As I have said the inquiry ended, but like a river which is lost in the sands. Can you doubt that when the Government of the Transvaal found that the main result of the inquiry so far as they were concerned was that the Colonial Minister rose and explained in this House that in spite of what was contained in the report of the Committee, in his opinion, the late Prime Minister of Cape Colony was an entirely honourable person, and that he had done nothing that clashed with the rules of honour—can you doubt that in the Transvaal that declaration produced a most unfavourable effect? That being so, was it not the bounden duty of the Colonial Secretary, in the course of his negotiations, to avoid every cause of offence he possibly could? But what happened? The Colonial Secretary published and presented to Parliament an irritating despatch by Sir Alfred Milner—a most brilliant piece of writing, I admit, but a despatch of a most unusual kind, considered as a public document. It was a fresh cause of suspicion. Then the Colonial Secretary went down to

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Highbury and made the famous speech so often alluded to in the debates of last October. But not only was that speech made; but the Prime Minister selected that time, the 28th July, to make a speech in another place, which, if it had been made in relation to any foreign Power in Europe would have been an adequate reason for the Ambassador of that Power to immediately ask for his passports. These grave and important facts are the reasons why we say that this war in which we are engaged could have been avoided. We are not here, as we are sometimes told in language most unfair, to appear as apologists of President Kruger, and to say that he has been always right and Her Majesty's Government always wrong. On the contrary, we have always said that President Kruger was an obstinate and unreasonable old man, who is animated by a bitter hatred of this country. Our whole case is that that being so it was the duty of the Colonial Secretary to do everything he could to avoid bringing matters to a crisis. And for this reason. It may sound an ungracious thing to calculate on the age of President Kruger. But one must look at all the facts. We know that he is 76 years of age; and we know that at the last election General Joubert nearly beat him for the Presidency. Did not common sense dictate that every conceivable effort should be made to stave off anything like a crisis until this obstinate and unreasonable old man had been removed to the House of Lords or elsewhere? Sir, exactly the opposite course was pursued, and the result was that a condition of things where war was possible and where I might even admit war was under certain circumstances probable, was converted into a state of things where war became practically a certainty. But at this point we are met by a new departure. Up to the end of October the Government was content to rest its case upon the fact that it had pursued the negotiations in a regular and orthodox way, and that owing to the circumstances of the moment—laid within a tolerably limited compass—war had unfortunately resulted. But since October—although I admit there is one indication of it in Sir Alfred Milner's despatch of the 5th May—a perfectly new explanation of the policy and conduct of the Government, and a new apology for the war, has suddenly

been launched on the country. We are told that the war could not have been avoided, and was absolutely inevitable, because of the gigantic preparations of the Transvaal for many years, and also because of a huge conspiracy not merely to maintain the independence of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, but actually to drive the English out of Cape Colony and out of Natal. I can only say that if the Government were in possession last October of information which really convinced them of the truth of these allegations, they ought to have put it fully before the House; they ought to have taken the House into their confidence: they ought to have seen that the military preparations that they could make were, owing to the circumstances I pointed out in the earlier part of my speech, altogether beyond what was possible, notwithstanding the good organisation of the War Office—for the ordinary purposes of war; they ought, in that case, to have redoubled their energies to have avoided saying one single word which was likely to precipitate a conflict, because they knew that it would not be only a promenade across the Drakensberg, and so on to Pretoria, but that they were in danger of a movement of the Afrikaner population in the whole of South Africa against us. As a matter of fact, these ideas were an afterthought, and even at this moment, although the First Lord of the Treasury has put them forward in public speeches at Manchester and elsewhere, and other members of the Government have followed suit—I venture to say that I am not satisfied, and that Members on this side of the House are not satisfied that there is anywhere any evidence of gigantic military preparations in the Transvaal before the raid. I have the evidence of the Blue Book to show that Sir Hercules Robinson wrote after the raid, and pointed out to the Colonial Secretary that the preparations of the Boers were, no doubt, very great, but that they were defensive preparations, and that they were the result of the suspicions caused by the raid. That is not my opinion, but that of the High Commissioner, Sir Hercules Robinson, afterwards Lord Rosmead. The opinion of a man like Sir Hercules Robinson—Lord Rosmead—who had lived the best part of his life in South Africa, and who knew the ropes as no other man did,

was of infinitely greater importance than that of Sir Alfred Milner. Then there is the great Afrikaner conspiracy, of which I have great difficulty in speaking patiently. I do not believe in it. Where is the evidence of it? If you have any evidence give it to us, as it is to your interest to do so. The great Afrikaner conspiracy is chiefly supported by the wild allegations of some society of which Mr. Cecil Rhodes is or was the president, and I think I am right in saying that in the course of the debate in October last it was stated by the Colonial Secretary that it would be unsafe to attach too great a reliance on their evidence. I cannot find where the evidence of this gigantic conspiracy is. I should have thought persons, and documents, and facts would be produced, but there is nothing of the kind. There is nothing in the world which drives the intellect into such unreasonable errors as the idea of a conspiracy. It is something upon which you cannot put your hand; everybody knows it, or says he does; it is here, there, and everywhere; at the door; under the table; somebody has seen it, or if he has not seen it himself he knows of somebody who has; until in the end many believe that they have actually seen and heard things who would have to acknowledge, if pressed, that they had never seen or heard anything of the kind. We have seen how last year a neighbouring and friendly nation, which ought to have been superior to any such ideas, was driven almost mad by the idea of a great Jewish conspiracy. It was said that a large body of people in this country were in sympathy and alliance with it, and we know how absurd that was. But people in France believed it. We know from our own history how such a belief lays hold of people. Our own records show how in the reign of Charles II. wild imagination ascribed whatever murder was committed and whatever crime took place to a supposed popish plot, and large numbers of persons of all ranks of life were sent to the scaffold in consequence. I say the Government of the day ought to have been most careful before it based its policy on the belief of a great Afrikaner conspiracy. How can you believe in the report of this great conspiracy in the face of the loyalty of the Dutch colonists in South Africa some years ago at the time of the Jubilee and the Colonial conference for federation and defence?

The Government are under the obligation now to make up their minds and say which of the two horses they intend to ride. Was the war inevitable or not? I do not believe that even the First Lord of the Treasury could make out that the two arguments work together. There are many aspects of this unfortunate war, and I wish that even when I have traced the origins as I have that I could leave it there. But I must say that the Government in my opinion have not acted wisely since the war began, or rather since it became certain it must take place. I am not going to indulge in military criticism, because, as I have said, I am not a military authority; but there was a time when I represented the Foreign Office in this House, and I may therefore perhaps be entitled to say a word on this aspect of the question. It appears to me that there has been a most lamentable fiasco in connection with the search and seizure of German ships, and I am anxious to have an opportunity of saying—and I think the hon. Gentleman representing the Foreign Office will support me—that no greater courtesy in diplomacy, no better example of the comity of nations could be found than the speech of Count von Bülow on the subject. It is necessary that something should be said in this House in view of the attacks that have been made by the newspapers on the language of Count von Bülow. It must be remembered that he was speaking to the German Parliament, to the German people, and when you bear in mind the position of extreme difficulty in which the Foreign Minister of Germany was in having to say nothing that would affront the Foreign Office of this country and still to satisfy the German people, the speech he made was one that redounds highly to his honour. There is another matter bearing on the relation of the Foreign Office to this question which seems to me to be open to criticism. There is one thing which I think the Foreign Office might have done to help the operations of war, and that was with regard to the issue of the proclamation to British subjects as to trading with the enemy. That was not issued as soon as it might have been. When, in 1861, there was a danger of a war with the United States, Lord Palmerston, took time by the forelock. I have a letter in my hand written by Lord Palmerston to

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Lord Granville, on the 29th November, 1861, in which he said—

"Would it not be possible to have a Council to-morrow afternoon, if the Cabinet should on full consideration agree to a proclamation forbidding the export of arms, gunpowder, and saltpetre? I shall try to persuade them, for it is plain that war with the Northern Americans is possible, and if that is so, would it not be an act of folly, amounting to absolute imbecility, to let those who soon may be our enemies, and whom we believe intending to be so, go on extracting from our own warehouses and workshops the means of war against us? The right thing would be to prohibit the export altogether. Some of our merchants and manufacturers might suffer and complain; but the interest of the few must yield to the welfare of the many."

They did not wait till the war had begun. If the proclamation had been issued it would have prevented large consignments of arms and munitions of war to the Transvaal which went from Birmingham and elsewhere shortly before war was declared. I am only speaking of facts.

AN HON. MEMBER: What facts?

LORD E. FITZMAURICE: I am saying that ammunition and stores found their way over to the Transvaal not merely from Germany and France but England as well. I am speaking of before the war, otherwise Lord Palmerston's letter would not be relevant. What I am accusing the Foreign Office of is negligence in not preventing before the war began the importation of arms into the Transvaal from this country. Of course if I am wrong in my dates and the right hon. Gentleman can show me that this proclamation was issued earlier, then my accusation falls to the ground, but if I am right in my dates there has been a lamentable waste of time. Only one other word: the right hon. Gentleman challenges us as to our views about this war. He tried, as he has done all along, to fasten upon us the imputation of want of patriotism, because we do not go the length of the Ministerial journals in saying that we shall never be satisfied, and will offer no terms whatever, until we have stamped out the Republics. I speak plainly when I say I distinctly refuse to give any such pledge. Diplomacy always must and always should go almost even handed with the progress of an army. It was so with the great

French Revolution. Mr. Pitt more than once sent Lord Malmesbury to France to negotiate during the war. During the Crimean War we had a conference at Vienna; that was while the war was going on; and it is the height of madness to lay down a hard and fast proposition that nothing will satisfy us until Bloemfontein and Pretoria are reduced. That is what the right hon. Gentleman says, but that is a matter which, I think, public opinion will have to consider. I venture to tell hon. Gentlemen opposite that there is a public opinion outside the Metropolis, and even if it be a fact that those who hold these opinions are a small minority, I find consolation in the reflection that in the long wars at the beginning of the century the cause of peace was advocated, though it was but by a small minority. They believed their cause just, and they stood by it, though their numbers fell low. I am convinced that these hot-headed doctrines are not the doctrines of Ministers, but of the London press and persons who do not propose to go to the front themselves. I believe at the right time the Government will not be afraid to let diplomacy find its place in our camps. Let the Government say, first of all, that all British territory must be cleared of the invaders, and the superiority of our arms asserted; but it is not necessary to say that the superiority of our arms can only be asserted by a great invasion and the final conquest of the two Republics. I implore the House to bear in mind the noble words of Lord Salisbury at the Mansion House when he declared that the war was not being waged by this country for the purpose of obtaining gold mines or for annexation of territory, as I understood him, and I hope correctly. Let the Government beware of doing anything by which it could be proclaimed that England, this free country, is the deadly enemy of the liberties of two small free States, and will only be satisfied with their destruction. Otherwise the gulf between the two sides of the House may grow wider than I believe it is now, and we might have to hurl back at you after many years the fierce quotation which Lord Cairns launched at us from his place in Parliament:

"In all the troubles which we ever bore,
We grieved, we sighed, we wept; we never
blushed before."

I beg to move the Amendment of which I have given notice.

Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the Question to add the words, 'But we humbly express our regret at the want of knowledge, foresight, and judgment displayed by Your Majesty's advisers, alike in their conduct of South African affairs since 1895 and in their preparations for the war now proceeding.'"—(*Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. DRAGE (Derby) said it was not his intention to follow the noble Lord into all the topics of his speech. The question was whether the war was just. With regard to the so-called Dutch conspiracy, he desired to lay before the House information that had been sent over to him during the last few days from Cape Colony. With regard to the question of whether the war is just, the House was aware that there were four signatories to the London Convention, one of whom was Mr. Du Toit, and his view was entirely in favour of the view taken by the Government. It would be remembered that after the retrocession in 1881, when the whole of South Africa was practically in favour of annexation, Mr. Du Toit started alone the agitation which eventually led to the Government giving way. Not only so, but he afterwards came to Pretoria, and in 1889 was the close adviser of President Kruger and the organiser of the Afrikaner Bond. Therefore both sides of the House would probably agree that the opinions of such a man were worthy of something more than passing attention. The hon. Member proceeded to say that it was in consequence of the manifesto of which extracts had been supplied to him that he became convinced that England was in the right and the Transvaal Government in the wrong. He referred to the utterances of Mr. Du Toit, and particularly to his remarkable statement that what the Transvaal fought for was not for independence, but the maintenance of injustice. That view was fully borne out by clergymen and Nonconformist ministers in South Africa. England, then, fought for the violated rights of Uitlanders, to whom she was responsible

under the Convention. She fought for the maintenance of her position as the paramount power in South Africa, against the Transvaal, which promised to respect that supremacy by Article 4 of the Convention, but now openly defied it. The Transvaal fought not for independence, for England had repeatedly offered to guarantee that, but for the maintenance of injustice and for the vindication of an oligarchy which had enriched itself at the expense of the country. Quotations could be given from speeches by ministers of the Church of England, and by Nonconformists resident in Johannesburg and in Cape Town, in support of this view. He did not know whether the House was prepared to listen to more than one or two extracts from the utterances of these gentlemen, but they went to the root of the whole controversy. The Rev. Mr. Fisher, for ten years a minister at the Cape, said—

"He believed from the bottom of his heart that the conflict was inevitable, unless we were prepared to abandon the colonists to the most ruthless oppression the world had ever seen."

Again, the Natal Congregational Union, writing to the central body in England, said—

"Humanly speaking, the war was inevitable. The war now raging has long been pressed and prepared for by the Boers with a view to military and political dominion over the whole of South Africa, and the plea of fighting for independence has been but a blind to hide the real aim of the enormous military preparations of the Republics which began years before the Jameson raid."

The Rev. Charles Philip, Congregational minister at Johannesburg, said—

"All the ministers of the Free Churches believe the war was mere talk. A united Dutch Republic from the Zambesi to the Cape was the object, and the exclusion of the British from South Africa. The Boers have not only been preparing for the inevitable since the raid. The raid was largely the consequence of the preparations which preceded it. If any possibility of peace existed it lay in a united front being shown in the country. Unfortunately local writers were able to declare that England was divided in this matter, and that if the worst came to the worst the Liberal party or some foreign Government would prevent their independence being destroyed."

This seemed to show what the leaders of religious thought in the Church of

Mr. Drage.

England and among the Nonconformist body believed as to the attitude adopted by Her Majesty's Government. Another point in the speech of the noble Lord who moved the Amendment was the question of this so-called "conspiracy," which he (Mr. Drage) ventured to call an aspiration, or ambition, to oust the British from South Africa. There could be no doubt that there were a very large number of the Cape Dutch as loyal to the Throne as anyone; but from the time of Sir Bartle Frere and onwards the despatches sent home spoke of a great national Dutch movement which was hostile to the Crown. Cape Colonists traced the beginning of this movement, oddly enough, to an Englishman sent out by the Colonial Office—to Mr. Froude. It was not to ancient history that one needed to go to find the cause of this Dutch aspiration for a great national want. There were some hon. Members who had studied the Nihilist movement in Russia, and the Socialist movement in Germany, the Mafia in Sicily, or the Carbonari in Italy, and they would know that a great national movement must have an economic basis; it must also have a religious sentiment connected with it, a political organisation to carry it forward, and lastly, a great military organisation with a military leader to take command. These conditions, with the exception of the last, had existed in South Africa. The hon. Member enumerated the economic grounds which played their part in leading up to the present conflict. He cited President Kruger himself as to the origin of the trouble; while there was also in this connection the emancipation of the blacks. He had it on the authority of the Rev. W. Fisher that, "in the Transvaal, whatever injury a black man sustained, he had no chance of redress. In Johannesburg the Kaffirs were whipped without any trial for walking on the pavement; and a black man is also prevented from owning land." The hon. Gentleman also referred to the labour question and the administration of the liquor laws which prevailed at the present moment in the Transvaal, and in conclusion emphasised his belief that, in the opinion of men who were best able to judge, the war in which we are engaged was one of which the national conscience approved, and that the result of it would be the re-organisation of our military forces: military, as well

as colonial and foreign, questions would be raised above the purview of party politics; and, lastly, he could not help thinking that Her Majesty's Government in considering the nature of the sacrifices of the colonies, would see the need of consulting statesmen in Canada, Australia, and South Africa with regard to the future organisation of the forces of the Crown. He declared that the honour of England was at stake and that we could not withdraw now from the contest in which we are involved. There might be divisions on both sides of the House; but he ventured to hope that the discussion would be conducted free from party spirit and with the sole aim in view of the welfare of the country at large.

MR. ROBSON (South Shields): I wish to make it perfectly clear, in supporting this Amendment, that I desire only to mark my sense of the inadequacy of the military preparations both before and since the war. I do not desire to cast the slightest reflection on the justice of our cause in South Africa or on the way in which, all things considered, that cause has been handled by Her Majesty's Government. There may be differences of opinion in regard to the skill with which the Government conducted the negotiations which preceded the war; but that question is a very minor question indeed compared with the supreme question of whether or not we are fighting a just cause. Some of my hon. friends have treated the war as unjust, or at all events they have created the impression that the cause for which we are fighting is in their view an inadequate and trivial cause. That is a very serious view to put before the country at a crisis like this. I do not believe for one moment that it is too late to discuss a question of this kind. I think it is important that the education of the people with regard to the issues of this war should be continued day by day. I do not believe that this country can ever carry on a great war with a bad conscience, and, as the country is now to be called upon to make a great and prolonged effort in regard to the war, that call can only be made successfully if we are able to put our claim on the ground of right. I have noticed with alarm the action taken by my right hon. friend the Member for Montrose, for there is no statesman whose moral judgment I more

profoundly respect. By ignoring the real issues of this war; by magnifying to an extraordinary degree the mischief which may have been done by financiers who have always mixed themselves up in every great struggle since the world began; by dint of these things, the right hon. Gentleman has succeeded in casting around the origin of this war a vain suspicion or suggestion which has made many people believe that the war is unjust. If these are facts, then the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Montrose and hon. Members who agree with him are justified in their action; but if they are not facts, and they are wrong, as I contend they are, then it would be impossible for any body of men to do this country a graver disservice. The attitude of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Montrose is the most singular of all. I do not gather that he denies the justice of this war, but he tells us that the questions at issue between the Boer Government and Uitlanders are not worth the bones of one of his constituents. That is rather a striking utterance to come from a statesman who recommended us not long ago to insist upon a five years franchise. That scarcely seems a consistent attitude to adopt for something which is not worth the bones of a single Scotsman. The right hon. Gentleman might also have thought of what must have been the feelings in what he himself has so eloquently described as "the stricken homes of England" when they are told that the cause for which their sons and brothers are fighting is a trivial cause, and that their blood has been wasted. If the right hon. Gentleman is right in his facts there is nothing more to be said, for I for one detest the jingoism which puts patriotism above the moral law. But what is the case which the right hon. Gentleman thinks inadequate? It is admitted to be the cause of political liberty for the majority of the inhabitants of the Transvaal. It is the cause of political liberty in a new country as big as France, which is open not only as a moral right but by solemn treaties to all new comers. It is the cause of racial equality, of education, of municipal government, of a free press, of public meeting, and of every right which makes men free—and that is the cause which we are told is not worth the bones of a single Scotsman. I do not wonder

at the opinion he expresses when one goes further on in his speech and sees the supposed fact on which he bases his view. He says that whatever the grievances of the Uitlanders may have been nine-tenths of them would have been redressed by the franchise offered by the Boer Government. In regard to this, I hope my right hon. friend will forgive me if I use plain language, for his contention is not merely wrong, but it is absolutely and hopelessly ridiculous. Now what is the right hon. Gentleman's ground for this contention? I hope that in this House he will attempt to establish the statement which he has put before the country, for I challenge him to show a single concession, great or small, put forward by the Transvaal Government during these negotiations that was either worthy of unconditional acceptance or capable of unconditional acceptance. I suppose he referred to the so-called concessions with regard to the franchise. On this subject a most singular misapprehension has arisen which I had hoped might by this time have been removed, namely, that there was only a difference between us and the Transvaal Government merely of two years in the franchise. I think the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bodmin has himself frequently laid stress upon this point. Now, from what is it that this misconception arises? Before the Transvaal Franchise Act was passed at all, the Colonial Secretary was informed—some weeks before—that there was to be a seven years retrospective franchise. At that time the Act was undergoing daily many changes, and it appears that in his anxiety to come to some agreement with Mr. Kruger, the Colonial Secretary hastened to rejoice that on the basis of this promise there was merely two years between himself and Mr. Kruger. But when he made that statement the Act had not passed, and he had not seen it, and the right hon. Gentleman's statement was made not in reference to a performance, but in regard to a promise. Ever since that time that phrase of his has been bandied about on platforms, it has been echoed and re-echoed in the press, and it is stated that the only difference about which we are fighting is a difference of two years in the franchise. I think it is quite time that this statement ceased circulation. Now what is the fact about the franchise? Of course,

Mr. Robson.

what we were demanding was a general franchise for the Uitlanders, and that was what the Colonial Secretary hoped he was going to get. But the Act passed was in no sense what was expected, and was not intended to be a general franchise Act for the Uitlanders, for it was simply an Act enabling the Boer officials, with the consent of their superiors, in certain rather remarkable and almost impossible cases, to give the franchise to such Uitlanders as they might happen to be personally satisfied with. The Act is one long series of complicated provisions, all of which show two distinct and real objects on the part of the draftsman—the first is to make it impossible for any Uitlander to have a direct right to the franchise, and the second object is to make it possible for any official to exercise his discretion in giving the franchise to a Uitlander. It may be supposed that I have given a picturesque view of the Act, but the criticism which I give has been confirmed by two men who, of all men in the world, are the most competent to judge—I allude to Mr. Kruger and Mr. Reitz. Since I ventured to express my view as to the provisions of this Act, I have had forwarded to me a copy of a Transvaal paper dated the 13th of May, 1899, and that was the very time at which Mr. Kruger was framing his proposals for the Bloemfontein Conference. In that paper Mr. Kruger assures his burghers that they are quite wrong in supposing that he proposed to give the Uitlanders a general franchise, for he says, "No threats will induce me to give a general franchise to the Uitlanders." Mr. Reitz has also made a statement to a similar effect, for he has referred to the practical impossibility of giving a general franchise to the Uitlanders. That disposes of the argument that the Transvaal Government had given us a substantial concession by the Franchise Act. As long as they conferred on their officials the right to give the franchise where they thought fit, that was not a concession to the Uitlanders in the Transvaal. I do not want to take up the time of the House by going into the various diplomatic stages of the negotiations, but let me ask the House to consider these statements in the light of the subsequent offer of a five years franchise, about which we hear so much. The five years franchise was offered as an alternative to any inquiry into the seven years

franchise. The five years franchise was offered, but when it was put forward the Colonial Secretary, who is accused of having accepted it in ambiguous terms, at once met it with a qualified acceptance, and suggested that England and the Transvaal should sit down together and join in an inquiry, and endeavour to arrange the terms or conditions which should attach to the franchise, because the conditions were everything and the period named was unimportant. If you make certain conditions it matters not whether the qualifying period is one year or ten. Mr. Kruger had no great objection to offer to the five years franchise, but when the conditions which would attach to the acquisition of the franchise were stated in the next despatch the five years franchise was dropped. Can it ever have been intended to be accepted, and is there any reason to believe that the five years franchise would have been different to the seven years franchise, which Mr. Kruger himself admitted was not a general Franchise Act at all? I venture to say that the five years franchise was a delusive offer never intended to be accepted in any substantial sense, and we can pretty well guess now what was intended, for it gave the Boers time to complete their military preparations. While my right hon. friend the Member for Montrose was talking about his eight-day clock, and the Colonial Secretary about his hour-glass, Mr. Kruger had his eye on the barometer, and he was waiting for the proper season to begin his operations. So much for the statement that any substantial concessions have been offered to us by the Transvaal. There is another difficulty, and I hope the House will bear with me while I deal with it, because it seems to me to be at the root of this trouble. The question is asked why we have any right to insist upon any franchise at all for the Uitlanders. It seems to be assumed that these unfortunate Uitlanders are a sort of aliens with no right to share in the Government under which they live, and with no claim to protection. I have heard them continually compared to aliens, but there could not be a more patent misconception of the facts. An alien has no right of entry or residence in the country to which he goes; he may live there and trade there, but he does so only on precarious administrative promises, which may be revoked at any

moment. What is the position of the Uitlander? He is in the Transvaal by a right as valid, both from the legal and the moral point of view, as any Boer in the place.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion): In respect of commerce and trade.

MR. ROBSON: That is exactly what I am dealing with. An alien has no right in respect of commerce and trade, but the Uitlander has, for he is a lawful inhabitant of the Transvaal, and that is by no means the same state as that of the alien. Let it be remembered that, so far as regards the settlement of the Transvaal and the development of the trade and commerce of the Transvaal, Boers and Britons have absolutely equal rights. Now we have the Uitlander there in the position of an unenfranchised inhabitant. What is the position of Boer and Briton there? The Boers claim to be there by right of conquest, and the Uitlanders claim to be there by right of Convention, and that is a title not worse than conquest from a legal point of view, and if anything rather better than conquest from a moral point of view. I am quite content to put my argument as to the rights of the Uitlanders under the Convention of 1881 on one side, and put my case on the broadest possible basis under the Convention of 1884. That Convention at all events puts the Uitlander, as I have stated before, in the position of an unenfranchised inhabitant of a new country. Let me ask the House to consider the Boers as being the original settlers and conquerors of a new country. It is very misleading indeed to draw parallels between newer countries. What would be said if in any other of the new countries of the world the original settlers and conquerors pursued the same policy as that which has been pursued by the Boers? What would happen, for instance, in America? Suppose that in America they decided that all emigrants should go there as a subject race, that they should not have the franchise, that the German Government should not interfere, and that the Germans should have no claim to interference on their behalf, and that the right of public meet-

ing, free press, and many other matters were to be under the guardianship of the original inhabitants of the country. What would be said of that state of things? Suppose my right hon. friend the Member for Montrose recommended patience to these outraged people. That is not the view which the Germans would take. Obviously the true principle is that if settlers choose to go into a new country and appropriate as much of the area as they like, allowing for the expansion of their own race, they have a right to choose whatever government they like; but if they go into a new tract of the earth's surface and take a portion as big as France which they know they can never develop themselves, but which they allow to be developed by other races, then I say they have no right to keep that country, and they cannot claim to keep it as a right except upon the terms that they should govern it in ways consistent with modern civilisation. It seems to me ludicrous that the Boers should claim the right to invite other races there and treat them as subject races. Of course due allowance should be made for the rapidity of development and growth of population, especially in the Transvaal. That is an allowance which everybody acknowledges ought to be made. I ask again for fair consideration of this question. Could any proposal be more moderate or any suggestion more reasonable than the proposal of the Colonial Secretary that we should take only eight Members out of a Parliament of thirty-two, although in proportion we were entitled to equality? In our adjacent colonies we gave all the inhabitants equality, and yet in the Transvaal we have never asked for it. All we have asked for is a *locus standi* for the majority of the lawful inhabitants of the Transvaal. I venture to say that the demand put forward by this country was a reasonable demand based on just principles. There has never been from the beginning of the time named in this Amendment down to now a single demand put forward to the Transvaal which could be said in any way to menace its independence. The Boers may have suspicions, but we cannot prevent that. We were careful in 1896 to put forward demands which should not interfere even with their franchise. The Colonial Secretary then appeared as the champion of a new Home Rule. That was refused. If all

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the Boers had wanted was liberty for themselves they would have welcomed that Home Rule solution offered by the Colonial Secretary. By refusing it they showed clearly that what they wanted was not liberty for themselves, but dominion over us. The history of the last thirty years has been marked by all sorts of aggressive movements beyond their boundaries by the Boers, all of which were breaches of the Convention. In 1891 there was organised a raid on a warlike basis with far more men than Dr. Jameson had, the object being to appropriate the country of the Chartered Company to the north. Who can doubt that President Kruger knew of that raid? We have heard a great deal of the alleged complicity of the Colonial Secretary in the Jameson raid, but does anybody doubt the complicity of President Kruger in the raid of 1891, when the Boers went to the borders of the territory of the Chartered Company, and were met—by whom? By Dr. Jameson. It was not until they were told that they would be opposed by forces not merely of the Chartered Company—which they were prepared to resist and overcome—but by the forces of Her Majesty the Queen, that they went back. It is well to remember that episode when we hear so much righteous indignation expressed as to the Jameson raid. If there was one person who at all events had no right to complain of the Jameson raid it was Mr. Kruger, because so far as he and his Government were concerned the raid was an act of not unnatural retaliation. We are told that the Transvaal is armed merely because of the Jameson raid. Can it be believed that, raid or no raid, if the Transvaal Government had made up its mind not to enfranchise the majority of its population, that sooner or later there would not have been either revolution or war? The arming of the Transvaal would not have been a gun less if there had been no raid, always provided that they had made up their mind not to alter the existing political situation, which depended on great inequality between the two races. The moment the Transvaal Government came to the conclusion that they would support the system they must have known there would be war—raid or no raid. But the Boers knew more than that. In addition to knowing that support of the existing system involved rebellion or war,

they also knew that they could not treat the English as a disfranchised and subject race in one part of South Africa without destroying the power of England over the whole of South Africa. Therefore, they knew that if they were to maintain their system of race government they must strike for a wider supremacy, and they got ready for it. We did not, and that is why I am going to vote for this Amendment. Instead of getting ready for the war we preferred the policy of the right hon. Member for Montrose, and wasted year after year in a policy of unwise and futile Conventions. The Boers, however, knew better. There is no occasion to imagine the kind of dramatic underground conspiracy which has been described by the noble Lord: there is not the slightest occasion to suppose a necessity for any such conspiracy. The necessities of the situation were too palpable, they needed no secret propaganda. Every Dutchman in South Africa must have known those necessities as I have ventured to state them to-night—viz., that as they were determined not to extend political equality to the English in the Transvaal, there must be war; and it must be a war which would settle not merely the Transvaal question, but also the question of the supremacy in South Africa. "Independence" is the formula of the Afrikaner Bond for the exclusion of England from all internal affairs in South Africa. "Independence" is the formula of President Kruger for the exclusion of the English from political liberty in the Transvaal. There is no occasion for conspiracy; each understands the other perfectly well. This policy, so far from being a conspiracy, is the avowed object and the inevitable preliminary of the war. When every other argument has failed, we have references to the "trail of finance" over the whole business. I would ask my hon. friends to try to get the true measure of the financial aspect of this question. What political revolution has there ever been in which finance in one form or another has not played an important and predominant part? Men do not make revolutions for academical or philosophical reasons; they make revolutions for material reasons, they make revolutions for £ s. d. But behind every one of those financial questions stands the great principle of human liberty and

human freedom. What are the financial grievances in the Transvaal? I myself care nothing for mere financial reasons—as far as I am concerned I have not and have never had the remotest interest in the world with them—and they are only important according to my view as indicating the absence of political equality. In every revolution, although principles of liberty are at stake, it is ultimately some small question of finance which occasions the outbreak. Do not let it be supposed that because there is in this, as in every other revolution, a financial element, therefore there is not present in it also that element which we all respect and regard, viz., the great question of human liberty and human freedom. The importance of the present conflict lies in the fact that the future of the Great South African nation is at stake. There is no sort of gain possible to England from the conflict. We may lose much, while at best we can but establish another Free State in the Transvaal. But what does it mean to South Africa? The question for South Africa is whether the millions of men who will one day inhabit that great territory should work together in harmony and co-operate as members of equal races, or whether there should be a new nation unlike all the other new nations of the world—a new nation with a great part of its population disfranchised, and without political liberty, in which the majority are subject to the tyranny of race. I desire, at all events, to make it clear that I support this Amendment on the ground that there has been undoubtedly a lack of care and an insufficient degree of preparation, both before the war and in the conduct of military preparations since the war began. At all events, as far as I am concerned, I will not have it supposed that I charge the Government with having plunged this country into a war which is either unjust or which could reasonably have been avoided.

MR. EVELYN CECIL (Hertfordshire, Hertford): I must express considerable surprise at the form in which the Amendment has been moved, and I do not see much practical force in most of the charges which the noble Lord has brought against the Government. Virtually he endeavours to crucify the Government upon the

horns of this dilemma: either it is true the war was inevitable, or it is true the war was not inevitable. The noble Lord, if I may say so, is too logical. You can very well argue now that it is true that war was inevitable or that it was not, but you could not before war was declared expect the Government to say that war was or was not inevitable. The most the Government could say was that they hoped war would be avoided. If they had taken up the position that war could be avoided I suppose they would not have made the proper preparations. The noble Lord also seemed to take it for granted that if anything happened to President Kruger, who is 76 years of age, most of these troubles would be avoided and the Government be able to tide over negotiations until they completely disappeared. That is not at all a position which can be taken up. There are other President Krugers to follow; especially there is Mr. Reitz, who is an accurate representative in every respect of President Kruger's intentions and wishes. Those intentions are easily judged now by the light of events, but they have been fairly obvious since the year 1881. President Kruger has never intended that the Uitlanders should be in the same position as regards the franchise as his own burghers. On the contrary, he was determined to preserve special privileges to his burghers which were not to be enjoyed by Uitlanders. He went so far as to tell me that he did not see why people who came into the country at a time subsequent to its original start should be allowed to swamp the original burghers who were there. I humbly suggested that it was perfectly reasonable that educated men when they had resided a sufficient time in the country should have the franchise, and that they should be treated as they would be treated by every civilised Government. But that was not the view of the President, and I am convinced that under no circumstances would he have given the franchise in the way the British Government justly demanded it. Equally I think it was his intention to undermine by degrees the supremacy of Great Britain. For many years past he has been striving to work in such a way as gradually to sap the power and influence of England throughout South Africa. There is no doubt now what was his intention. It was unmasked by Mr. Reitz when he stated in the despatch of

last May that the Transvaal claimed to be a sovereign international State. That was the issue he evidently had in his mind, but it was one which from his point of view he put forward rather sooner than perhaps was wise. But when he had put it forward he saw his mistake, and endeavoured to brush it aside by suggesting that if the discussion of the Transvaal's position was likely to prevent a peaceful issue of the negotiations it had better be put aside altogether. That was not a position which this country could have tolerated for one moment, and it cannot be too often remembered that at that time this country was supported by the whole of Europe in its contention, because when the Transvaal desired to be represented at the Peace Conference at Brussels as an independent State this country protested, and the Powers of Europe said that the Transvaal could not be admitted. But President Kruger has for years past been endeavouring to encroach upon the territory of England. We all know the Zulu War was largely undertaken to save the Transvaal from disturbances; but nevertheless, directly the war was at an end and there was a question of the resettlement of territory, we found President Kruger and his adherents laying the foundations of a new Republic in a corner of Zululand which they had succeeded in annexing. The same was the case in regard to the Stellaland raids. The Convention of 1884 laid down specific boundaries of the Transvaal; these boundaries did not include the districts in Stellaland. That Convention was signed on February 27th, 1884, and in the spring of that year a British Commissioner was sent to Stellaland, and a British Protectorate was proclaimed. In the summer of that year disturbances occurred in connection with the native chiefs, and on the 10th December President Kruger—as he explained, in the interests of humanity—proclaimed that those territories were part of the Transvaal. This was practically, if not actually, a breach of the Convention which had just been signed, and it shows the spirit which has animated President Kruger throughout these negotiations. We can trace the same spirit in the perpetual and systematic way in which the President has been arming of recent years. It is idle to say that the importations of arms were merely for defensive purposes, and that

there was no hostile intention as far as this country was concerned. It is now pretty common knowledge, whatever it may have been previously, that the Portuguese Customs in Delagoa Bay will certify that at least 200,000 rifles were imported through that port to the Transvaal during the last three years. That figure is the more remarkable when we remember that just before the war President Kruger himself stated that the whole number of his fighting burghers amounted to about 30,000. Even allowing for over 15,000 from the Orange Free State there was an enormous margin left out of these 200,000. What were they for? Allow two rifles to each man, and there is still a gigantic margin. I do not believe it is unfair to suggest that that margin was intended for providing with rifles the Dutchmen of Cape Colony, whom President Kruger hoped he would have to support him. That goes far to show that, however the negotiations were conducted, war would not have been avoided. Various fallacies have been put forward in this debate and on other occasions by hon. Gentlemen opposite, and I think an early opportunity should be taken to comment upon them and expose the mistakes. One of the chief fallacies we have heard on recent occasions has been that of the right hon. Member for Montrose—that this is merely a capitalists' struggle. I can assure him that this is by no means a capitalists' struggle. It is a mistake to suppose that all the Jewish capitalists are on one side and all the people oppressed by capitalists on the other. There are Jewish and other capitalists who are strongly concerned with the opposite side. There are Jewish capitalists who are holders of many concessions from the Transvaal Government, and whose personal interest it is to maintain the corrupt system of that Government. We are also told by the Leader of the Opposition that the Government ought to have known last summer that the Free State would join with the Transvaal if a war broke out. I demur to that very much. The reason the Free State joined the Transvaal is a very simple one. It is simply the race feeling. I remember perfectly well hearing the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition denying altogether in this House that any race feeling existed in South Africa. That being so, he certainly was not at the time in

possession of the real reason why the Free State has joined the Transvaal, and I do not think he then could have been brought to the conclusion which he now says should have been arrived at. Then much is said by hon. Gentlemen opposite about the loyalty of the Afrikaners. Some members of the Afrikaner Bond certainly were loyal to the Government of the Queen, and felt strongly that although they were British South Africans they were also British citizens, but, nevertheless, the Afrikaner Bond was the link which connected the loyal Cape Dutch with disloyal conspirators, and I am sorry to say that the loyal Cape Dutch have not been able to see their way to resist the influence brought to bear on them. We have discussed this Amendment mainly with regard to the past negotiations and past policy of the Government. We have still to discuss subjects which are intimately connected with our troops. When the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition said that the number of our troops was ludicrously insufficient it crossed my mind that he had been speaking a great deal about *ex post facto* opinion, and I wondered whether that was not an *ex post facto* opinion of his own. It certainly has that appearance, because he used no expression last summer to suggest that he thought the number of troops was hopelessly insufficient. He certainly gave no indication then that would enable me to praise his opinion now as one of foresight. Then we have to remember that this war is being carried on at a distance of 6,000 miles from the base, and is in that respect unprecedented in the history of the world. It is not an easy matter to send troops to fight 6,000 miles away and to keep up an adequate commissariat supply. That is a question which ought to be strongly borne in mind when the action of the Government is so glibly condemned. In the great national crisis in which we stand it is important to know what is the approximate strength of the Boers, and I have it from a Boer source, which I think I can reasonably trust, that the number of their troops in the field at the present moment ranges between 70,000 and 80,000, of whom 30,000 are surrounding Ladysmith. That is a considerable force for us to cope with, and I think, whoever may have underestimated the real strength of the Boers,

we should lose no time now. I believe that the country is ready and willing to vote an adequate number of men to bring this war to a successful conclusion. If 50,000 or 100,000 more men are required, I am sure the country will gladly provide them without the smallest demur, and I believe the Government would be acting in the most popular way if it promptly determined to send out a large additional number of troops to reinforce our army in Natal and Cape Colony. The country does not wish to spare either men or money, and it will gladly support in the magnificent manner it has hitherto shown any proposition put forward in this sense. I should like to say a few words as to the immense value of the colonial troops from all parts of the Empire. Colonial troops are, I believe, very well fitted for the special kind of warfare required in South Africa. But most of all I should like to pay a tribute to the troops who have volunteered in South Africa itself, such as the Imperial Light Horse, the South African Light Horse, and similar bodies, for the great services they have rendered and are rendering. The knowledge of the country which they possess and the keenness they show are most valuable, and the number of men still ready to enlist to fight the battles of the Empire reflects very great credit on the colony and shows the unity of our Empire. I trust that whatever is done in the prosecution of the war will be done with the object of bringing it to no other termination than the annexation of the two Republics. I believe that is the only solution which is likely in any degree to soothe the unfortunate state of the disaffected countries. Certainly they will not be soothed by the re-establishment of the corrupt system of administration which existed in the Transvaal. If the franchise is re-instituted, the present generation even will be benefited by the unequalled labours of the Boers. Nothing but a revolution which will round with a new Government is likely to do that. That will do for the nation and maintain the unity of the Empire and the

enter fully into the questions which the Amendment raises. I, therefore, merely desire to express the concurrence which I feel with the remarks which have fallen from speakers on both sides of the House with regard to the sympathy felt with the troops fighting the battles of the country in South Africa. There are some matters, no doubt, in connection with this campaign on which we all are at one. We are at one with regard to the feeling of sympathy with our troops: we are at one also with the view that the ultimatum of President Kruger made war inevitable, whatever was the case before. But, apart from one or two questions of that kind in which we all concur there is ample room for difference with regard to details, and the Amendment which has been moved concentrates and focusses as far as possible those differences of opinion which the House of Commons is not only entitled but bound to inquire into. If the object of the House to-night were to investigate the whole of the questions alike of tactics, strategy, and politics arising during the course of the last five years there would be very little time left to investigate them. In my opinion some of these matters ought clearly to be excluded from an inquiry of this kind. For instance, on the subject of tactics this House is bound to be silent. In the first place, tactics can only be judged after full knowledge obtained on the spot. To criticise generals on the field with regard to one particular battle is not only an invidious task, and one in which it is easy to be misled, but in addition one which it is only possible for us to attempt after full investigation of maps, which is not obtainable here, to deal with fully. Therefore, if tactics were to come before the purview of an inquiry in this House, the inquiry should be strictly limited. Then again with regard to strategy, there is a *prima facie* case for inquiry, but the matter is so much one of detail and of facts that it is almost impossible to deal with it in connection with

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Amendment. And yet in regard to it there is considerable difficulty in separating questions of strategy from questions of policy. For instance, it was on a question of policy rather than of strategy that Sir George White's plan was altered to a very considerable extent. He was not in favour of holding Dundee and Glencoe, but he was induced by the Governor of Natal to hold these advanced posts in spite of the danger to which it might give rise. In connection with that matter, it will be desirable to press the right hon. Gentleman further than he has been pressed to-night. He told us that the Government in this country had not brought any influence, direct or indirect, to bear on any general in the field with regard to the conduct of the campaign, and he pointed out with reference to Dundee and Glencoe, that the Governor of Natal gave the advice he did on the advice of his own Ministers, and without consultation with Ministers in this country. The Governor of Natal is, after all, a representative of the Crown, and is directly responsible to the Colonial Secretary. Therefore, it is impossible to throw the blame on Ministers in Natal, because the Governor was not bound to act on their advice until authorised or counselled to do so by the Colonial Secretary, and manifestly it was his duty to have communicated on a point of such great importance with the Colonial Secretary. If that applied to Dundee and Glencoe, surely the same set of considerations applied also to the holding of Ladysmith, and to the diversion of troops from Cape Colony into Natal for the purpose of rescuing that town. We are given to understand that the Government of this country brought no pressure to bear on the generals. I quite accept that, but what we wish to know is whether some advice was not given by Sir Alfred Milner to the effect that very serious moral results would be produced if Kimberley and Ladysmith were not rescued, and unless we are satisfied that persons holding positions of civil authority in South Africa did not give advice of that kind we shall still be of opinion, after what has transpired in the despatches of Sir George White and also from information derived from other quarters that a certain amount of pressure was brought to bear on the generals which induced them to alter the original plan of campaign, which was to press forward

due north from Cape Colony into the Orange Free State, and in that way to indirectly relieve the garrisons of Ladysmith and Kimberley without dividing their forces into subordinate expeditions. Those are matters with regard to which it seems to me some further explanation will have to be given. They are to some extent questions of strategy, but they are also in part questions of policy, and it seems to me impossible that we should altogether ignore them in view of the valuable lives which are at stake, and which have been lost owing to the errors which are now almost universally admitted to have been committed. Passing from questions of tactics and strategy, and also from questions on the border line between strategy and policy, and coming to questions of policy itself, it seems to me that there have been a great many points dealt with in the course of this debate which will have to be dealt with more fully. The hon. and learned Member for South Shields supported this Amendment, though on somewhat curious grounds. He drew a very elaborate and fine distinction between an alien and an unenfranchised inhabitant. I am bound to say, as far as I have been able to follow his argument, that its logical conclusion appears to be that the Uitlander in the Transvaal who had not the franchise was like Mahomet's coffin—between heaven and earth. He was not a citizen of the Transvaal, and he had lost the citizenship of his own country. That would be the logical consequence of the very anomalous condition of an unenfranchised inhabitant of the Transvaal. In that connection one must recognise that in the steps which were taken to secure the just claims of the Uitlanders the ground taken was not simply that they were without the franchise, but that on account of the Convention of 1884 and also by virtue of certain principles of international law they were entitled to certain rights of which they were unjustly deprived. That ground having been taken, it was surely impossible to suppose that the Uitlanders occupied the very anomalous position attributed to them by the hon. and learned Member. With regard to the questions of policy which were embodied in what is known as Sir Alfred Milner's Policy No. 1, it seems to me we cannot justly find fault with steps having been taken by the Government to secure that the Uitlanders should

obtain the franchise, and for two reasons. First of all because when Lord Ripon was at the Colonial Office he took steps by amicable, friendly, and diplomatic means to secure that the franchise should be extended, and in the next place on general grounds it is obviously in accordance with the principles of freedom that every effort should be made to secure equality. But what we object to is the particular methods by which those steps were taken, the particular methods of diplomacy by which it was attempted to carry these principles into practice. If the Government had acted in regard to Policy No. 1 on the lines laid down by previous Governments on the principle on which Lord Ripon tried to carry it into effect—no serious objection could be offered, but what was objectionable was that the refusal of the conditions involved in Policy No. 1 should practically have been made the subject of a *casus belli*. Where a *casus belli* might arise would be any disregard on the part of the Government of the Transvaal of the Convention of 1884, or else any injury done to British rights in defiance of the principles of international law. But Policy No. 1, as put forward by Sir Alfred Milner, did not involve any direct violation of the Convention of 1884, but it attempted to secure for the Uitlanders something over and above what was recognised by that Convention, and it was not an attempt to redress some particular injury or wrong suffered by British subjects in defiance of the principles of international law. If it had been one or other then its rejection might have constituted a *casus belli*. As regards Policy No. 2 put forward by the Government at a later date, as a matter of fact it was never formulated, and never had any form or shape. It meant that particular wrongs or injuries suffered by British subjects in defiance of known principles of international law should be tabulated in a form intelligible to the people of this country and to the people of Europe. If the Government had taken that line at an earlier date it would not only have the effect of enlightening to a great extent public opinion in this country as to the exact state of

things, but would also have the effect of removing many misunderstandings which prevail in Europe, and which have emphasised the very artful manner in which the representatives of the Boer Republic in Europe have manipulated the opinions of the European press. If that policy had been put forward as a definite form misunderstanding would have been removed and we should not have arrayed against us the weight of moral opinion which though it may not have any particular effect on the progress of the struggle now being carried on in South Africa nevertheless acts as a moral help to the Boers, and also as a possible reserve of strength to them in view of possible complications that might ensue from the war. If Policy No. 2 had been put forward at an earlier stage in a clear and definite form it would not only have the effect of setting the Government right in the opinion of many in this country who were not able to consider Policy No. 1 as right in accordance with the principles of international law and the Convention of 1884, but it would also have the effect of making opinion in Europe less hostile to us than it actually has been during the course of this campaign. The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House in his speech referred to the conditions, and the only conditions, on which it would be possible for peace to be concluded, and on that point he tried to elicit the opinion of the Leader of the Opposition, and while endeavouring to elicit that opinion he appeared to be very careful not to give any opinion himself as to when those conditions would arise. The Leader of the Opposition laid down firstly that it would be necessary to bring to an end the invasion of British territory; secondly, that the war should be crowned for the British arms; and thirdly, that the paramountcy of the Crown in South Africa must be maintained unimpaired.

It being midnight, the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed to-morrow.

Adjourned at one minute after
Twelve o'clock.

Mr. Stevenson.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, 31st January, 1900.

PETITIONS.

ATTAR KHAN.

Petition of Attar Khan, for inquiry into his case; to lie upon the Table.

BOOCHUNA.

Petition of Boochuna, for redress of grievances; to lie upon the Table.

DIVORCE.

Petition from London and other places, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING (SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS).

Petition from Newton Abbot, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES' SERVANTS' SUPERANNUATION.

Petitions for alteration of Law, from Hastings and Petersfield; to lie upon the Table.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT, 1894.

Petition from Totnes, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

POOR LAW AMENDMENT (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1895.

Petition from Urr, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

RATING OF WOODLANDS.

Petitions for alteration of Law, from Pocklington (two); and Hunslet; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY.

Petitions against, from Bures; Biggleswade; Dollar; Ipswich; Chelsea; and Wood Green; to lie upon the Table.

SANKAREN, CHANAN.

Petition of Chanan Sankaren, for redress of grievances; to lie upon the Table.

VACCINATION ACTS, 1867 to 1898.

Petitions for alteration of Law, from Yeovil; and Barnstaple; to lie upon the Table.

VOL. LXXVIII. [FOURTH SERIES.]

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

EAST INDIA (WARS ON OR BEYOND THE BORDERS OF BRITISH INDIA).

Return [presented 30th January] to be printed. [No. 13.]

SALISBURY PLAIN (PROPERTY PURCHASED).

Return [presented 30th January] to be printed. [No. 14.]

PRISONS (SCOTLAND).

Paper [presented 30th January] to be printed. [No. 15.]

LIGHTHOUSES, ETC. (LOCAL INSPECTIONS.)

Copies presented,—of Reports to the Board of Trade by the Trinity House of Deptford Strond and the Commissioners of Northern Lighthouses of their Inspection of Local Lighthouses, Buoys, and Beacons (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No 73 of Session 1899) [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 16.]

IRISH LAND COMMISSION (PROCEEDINGS).

Copy presented,—of Return of Proceedings during the month of November 1899 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

AGRARIAN OUTRAGES (IRELAND).

Copy presented,—of Return for the quarter ended 31st December 1899 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1887 (EVICTION NOTICES).

Copy presented,—of Return of the number of Eviction Notices filed during the quarter ended 31st December 1899 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION (JUDICIAL RENTS).

Copy presented,—of Return of Judicial Rents during the month of June 1899 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND).

Copy presented,—of Return of Evictions in Ireland for the quarter ended 31st December, 1899 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

WINTER ASSIZES (IRELAND).

Copy presented,—of Four Orders in Council, dated 1st November, 1899, for holding Winter Assizes in Ireland [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1877.

Copy presented,—of Order in Council, amending Order of 25th February, 1885, re-arranging the Circuits in Ireland [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE (IRELAND), ACT, 1877.

Copy presented,—of Order in Council giving effect to Rules of Court under The Local Government (Application of Enactments) Order, 1898 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1877.

Copy presented,—of Order in Council giving effect to Rules of Court (Bankruptcy) [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1877.

Copy presented,—of Order in Council giving effect to Rules of Court under the Local Government (Application of Enactments) Order, 1898 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

CONSOLIDATED FUND.

Abstract Account presented,—showing the issues made from the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom in the year ended 31st March, 1899, for the Interest and Management of the Debt, for the Civil List, and all other Issues in the financial year for services charged directly on the said Fund; with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 17.]

WOODS, FORESTS, AND LAND REVENUES.

Abstract Accounts presented,—for the year ended March 31st, 1899, together with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 18.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS (APPROPRIATION ACCOUNTS).

Appropriation Accounts presented,—for the year ending 31st March, 1899, together with the Reports of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon, and certain Reports upon Store Accounts [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 19.]

PAPER LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

Bank of England.—Accounts of Exchange Bills and other Government Securities purchased, and of the Amount of Balances of Sums issued for the Payment of Dividends, etc., for the year ending 5th January, 1900 [by Act], to be printed. [No. 20.]

PARLIAMENTARY CONSTITUENCIES (ELECTORS, ETC.) (UNITED KINGDOM).

Address for "Return showing, with regard to each Parliamentary Constituency in the United Kingdom, the total number and, as far as possible, the number in each class of Electors on the Register now in force; and also showing the Population and Inhabited Houses in each Constituency (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 78, of Session 1899)." —(*Sir Charles Dilke.*)

ALIENS.

Address for "Return showing the names of all Aliens to whom Certificates of Naturalisation have been issued, and whose oaths of allegiance have, between the 1st day of January, 1899, and the 31st day of December, 1899, been registered at the Home Office, giving the county and place of residence of the person naturalised, and including information as to any Aliens who have during the same period obtained Acts of Naturalisation from the Legislature (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 140, of Session 1899)." —(*Mr. Jesse Collings.*)

NEW WRIT.

For the County of Lancaster North-East (Rossendale Division),—in the room of John Henry Maden, esquire (Manor of Northstead).—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

BALLOT FOR BILLS, AND MOTIONS FOR THE FIRST FOUR TUESDAYS.

Motion made, and Question proposed,—
"That no Bills, other than Government

Bills, be introduced in anticipation of the ballot, and that all Members who desire to ballot, whether for Bills, or Motions for the first four Tuesdays of the session, do hand in their names at the Table during the sitting of the House on the first or second day of the session, and that a copy of such notices be handed in at the latest during the sitting of the House on the third day of the session :

“ That the ballot for the precedence of the said Bills and Motion be taken on the third day of the session at a convenient time and place to be appointed by Mr. Speaker, and that the introduction and First Reading of Bills on the fourth day be taken before Questions and as soon after Three o'clock as Mr. Speaker may deem convenient.”—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

MR. DUNCOMBE (Cumberland, Egremont) said he intended to move an Amendment to the resolution in order to afford himself an opportunity of calling attention to desirable alterations in the rules of procedure. He had noticed in previous sessions an extraordinary reluctance on the part of the Government, the Leader of the House, and the Front Bench generally, to allow the House to consider in any way the rules of procedure. Yet that, after all, was a matter in which the House was deeply interested, and as he could see no other chance of bringing on the question, he had been forced to propose an Amendment on the present occasion. It did not seem to him to be a dignified proceeding that the House should allot the days to be devoted to the discussion of private members' Bills in a haphazard manner. The present plan was what he might call a gamble. Numbers were drawn at haphazard. The effect of the Amendment would, on the other hand, be to make sure that precedence was given to Bills in which the majority of the Members of the House were interested. Surely that was a fair and reasonable proposal. It was only natural that precedence should be given to such Bills as those in which, for or against, the largest number of Members were interested. Of course, some objection might be raised even to that. It might be said, for instance, that the same Bill would take precedence session after session. That, however, might easily be guarded against by an arrangement that when a Bill had once been

fully discussed it should not have precedence in any subsequent session of the same Parliament. It would, he submitted, be more in consonance with the dignity of Parliament, and better for the orderly conduct of its proceedings, if the motion just made by the First Lord of the Treasury were altered in the manner he ventured to propose.

Amendment proposed—

“ In line 4, after the word ‘ names,’ to insert the words, ‘ together with the name of the Bill or motion for which they desire precedence.’ ”
—(*Mr. Duncombe.*)

Question proposed—“ That those words be there inserted.”

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (MR. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I hope the hon. Gentleman does not allege that either the Government or I have any desire to burke any legitimate discussion on our rules of procedure. Surely in the last four or five sessions we have had more debate in that direction than in the years before. As regards this particular Amendment, the rule I have proposed was framed simply for the convenience of the House, and it has been found to work well and has met with general approval. No substantial complaint, so far as I have heard, has ever been raised against it, and while I shall be pleased to have its operation carefully watched, and shall not shrink from proposing or supporting any alteration which may be found to be necessary, I do think that until some weakness has been proved to exist it would be well to leave it in the form in which it now stands.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): I think the right hon. Gentleman is wise in not summarily adopting this proposed alteration of the rule. The object of the hon. Member who proposes it is, I presume, to arrive at some better way of determining the priority of private Members' Bills. At present we trust to blind fortune. The ballot has at all events one advantage, and that is that no one is to blame except fortune if a given Bill is not discussed. I quite admit that this is not a very brilliant method of conducting our debates, or the discussions of any serious assembly; but every other mode which has been proposed would be subject to

grave objection, and even that suggested by the hon. Member would be open to the strong objection that hon. Members would be continually canvassed in advance for their support, and the Paper would—especially in the recess, when promises are easily given—be covered with their names. No doubt this is a matter we should bear in mind. Our rules of procedure are certainly open to improvement, but I think it would be rash on our part to make the proposed alteration without further inquiry.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis) said they had been told by the right hon. Gentleman that the selection of measures for discussion was left to blind fortune, and that that was not a proper procedure for an assembly of this kind. But he would point out that the selection was not entirely left to blind fortune. Syndicates were occasionally formed of persons in favour of certain Bills, and these did their best to correct the errors of blind fortune, and to put pressure upon her which, being a lady, she was not always able to withstand. Further than that, he would like to point out that if the Amendment were adopted it would, while giving precedence to some measures, altogether prevent the discussion of others in which only a few Members were interested. The First Lord of the Treasury had said that of late years improvement had been made in the procedure of the House. With that he did not quite agree.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Well, changes.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Changes for the worse. But in view of the serious events this House had now to consider he thought it would be better not to make the proposed change. The hon. Member for Egremont might rest content with having called attention to the matter, especially as the right hon. Gentleman had undertaken to consider the situation with a view to possibly effecting an improvement at some future day.

MR. DUNCOMBE: After what has fallen from the Leader of the House and the Leader of the Opposition, I do not intend to press the matter further, and I ask leave to withdraw my Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.

Ordered, That no Bills other than Government Bills be introduced in anticipation of the ballot, and that all Members who desire to ballot, whether for Bills or Motions for the first four Tuesdays of the session, do hand in their names at the Table during the sitting of the House on the first or second day of the session, and that a copy of such notices be handed in at the latest during the sitting of the House on the third day of the session.

That the ballot for the precedence of the said Bills and Motions be taken on the third day of the session at a convenient time and place to be appointed by Mr. Speaker, and that the introduction and First Reading of Bills on the fourth day be taken before Questions and as soon after three o'clock as Mr. Speaker may deem convenient.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

SECOND DAY'S DEBATE.

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment [30th January] to Question [30th January], "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, as followeth:—

Most Gracious Sovereign—

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament." — (*Captain Pretyman.*)

And which Amendment was, "At the end of the Question, to add the words—

'But we humbly express our regret at the want of knowledge, foresight, and judgment displayed by Your Majesty's advisers, alike in their conduct of South African affairs since 1895 and in their preparations for the war now proceeding.'" — (*Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice.*)

Question again proposed,—"That those words be there added."

Debate resumed.

*MR. STEVENSON (Suffolk, Eye): Last night when the debate was interrupted under the rules of the House I was

endeavouring to lay before it certain propositions which, with permission, I will recapitulate in two or three sentences. The first was that there were certain portions of the subject raised by the Speech which were necessarily excluded from this debate. One of them was the question of tactics, and the other was that of strategy, and to these reference could only be made under certain limitations. For instance, on the question of tactics, the conduct of a particular battle depended to a certain extent on the resources which were at the command of the general—resources in the shape of men and ammunition. Those resources in their turn depended on the organisation at headquarters, and such limitations must therefore be taken into account. Again, in regard to strategy and the conduct of a campaign, certain limitations must also be observed. We have an instance of that in the case of the occupation of Dundee and Glencoe in spite of the fact that the military judgment of Sir George White was against the retention of those two places. That matter has already been slightly touched upon, but I hope that in the course of this debate we shall get a definite answer to the question whether the civil authorities in Natal and Cape Colony had exercised on other generals in command pressure analogous to that which they brought to bear on Sir George White in regard to Dundee and Glencoe. The right hon. Gentleman has certainly given a definite and specific answer in reference to those two places; but does it not naturally occur to him that if it were possible for Sir Hely Hutchinson to exercise pressure in regard to those two particular cases it would also be possible for other civil authorities at the Cape, not themselves military men, to exercise similar pressure with regard to Ladysmith and Kimberley?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (MR. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I have no reason to think so.

*MR. STEVENSON: It is well known that military opinion was originally in favour of sending an army northwards into the Orange Free State for the purpose of advancing into the Transvaal. Why was that plan of campaign departed from? Whose influence was it that caused the departure? Was

the departure made at the direct instigation of the Government of this country, or indirectly through its accredited agents at the Cape? I think we are entitled to know that, for in the view of many the carrying out of such a plan of campaign would indirectly have effected the relief of Ladysmith and Kimberley, while it would also have carried the war into the enemy's country. Still, apart from these limitations regarding tactics and strategy, there are various other subjects which properly come within the purview of the debate. There are the questions of administration and of policy. These are a little difficult to disentangle one from the other. On the Government side during the past few weeks there have undoubtedly appeared to be two distinct tendencies of opinion—one which looked upon the war as inevitable, and the other which considered that it might have been avoided. Those who looked upon the war as having been inevitable were inclined to put the whole blame on the administration of it, and that subject is of course not excluded from the present debate; while those who did not hold that it was inevitable preferred to think that the policy was to blame. A similar difference of opinion presented itself in the course of the debate last night. On the question of policy there are two points to which the attention of the House should be directed, the policy put forward by Sir Alfred Milner and the policy put forward by the Colonial Secretary in 1896, with regard to the separate treatment of the Rand. We should like to know why the proposals put forward by the Colonial Secretary were allowed to be dropped after the small rebuff he received and were not brought forward in another form. I venture to think that the main object the Government should have in view, having regard to the unsettled condition of things in South Africa and apart from the war being inevitable or not, should be to make such an impression on the public opinion of Europe as to render that opinion not hostile, as it is now, but favourable to us. Now the only way to have done that would have been to act in strict accordance with international law, and you would have done that if you had based your case on any distinct or specific violation of the Convention of 1884 or the special rules of international law. But another question that was raised by

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Sir Alfred Milner was the question of the franchise. That was a perfectly praiseworthy effort, but surely it was one for friendly arrangement and not one which should have been a *casus belli* in the last resort. If you base your case on international law you must do it within strict limits. Any violation of the Convention of 1884 would have given the Government not only reasonable excuses for, but a just right of intervention, and if there were particular wrongs under which British subjects were labouring they were not only a fair matter for diplomatic representations, but might in the last resort have furnished a valid reason for action of a more serious character. But it seems to me that the Government have injured the British case in the eyes of Europe by not taking the strongest line upon which they can base their claim. As it is they have not done justice to their case, because instead of basing their claim on what was covered by policy No. 2 they attracted the concentrated attention of the public throughout the world on the particular points of policy No. 1, and that is where the British case was weakest from the point of view of international law. We know now why the Secretary of State for the Colonies did not persevere with the policy which he had adopted. He met with some rebuff not only at the hands of the Boer Government, but also at the hands of the Uitlanders who were not satisfied. But although the Secretary of State for the Colonies is a man of great versatility, and in 1899 pressed for the franchise in one form or another, he failed to press for the earlier proposal in different forms and at different stages. Whether the proposal for Home Rule in the Rand was really satisfactory, and why the Colonial Secretary did not bring his proposals forward in another form, does not much matter now; but I think anyone can see for himself that a proposal for a long lease of the Rand would have afforded a very fair basis for discussion, both in 1896 and in the years that followed; and there would have been a good deal to be said not only from our own point of view, but also from the point of view of the Uitlanders and the Boers. There were the two populations, the mining population and the pastoral population, to be considered. You would have created a more favourable condition of things, and by claiming that status for them you

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would have put them in a less anomalous position. A man cannot be a consistent citizen of two nationalities. A citizen of the Transvaal would cease to be a British citizen. If, on the other hand, instead of creating that anomalous position you had effected a long lease of the Rand, the Uitlanders would have still retained their status as British citizens, and at the same time many of these difficulties would have been surmounted. Again there is that question of the policy of whitewashing the authors of the raid and the suspicions it aroused in the mind of the Boers. It seems to me, however, that the main fault of the policy lay first of all in 1896, and in the following years, when you did not press home the separate treatment of the Rand; and in the second place that in 1899 you concentrated public attention on the least important point. I pass now for a few moments from the question of policy to the question of administration. With regard to administration, assuming that the war was inevitable, probable, or even possible, it was clearly within the competence, and was part of the duty of the Government to use every means in their power to obtain the most accurate information. Upon this point there was a divergence of opinion between what was said last night by the right hon. Gentleman in this House and what was said by Lord Salisbury. The First Lord of the Treasury asserted that the Intelligence Department was not to blame.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: With regard to guns and men, we have not full information now, and shall not have until the war is concluded. But nothing has occurred which convinces me that the information given by the Intelligence Department on the subject of the guns was erroneous.

*MR. STEVENSON: Then there must have been a long interval in the dispatch of such information and its reaching the Government, or there must have been some leakage on the way. Lord Salisbury took quite a different line last night. If the Intelligence Department furnished the information, how is it that it was not within the cognizance of the Cabinet itself? Lord Salisbury did not give that full credit to the Intelligence Department which the right hon. Gentleman gives. He complains of the secret service and

apparently threw some blame on the Chancellor of the Exchequer; because, apparently, there was not enough money for secret service. He said that if Parliament would grant sufficient money for secret service, that secret service would be efficient. Now, I say, that if the Chancellor of the Exchequer had come down to the House and asked for an additional sum for secret service the House would have gladly, aye, enthusiastically voted it.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (SIR M. HICKS-BEACH, Bristol, W.): It would not be for me to make any such proposal except at the instance of the Cabinet.

*MR. STEVENSON: It seems to me to be a game of battledore and shuttlecock. Lord Salisbury attributed the deficiency to the secret service fund——

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member is now discussing a debate in the House of Lords in the present session, and that he cannot do.

*MR. STEVENSON: Then I will confine myself to the Leader of the House and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and with reference to the remark made just now by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, it seems to me the blame attaches to the Cabinet. If the secret service was insufficiently provided with funds, and if he had to ask the Cabinet for more money to make the secret service efficient, surely the Chancellor of the Exchequer means that it was the Government who ought to deal with the matter. If that be so it becomes a point between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Cabinet as a whole. Perhaps the point in itself, as a personal one, is not of much importance; but from a national point of view it is important that the country should feel that when exigencies of this kind arise there should be no question whether this or that Minister is responsible for the due discharge of what is obviously a national duty, but that the Cabinet as a whole should take upon itself the responsibility of seeing that the safety of the Empire was not impaired. I will not mention Lord Salisbury's utterance again, Sir, under your ruling; but the difference between the two points of view is important. In

one case it appears that if the Intelligence Department communicated the information to the Cabinet, in which case it does not appear to have reached them, it was not acted upon. In the other case there seems to be something wrong with the machinery, and if that be so it ought to be rectified at once. I think it was said last night by a speaker whom I am not allowed to name that "you cannot see through a brick wall." Yet we can see through a brick wall if there is a chink in it, and in this case there is a chink in it, because there is the secret service and the Intelligence Department. I can imagine the speaker in question saying, in the words of Pyramus,

"O wicked wall, through whom I see no bliss,
Curst be thy stones for thus deceiving me."

But I am sure the people of this country will not be satisfied with excuses of that kind; they will desire that a full inquiry should be made either into the lack of efficiency on the part of the Intelligence Department or, what is perhaps more important, as to why it was that the information obtained by that department did not reach the Cabinet, or if it reached the Cabinet why it was not acted upon in proper time. Let me say one or two words more with regard to the question of administration. "Administration during the years that preceded the war" means not only military preparations, but also diplomatic preparations. I have already said a few words with regard to the possible diplomatic preparations, which might have consisted in educating public opinion in Europe upon this question. But there are other questions which must be raised in this connection. For instance, we know there was an agreement with Germany the exact nature of which has not yet been made fully public. We know, however, that in that agreement there were some very important concessions made to Germany by England. Surely the House is entitled to know whether we got in return adequate value for these concessions, and why it is that under the circumstances of that agreement it has still been open for the very unfortunate incidents to occur which have occurred in South Africa. It will certainly occur to the "man in the street"—although it is not a point which I am inclined to labour—to ask why it is that during all these years the question of

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Delagoa Bay has been allowed to go on without any definite attempt being made to arrive at a proper solution of the question. I feel, therefore, that the question of policy and the question of administration each come within the purview of this Amendment. If ever there were grounds urged in support of an Amendment showing most clearly that there has been a lack of foresight, forethought, and knowledge, it is in this particular case. At the same time the House will echo and re-echo the words of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition that we must see this thing through, and, beyond all, that the Imperial authority must be supreme in South Africa. I must refer to the little duel which took place across the table yesterday, when the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House challenged the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition upon this point. The Leader of the Opposition had spoken of the necessity of preserving the integrity of the British dominions in South Africa, and of bringing this war to a successful issue. He had also said that it was necessary that the Imperial authority be supreme in South Africa. Yet in the face of that threefold declaration the Leader of the House resorted to the old and very familiar device of attempting to ascribe to another controversialist opinions which that controversialist has not held, but which had been expressed incidentally in the course of the conversation. The object of the right hon. Gentleman was perfectly clear. His object was to divert attention from his own lack of declaration and from the silence which he had pursued with regard to this very important subject. As far as I can recollect, looking back upon the speeches of the last few weeks, the only really significant declaration that has been made as to the conclusion of the war has been that by the Prime Minister in the speech which gave rise to some correspondence, and in which he said: "We seek no goldfields: we seek no territories." That was a negative and not a positive declaration, and the country as a whole is still absolutely at a loss to know what is the minimum with which the Government will be satisfied at the close of the war.

*MR. SPEAKER: I would point out to the hon. Member that the question

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of upon what terms the war should be concluded does not arise on this Amendment; the Amendment does not deal with anything of that kind.

*MR. STEVENSON: I was referring to the debate which had taken place yesterday before this Amendment was moved—

*MR. SPEAKER: The speeches of the right hon. Gentlemen the Leaders of the House and of the Opposition were made upon the main question, and before the Amendment had been proposed to the House.

*MR. STEVENSON: Well, Sir, I will not pursue that subject any further. I will simply point out that during the past few months there has been no definite or adequate declaration of policy on the part of Her Majesty's Government, and that this House and the country are entitled to have such a declaration. I trust that, if not in the course of the debate on this Amendment, at all events during the next few days, an opportunity will be afforded for a declaration of that character. In the meantime the Government may be assured that, certainly as far as the spirit of the country is concerned, and as far as the spirit of this House as a whole is concerned, there will be no hesitation whatever in giving to the conduct of the campaign that amount of support which may be thought necessary. We are all anxious that this war should be brought to a conclusion, and to a successful conclusion; at the same time we cannot but deeply regret and deplore the errors and vacillation of the last few years, and especially the tone and spirit in which the criticisms have been met, while we most deeply deplore that no adequate guarantee has been given that those errors and that vacillation will not be allowed to continue.

*COLONEL MILWARD (Warwickshire, Stratford-on-Avon): I am sure we shall all agree in uttering a word of deep sympathy with those who suffer from this war, and especially with those ladies whose husbands and those fathers whose sons are shut up in Ladysmith. There is no one for whom greater sympathy is felt than the noble and tender-hearted Lady who rules these realms, and no sorrow

which is greater than that in which we sympathise with her, that she should have lost so many of her gallant subjects, and that the closing years of her reign should be marred by this war. I will now proceed with the Amendment before the House. I am reminded of the words spoken yesterday by a very well-known and witty Member who sits on the other side of the House; he said that the Amendment was to be so drawn that they could all vote for it, and therefore there would have to be very little in it. I complain of just the contrary—that there is a very great deal in it. It appears to me to be an Amendment by compartments. I do not think any of the Opposition accept the whole of the Amendment. Some accept one part and some accept another. I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition whether he is prepared to vote for the Amendment as a whole, whether he is prepared to blame the Government for not having made greater preparations for the war? I can only say that if there was one person more than another who stayed the hand of the Government in preparing for the war, it was the Leader of the Opposition. The right hon. Gentleman repeated yesterday the words he had spoken and which he had reiterated during the most crucial months of the negotiations. On the 19th June the Leader of the Opposition said—

“I say that I can see nothing in what has occurred to justify either warlike action or military preparation.”

Not content with that, the right hon. Gentleman in the City on the 30th June said he had been very much misrepresented in the newspapers, that they had published only garbled accounts of what he had said, and he therefore repeated once more and in exactly the same words that there was nothing whatever to justify military preparation.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): That there was “nothing in what had occurred,” not that there was “nothing on the face of the earth.” I was speaking of the negotiations, of the whole course of the story with which we are dealing. That is what I repeated last night, that there was nothing in the whole story of the controversy about the franchise and the Uitlanders’ grievances

in which any ingenuity of man could find a sufficient *casus belli*. That is what I said, and that is what I repeat.

*COLONEL MILWARD: It was not the *casus belli*, but the preparation for the war to which the right hon. Gentleman referred. A month later, on the 28th July, he said—

“As to war itself, a direct preparation for hostilities, I must only repeat here what I have said elsewhere, that from the beginning of this story to the end of it I can see nothing whatever which furnishes a case for armed intervention, and least of all during the recent days or weeks when we are evidently approaching, if circumstances continue favourable, a solution of the question.”

What I say is that the right hon. Gentleman, who holds a most important and a most influential position in the country—and while I have the greatest respect for the right hon. Gentleman personally, I have an even greater respect for the position which he holds—a position in the House of Commons second only to that of the Leader of the House—by his great influence and the influence of the party behind him, stayed the hands of the Government by saying again and again that there was no case even for preparation for war. There are other Members on that side of the House who have spoken in similar terms. I should like to refer especially to the hon. Member for Leigh, in Lancashire. He is well known to be the editor of one of the most influential newspapers in the North of England, and he is a gentleman who must have the very best information about every subject upon which he speaks. He has spoken here as the exponent—I do not cast any reflection on his patriotism, but I may say he has spoken for the Boers, and he has spoken as one having the most intimate knowledge of the Boers. He says—

“It makes me blush with shame when I see a great historic party like that opposite capable of the despicable meanness of seeking on such grounds to go to war against a poor little State containing 30,000 farmers. I do not believe that the people of this country, when once this matter has been fairly placed before them, will tolerate the oppression of a little State of this kind, which we hold in the hollow of our hand, for any reason such as has been assigned in the course of this debate.”

I say that this tended to paralyse the Government in their preparation for the

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war. Here was a gentleman who perhaps knew more about the matter than any other gentleman in the House, and he speaks of the Transvaal as "a little State containing 30,000 farmers which we hold in the hollow of our hand." Events have proved that we did not hold them in the hollow of our hand at all. What were the preparations made? The Under Secretary of State for War on the 21st October said that against the "little State of 30,000 farmers" we had already sent 25,000 regulars from this country, and there was a further despatch of 48,000 men, making 73,000 regulars against 30,000 poor farmers. I think it can scarcely be said after this that an Amendment which states that the Government made no preparation is an Amendment which can hold water. Outside this House the question which has been most debated is the question of the guns, and I should like to say a word upon that subject. There exists in this House a Committee drawn from both sides of the House, called the "Committee of Service Members"; and that Committee has the great advantage of having for its advisers the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Forest of Dean and the hon. Member for West Belfast. I think it will be admitted that nobody knows more of foreign arms than those two Members. The question brought up by the Member for the Forest of Dean has not been that which is now exciting the public mind, but the question of quick-firing guns.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): And of the number of guns.

*COLONEL MILWARD: The right hon. Gentleman said in 1898 that France had had quick-firing guns for eight or nine years; but I pass by this view of the question, as we are only responsible for three of those years. I admit that the subject of quick-firing guns has been raised, and that the War Office may probably have been to blame for not having pushed forward more rapidly this question. With reference to guns there appears to be not more than five advantages which you can derive from artillery. The first is range; the second, mobility; the third, the ammunition used; the fourth, the handling of the guns; and the fifth, quickness of firing. In the whole of the

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discussion which has taken place with regard to the range it has been contended that the Transvaal have guns of greater range, but I submit that it is only on that point that their guns are better than ours. With reference to mobility it is true the Boers move their guns to the top of kopjes where they remain, but we can move our guns from place to place. Again it has never been disputed that our lyddite ammunition has given us the greatest advantage over the Boers, and we have been told over and over again that our guns have silenced the Boer guns. Admitting that the Boers have the advantage of range, quickness of firing is equal on both sides, and we have the advantage in mobility, in ammunition, and also in the handling of the guns. So that the accusation of want of preparation for war as far as the guns are concerned is not sustained. Quickness of firing depends on the machinery and apparatus to bring the gun back to the original position from which it was fired, and when I went down last year to Woolwich with a party of Members organised by the Member for West Belfast, to see these quick-firing guns, those who saw them admired them very much and returned satisfied. I am perfectly willing to admit that an inquiry should be made and that there are things which require remedying in the War Office. The most serious thing I think is the system of promotion among officers, which is supposed to depend upon seniority tempered with competency, but it is, I am afraid, very often tempered with private influence. I am perfectly certain that men have to retire who are perfectly competent, and that others who are not competent are advanced. That is one of the points upon which I lay stress which should be considered in regard to our Army. May I now turn for a moment to the other part of the Amendment now before the House with reference to the negotiations preceding the war? I wish to say that, as far as I am concerned, my opinion is that this war was inevitable from the first. There has been growing up for the last twenty years antagonism between the Boers and the Uitlanders, and it was inevitable that war must sooner or later take place. The war between France and Germany was the result of antagonism which had been growing up year by year, and the war in South Africa is in exactly the same

position. In the debate upon the negotiations on the 28th of July last a vote of censure was moved upon the Colonial Office Estimate, but it was never put, because the House was then satisfied with the explanation given by the Colonial Secretary, who proposed that there should be a joint commission of inquiry as to the franchise. I have carefully read all the despatches, and I ask every other Member of the House to read them very carefully, and if they do they will see that the Boers accepted nothing after that date, and everything we proposed they met by counter propositions which made it perfectly evident that they did not intend to accept anything, and that they had made up their minds that we should have war. If the Boers were going to invade England and they had possession of the Channel Islands, do you think that we should wait until they had landed 70,000 men in those islands before we declared war? It is clear that the Boers had made up their minds that there would be war, and they chose their own time. Then there is the opinion of the Colonials upon this subject. We have to consider not only the feelings of this country, but we must also look to the feelings of those Colonials who are face to face with the Boers. I should like to read to the House an extract from a letter which I received in July last, from Natal. It is as follows—

“These last few days the whole of British South Africa has been on the verge of rebellion against the British Government on account of a statement in *The Times* that it had been decided by the British Government to accept Kruger's seven years franchise proposal as a settlement. If the Government shall accept any form of compromise which does not carry into effect the irreducible minimum of Milner's Bloemfontein proposal, they must lose all support in South Africa, and every Britisher in the country would forswear allegiance to Britain. People at home cannot grasp the depth of feeling in this country. If Britain does not this time obtain for us just rights, equal rights, in the Transvaal, she loses the sympathy of every man here. We would rather a thousand times see war, even those who have much to lose, than any unguaranteed reforms without absolutely equal rights. We want the franchise in the Transvaal. We want redistribution and a certain control over the finances of the country, but above all we want the right to carry arms and to express our opinions with freedom. No settlement which does not include these, and the dismantling of the Johannesburg fort at least, can be considered a true settlement. For my own part I believe that if we do not fight now we

are only postponing the inevitable by two or three years, and the inevitable when it comes will be far more serious than it would be now, for it will mean a racial war throughout South Africa. Chamberlain we trust, and Milner we doubly trust, but there are, I fear, other influences and other counsels at work that may outweigh Chamberlain's and Milner's.”

The House will recognise the fact that these Colonials are men who are bound to us in every tie of race and friendship, and they entertain a very strong feeling with regard to this war. I ask myself what the Opposition hope to gain by the Amendment now before the House? Do they hope to unite themselves and to turn out the Government? We must remember that this is practically a vote of censure, and if it were largely supported on this side of the House it would turn out the Government. I do not think that the Opposition hope to unite themselves upon this Amendment. There are some who will vote for it on one particular ground and some on another ground. The Member for South Shields, who made one of the best defences of the Government I have yet heard, will only vote for this Amendment on one ground. In view of these feelings one can scarcely imagine that the Amendment will be carried, but I fear no appeal from hon. Members on our side would be of any weight with gentlemen opposite. What we wish to have from the Opposition is criticism which will stiffen rather than weaken the Government. We have before us now one of the gravest crises of modern history. It is said that every cloud has a silver lining, and I am sure that everyone, whether he sits on that side of the House or on this, wishes to strengthen the Government, in order that we may put our whole force and strength into this war, so that there will be no drawing back until we have established what after all is our great aim, and that is that peace should reign over the whole of South Africa.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): The accusation against the Government contained in this Amendment is that of want of judgment and foresight, which has not only resulted in war but has placed the country in the military position it unfortunately occupies at the present moment. In my opinion it is rather difficult for the supporters of the Government to resist this Amendment in the form in which

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it is drawn, because the Leader of the House practically admitted that the Government had had insufficient knowledge of the situation, and had underestimated the strength of the forces with which the country has now to contend. The right hon. Gentleman admitted also that the Government had shown some lack of foresight, because he himself admitted that it was a surprise to him that the Orange Free State had joined the Boers in warfare. I will endeavour to show that the Government were also wanting in judgment, but first of all I am bound to say that if this vote of censure had not been moved before it would be our duty to move it now after the speeches delivered yesterday in this House and in another place. It has been said that we speak with two voices. That is of little moment where the Opposition is concerned; but it is a very serious matter indeed when the Leader of the House here, and the Prime Minister in another place, speak with two voices on such an important matter as the military preparations of the Boers, and I think those two speeches would in themselves be a perfect justification of the course we have taken in moving the vote of censure. I think the speech of the Prime Minister must have come as a rude shock to Members of this House who had listened to the speech of the First Lord of the Treasury. The right hon. Gentleman is a member of the Committee of Defence, the Prime Minister is another member, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer a third. We heard in this House yesterday that the Intelligence Department and the War Office knew every single thing with regard to the Boer forces and armaments, except as regards the actual number likely to go into the field, which was naturally uncertain and impossible to estimate. That was the statement made in this House, whereas in another place the Prime Minister practically stated that it was impossible for the Intelligence Department to acquire this knowledge, because the Government had not at their disposal a sufficient amount of secret service money. I do not know who is right, but I think it is an extraordinary position that two members of the Defence Committee of the Cabinet should have given such diametrically opposite accounts of this matter. Further, the Prime Minister went on to say practically in so many

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words, although he personally exonerated the Chancellor of the Exchequer by name, that the disasters which occurred were due to the action of the Treasury in hampering the military preparations.

SIR M. HICKS-BEACH: I really must correct the hon. Member. The Prime Minister never made any such statement. He made a general statement of his opinions with regard to the Treasury. After what has been stated in various places, and after the interpretation which might be, most erroneously, placed upon that statement, it is necessary for me to say, I think, that from the very beginning of this matter neither the Treasury nor the Chancellor of the Exchequer have in any way stinted any preparations — any expenditure which was thought necessary by the Cabinet with regard to this war. All these statements with regard to myself are absolutely untrue.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: I am very glad indeed, if he will allow me to say so, that I have drawn that remark from the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I, for one, never believed these scandalous assertions and insinuations against which the right hon. Gentleman has protested. What I was pointing out to the House was that the Prime Minister in another place did say, in so many words, that the Treasury had the power of the purse. His words, in describing the position of the Treasury, were—

"It is the power of the purse; and by exercising the power of the purse it claims a voice in all decisions of administrative authority and policy. I think that much delay and many doubtful resolutions have been the result of the peculiar position which, through many generations, the Treasury has occupied."

He was speaking at the moment with regard to our knowledge.

*MR SPEAKER: The hon. Member will not be in order if he proceeds to discuss a debate which took place in the other House.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: I was only endeavouring to show, Mr. Speaker, that I think we are entitled to blame the Government, and to move a vote of censure on them, when we find them speaking in different voices on

these matters. I think also we are entitled to move this vote of censure—though I am afraid we will not succeed in carrying it—because in this workaday world we must judge a Government by results, and this Government have admitted that every calculation they made has been falsified by results. They cannot deny that their professed peace policy has resulted in war; they cannot deny that the result of their professed policy of working in friendship and accord with our Dutch fellow-citizens is that the Cape Chamber is hostile to us and the Orange Free State is ranged against us; and they cannot deny that the inadequate preparation made by them for the war has led to the humiliating position in which this country now finds itself—a position in which, in the history of the world, it has never been before, namely, having its territory occupied for nearly four months by the enemy. The worst of it is that all these evils and dangers were anticipated and foreseen and stated in this House by the right hon. Gentleman primarily responsible for them. He foretold the result and denounced the very policy which the Government finally decided to enter upon. I think we may fairly say that in moving this vote of censure we have no desire to hamper the Government in the prosecution of the war. We have full faith and the utmost confidence in the men at the wheel, but the men at the wheel are not the present holders of office, but Lord Roberts and Sir Redvers Buller. I for one am prepared to give every possible support in order to bring the war to a satisfactory conclusion. The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House last night endeavoured, I think, to place the Opposition in a false light with regard to this matter. He tried to show that what my right hon. friend intended in his speech was that a satisfactory conclusion would be arrived at when the enemy were driven out of British territory, but speaking for myself, and I believe also for nearly every hon. Member on this side of the House, I go further than that. I am prepared to support the conduct of the war until the Boers shall sue for peace. I do not go so far as to say that it may not be necessary even at this moment to carry our forces further for military reasons. I do not think, however, it is advantageous to discuss terms of settle-

ment at the present moment, and I think it was a pity that the right hon. Gentleman should have so emphatically expressed his views as to what the final settlement should be, because it is not as we should have hoped, and it may tend to hamper the conduct of the war by strengthening the backs of the enemy against suing for peace at all. The right hon. Gentleman, in a somewhat ill-advised speech which he delivered at Manchester, said that there was one advantage gained by the Government not having approached Parliament last summer for a vote of credit to resist Boer invasion, and that was that they had obtained unanimous feeling throughout the country in favour of the operations now in progress. I think, however, that the violent terms in which the right hon. Gentleman spoke last night regarding the final settlement will deter some hon. Members on this side of the House from giving that active support to the Government which they otherwise would. It is not fair to the Opposition to ask them to commit themselves at the present moment to any particular settlement of this great question. When the time to make a settlement arrives then we shall be able to discuss the best way to effect it, and I, therefore, regret that part of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman. The Amendment now before the House practically covers the whole ground of the policy of the Government for the last five years. The right hon. Gentleman said last night that if we were going to criticise that policy on the present occasion, we ought to have criticised it before in detail from time to time as matters occurred. We had, however, very good reason for not doing that, because we believed that step by step, until the last ill-omened step, the policy of the Government with reference to South Africa and the Transvaal was practically the same in desire and intention as that which actuated their predecessors. The policy of the Colonial Office up to recently had always been to maintain the supremacy of British rule in South Africa, to maintain the Convention of London, both in spirit and in letter, and as far as possible, by friendly negotiations, to redress the grievances from which the foreign element in the Transvaal suffered. The Colonial Office policy had been, and we believed the policy of the present

Government also was, to act in accord with Dutch feeling at the Cape, and as far as possible with the friendly assistance of the progressive Boers in the Transvaal itself. Certainly there was a very large element of progressive Boer feeling in the Transvaal as well as a large element of Afrikaner feeling outside it in favour of redressing the grievances of the Uitlanders, and of getting rid of the difficulties between the Transvaal and the British Government. I am not going to deny for a moment that the South African problem had not been very troublesome. If it had been anticipated when the retrocession of the Transvaal were granted that the country would subsequently become of such importance, and that its Government would not give liberty and equality, it is certain that the retrocession would never have taken place. But it is very easy to judge after the event, as the right hon. Gentleman himself said last night. I am bound to say that though the Transvaal is a very troublesome neighbour, and they have endeavoured to extend their borders, and to obtain greater freedom or independence, I do not think that on that account we can blame them. They have their Imperialists and Expansionists in the Transvaal as we have here, and we cannot blame them for endeavouring to secure greater independence than they obtained under the Conventions. But the policy of previous Governments had been to check and restrain this evolution on the part of the Transvaal, and up to the last few years that policy has been successful, while at the same time retaining friendly relations with the Republic. That was the policy of 1895 and of Mr. Rhodes, who up to that date had showed himself a great South African statesman. His policy had been to bind the Dutch and the English element together, and in that he had been most successful. But in 1895 we had a change of Government, and at the Colonial Office a Minister who had great ideas of colonial administration. Mr. Rhodes and those working with him gauged this view pretty accurately, and thought they could force the pace. Almost directly after the Government came into office Mr. Rhodes obtained that strip of territory for the Chartered Company which formed the jumping-off place for the raid. If we had remained in office the raid would not have occurred, for if Mr. Rhodes had approached us as

to the cession of Bechuanaland—although it was obvious that at some time or other it might have to be handed over to the Chartered Company—we would have said that the moment was inappropriate for so doing. First of all, only lately a new form of administration had been conferred on the Chartered Company, and we wanted to see it working better. In the second place, the pecuniary position of the Chartered Company was not such at that time as to enable it to take over further territory. I admit that the present Colonial Secretary was entirely entitled to make a different arrangement, but I say, if we had been in office the raid would not have occurred. The most disastrous effect of the raid was not that it induced the Transvaal to arm, but that it placed the Afrikaner section in the Cape in a position of antagonism and suspicion to Her Majesty's Government. The first steps taken by the Colonial Secretary after the raid were proper and right, but then we come to what I believe to be, to a large extent, the foundation of all subsequent difficulties—namely, the introduction of the system of what has been called the new diplomacy in dealing with this very delicate and ticklish question. The first mistake of all was the publication by the Colonial Secretary of a Government despatch in the beginning of 1896. Here was a case of interference by the Home Government in internal affairs of the Transvaal, and if that were to be done, it should have been with the greatest possible diplomacy and delicacy. But instead of this despatch being sent out to the High Commissioner as a basis for negotiation, conference, and discussion, it was actually published in England before President Kruger had received it at all, and the Colonial Secretary himself had to telegraph out to President Kruger, asking him to keep an open mind till he had seen the despatch itself. That was very largely the beginning of all the subsequent difficulties, and certainly was the primary cause of the abandonment by President Kruger of his intention to come over to England, and have personal conference with the Colonial Secretary. Then unfortunately came the Cape inquiry into the raid, in which the late Prime Minister of the Cape was personally implicated. Next came the unfortunate inquiry here, in which a large amount of suspicion was involved and

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the idea created that there had been concealment of something that might have come out. At all events, there was clearly felt, on the part of the Transvaal Government and those interested in the Transvaal, from that moment a suspicion that the Colonial Secretary and the Government were personally implicated in the proceedings of the raid. Then came the most unfortunate whitewashing of the prime mover of the raid. I have never been able to understand how that came about, because, only a few days before, the Colonial Secretary himself had put his signature to the Report which had absolutely condemned the raid. I am one of those who think that Mr. Rhodes has done a great service to the Empire, but it was not the business of the Colonial Secretary to come down to the House and give Mr. Rhodes the glowing character he did. That most unfortunately absolutely confirmed President Kruger and others in the suspicion that the Colonial Secretary was mixed up with Mr. Rhodes in the raid. Now we come to the period of nagging and sneering despatches and speeches, all which tended to confirm suspicion and irritate the Transvaal Government. I am not going to enter into the question of suzerainty; but I believe, and I think every one in this House believes, that it was most unfortunate that the Colonial Secretary should have, for the first time since 1884, raised in a public despatch the question of suzerainty. That it was wrong to do so is confirmed from his own confession in a despatch at the end of the correspondence, in which he said, "Oh, well, I have said my say, and I won't say any more about it." He did all the irritating by raising the point, and yet did not enforce it in the end. Meanwhile, from the moment that the first Drifts question was raised, the Transvaal Government had begun to arm. I am not going to defend the policy the Transvaal carried out in regard to this country; they were very foolish, and very suspicious without any real or proper occasion. I do not say, after all, that in their position they were unnaturally suspicious, but so far as I know they had really no ground for the suspicion that this country intended to interfere with their independence. I think that their policy ever since the time of the raid has been most foolish, because if they had only taken a sensible and liberal line they would by this time

have been in a very strong position, and by making certain concessions they would have placed further agitation in the wrong, instead of largely in the right. All this while the Transvaal were arming. I do not know that it may not be perfectly true that being armed for one purpose, they may have got into their minds that they might use their arms for another purpose in the end. But this was known—the Government themselves say that they knew it—first, that the Transvaal were arming, and second that they might turn their arms against us. The First Lord of the Treasury said that although they knew this, the mouth of the Government was closed in consequence of the raid itself. It appears to me if that were so, the Government had two courses open to them. They might have gone to the Transvaal Government and said, "We give you formal guarantees for absolute independence; why, then, are you making armed preparations which are far beyond what you really require for police and defensive purposes, and can only be intended to be directed against us, and we must request you to cease this perpetual arming on your part." That would have been a policy perfectly clear. The other policy which, in my opinion, the Government ought to have carried out was to remove the suspicion of the Transvaal Government that we had any intention of interfering with their independence, and to show a way by which the Transvaal Government might be able to tell their burghers that it was not necessary to arm against the British Government. They adopted neither of these two policies. They carried on the policy of nagging and suspicion, which—I will not say in the minds of other people, but in the minds of the Transvaal Government—justified them in continuing arming. They started a new policy, the policy of franchise. I do not say that that was wrong, because if you are going to deal with the Uitlanders' grievances that is the best way of doing it, but it was a new policy, because when the question first arose in 1890 there was no expostulation by the Government on that matter. It is true that in 1894 the Government of which I was a member suggested presenting a despatch to President Kruger, but the right hon. Gentleman knows perfectly well that that despatch was never presented. It was only to be presented under certain conditions. In 1896 the

right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary dealt with this despatch, and upon it based his policy of Home Rule for the Rand, but in 1896 he did not put the franchise first, but only as a subsidiary matter, and even so late as last March he again referred to Local Government for the Rand, and said if that was agreed to nine-tenths of the grievances of the Uitlanders would be met. But he went on to say that it was neither dignified nor convenient to move at that moment. Therefore, I say, the policy of franchise was a new policy. Naturally, President Kruger did not intend or desire to give more than he was obliged to, and he wished to give it as slowly as possible. For a long time the Boer resistance was partly successful, but we must remember that unfortunately the two parties were looking at the matter from entirely different points of view. The right hon. Gentleman spoke of the conference at Bloemfontein as a guarantee against foreign intervention, but President Kruger considered that the independence of the Transvaal was in the scale, and that the interests of the oligarchical sect of which he was one of the members were in jeopardy, and no doubt he could not help feeling that although the new policy was not annexation in form, it was annexation in fact; and he felt that if Uitlanders were admitted to the franchise in large numbers at once that would be the result. I do not intend to go into the intricate question of the policy of last year. It seems to me there were great misinterpretations on both sides. Those who have studied the Blue Books carefully cannot fail to feel this. The Colonial Secretary and those with him did not understand one another or the Boer temper, and it is largely due to that fact that the war occurred. I am not going to blame one side and not the other. I think the Boer Government are enormously to blame in the way in which they approached this question, but when the right hon. Gentleman talked of the war as inevitable, I want to know what was in the mind of the Government. The First Lord of the Treasury said it was inevitable in July and others put the date back to the Conference at Bloemfontein. I want the Government to say whether in their opinion President Stein of the Orange Free State really at that time intended that the Conference should lead

to failure and lead to war, and whether President Kruger was also of the opinion, and whether, when it was going on, you could say the war was inevitable, so that you could put it plainly to the Transvaal Government that they did not intend to perform what they promised, and so absolutely convict them of good faith. We have heard of the Afrikaner conspiracy, but I think it is difficult to say that such a conspiracy existed, and, as I have studied the Blue Books, Sir Alfred Milner himself does not say there was anything like a conspiracy against British supremacy. I think the whole of this talk of an Afrikaner conspiracy has been due to the misunderstandings I have referred to. A certain number of Dutch have joined the Transvaal, no doubt, but that is largely due to the fact that we have been unable to defend our territory, and those who have joined the Transvaal have done so because they were unable to receive British protection. Under those circumstances, it was only to be expected that the Dutch in our colonies should join those of their own race and blood. I have endeavoured to prove, as shortly as possible, that the Government have shown want of judgment in regard to this matter. They have themselves admitted want of knowledge and foresight, and I think, that being so, we are fully justified in moving this vote of censure, and while we do not think there is any chance of carrying it, it will tend to stiffen the Government in their action, and we hope in the settlement that must take place at some future time the Government will take care not to give domination to one side or the other. We want liberty and equality in South Africa, but we must not forget that we must have fraternity as well.

SIR A. ACLAND-HOOD (Somersetshire, Wellington) said he must apologise for being so dense as not to understand what was meant by the speeches of the party opposite. The leaders affected to be anxious to bring this war to a successful issue. There was one element of success, and that was to show a united front to the enemy; but hon. Members opposite appeared to be animated by a desire to initiate a party discussion, to be followed by a party division. He could only imagine that a long and close intimacy with the Irish party had produced that paradox. What was the object of

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turning out the present Government? If they did turn it out and put in their own party, how could such a Government prosecute the war to any issue but a most disastrous one? It was idle at the present moment to debate whether the war was or was not inevitable. Hon. Members seemed to forget that the country was at this moment at war, and had been at war for three months. A great portion of the Queen's dominions had been overrun and was held by foreign troops, and large portions of our dominions had been annexed. It seemed a strange thing for the House of Commons, then, to debate what happened five years ago. What we had to consider was the best means of bringing the war to a successful issue, and to proceed with the defences of our country. It must not be forgotten that a large portion of our Army was 6,000 miles away, and it was of vital importance that the home defences should be made secure as soon as possible. He thought it was, on the whole, fortunate for the Government that the two questions of whether the war was inevitable and whether we were prepared or not had been incorporated into one Amendment. For the reasons he had stated, hon. Members on his side of the House were agreed as to the utter uselessness of raking up the past policy of the Government. But as regarded the preparations for the war there were on that side of the House certain differences of opinion, and he would not be doing his duty to his constituents or to the service if he did not say a few words of criticism on the present position of affairs in South Africa. He was as strong a supporter of the Government as any man in that House or in the country. He wanted to see the Government strong both in the House and throughout the country, and he believed it would be much stronger in both places if it would take them into its confidence and tell them frankly where the mistakes had been in the past. He could not acquiesce in the doctrine that the failures had been unavoidable, or that the hereditary disposition of the British Army was to suffer reverses at the opening of a campaign. Would the Government announce what they meant to do in the future? It was admitted that we were not prepared for a war—at any rate on the scale of the one in which we had embarked. But why was that so? And who was responsible? In his humble

judgment there were two principal causes for our failures. The first was our military system, and the second was the want of information both at home and in South Africa. As regarded our military system the responsibility rested not with the Government or with the War Office, but solely with the House of Commons. For years the Service Members had prophesied to empty benches what would happen in the event of a big war. Only twice could he remember any interest being taken by the House in Army questions—once when Lord Rosebery's Government was turned out of office by a very skilful move, and again when the strongest Government of modern times was nearly defeated on the question of sewage-farm milk. He knew that Service Members were considered to be bores of the largest calibre, but they had this advantage: they knew what they were talking about, and they were aware that when they were discussing an expenditure of 40 or 50 millions year after year they were dealing with a subject vital not only to the interests of this country, but to the interests of our Empire all over the world. Therefore he regarded the House of Commons as alone to blame. When he came to the question of the want of information he confessed that they were landed in somewhat of a difficulty. He did not quite understand how far the Government and the Intelligence Department had been in touch with one another. He could not help being reminded of a picture which appeared in *Punch* ten days previously, in which the Prime Minister was represented as saying to the Cabinet, "Well, gentlemen, never mind what we think; let us all say the same thing." Yet on the first day of the session that gun had missed fire. The First Lord had certainly told them the Intelligence Department had very accurate information as regarded the Transvaal preparations, excepting so far as the number of men was concerned. But if only the armaments of the Boers were known, how could it be supposed that the force originally despatched would be sufficient? Although it had since been multiplied threefold we were still unable to drive the enemy out of our territory and to invade the Transvaal. Then, as to the guns. Did the Intelligence Department know as long ago as last June that the Boers had large numbers of quick-

firing guns and Creusots; that they had double the number of rifles necessary to arm every man in the Transvaal and the Free State; and that there were 25 millions of cartridges in Pretoria; and lots more coming over the sea? If the Department knew all these things, they must have told the Government; and if they did not know, they were grossly wanting in their duty. Again, if these facts were known in June, what could have been the objection to our sending out a number of heavy siege guns? It was not possible perhaps to send infantry and cavalry, but they might have sent heavy siege guns, for that would have been a defensive rather than an offensive measure. Would the Government give the House some information on that point? He would like further to know when did the Government receive the first intimation that Ladysmith was to be held with a large force? If that had been known only a few days before the retreat from Dundee there would have been ample time to fortify the heights round and to mount a large number of naval guns. They had been told that everything was left to the general in the field; but it was well known that when the Army applied to the Navy for guns there was always, and properly, difficulty in getting them. Naval officers did not like to strip their ships of the most valuable part of their armament. But surely the Government had supreme authority, and could have directed that the guns should have been sent up from the fleet. Had they done so, the Ladysmith garrison would have been in a much better position than at present. Then as to absence of proper maps of Natal. It might be said that it was the duty of a self-governing colony to make its own ordnance surveys. But for years it had been known that there was a probability of our having in the immediate future to fight in Natal; and if only proper maps had been available for our generals much loss of life would have been avoided. As to Kimberley and Mafeking, some information was wanted, both by the House and by the country, as to why the Cape Government refused to send arms and munitions to those towns, while all the time armaments were allowed to pass into the Transvaal. The responsibility for that should be brought home to the proper persons. Then he came to the question of the colonial troops and auxiliaries. He

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would like to ask, when it was stated that our generals had had a free hand, was it meant that they had been unrestricted as to the raising of colonial auxiliaries? He asked these questions not to embarrass the Government, but because the country demanded an answer to them. Unless they were answered, the country would lose confidence in the Government. He should not vote for the Amendment, because he considered it was wholly mischievous. It could do no possible good, and its adoption might cause incalculable harm. He should support the Government through thick and thin. The supporters of the Government were determined to see them through this business. They would give them any supply and make any sacrifices, whether of money or life, which might be necessary. Whatever opposition they might meet in the House or out of it, they were determined that the sword should not be laid down until the principle of equal rights for all men throughout South Africa had been established.

*MR. BUCHANAN (Aberdeenshire, E.): Mr. Speaker, I agree with the hon. and gallant Member who preceded me, and with others who have said that there probably has never been a moment of more grave national peril than that we are face to face with at this juncture. Our country is denuded of almost all our defensive forces, who are engaged in a very serious, and hitherto not successful, war at the other side of the world. Our great dependency, India, is passing through a period of distress, and, as we know, the various Powers of Europe are not at all too favourably disposed towards us. I do think that we may surely draw another conclusion from the crisis than that of the hon. and gallant Member—namely, that it is our duty, as an assembly representative of the people, to censure the Ministry which has led us into these grave disasters. I put it to those who heard the hon. and gallant Member oppose this Amendment, whether, in regard to half of that Amendment, he did not make a most effective speech in support of it. Because, what is it the Amendment proposes? It expresses regret at two things: (1) at the want of foresight and judgment displayed by Her Majesty's Government in the conduct of South African affairs since 1895, and (2) as to the lack of foresight

and judgment exhibited by Her Majesty's Government in the preparations made by them for the war now proceeding. We want some further explanation from the Government as to what information was in the possession of the Intelligence Department before the war, whether they communicated it to the Government, and whether that information was acted upon. The Government have confessed, by many mouths, that they hopelessly under-estimated the numbers of the Boers, their fighting powers, and their armaments. The House is entitled to know whether this gross and culpable mistake was founded on material supplied by the Intelligence Department or not. If it were so founded, then the only conclusion to come to is that the Intelligence Department sadly needs reorganisation and overhauling, and putting upon a new foundation. If that is not the fact, then I think the Intelligence Department is laid under an unmerited stigma, which, in all fairness, ought to be speedily removed. The country at large is entitled to know who is responsible for this mistake, and what was the information that was given to the Government on which they acted, or failed to act. To my mind the responsibility rests with the gentlemen who sit upon that bench; and it is their duty as English gentlemen, whether it be their own individual or collective faults, to acknowledge their error, and not to try, directly or indirectly, or by collusion, to cast it upon any department of the State. Another point brought up by the hon. and gallant Member was that of the want of maps of the territory which was now the scene of the conflict. Surely it was one of the most elementary duties of the Government—especially a Government which placed so high an estimate in its programme on the importance of national defence—to have provided for a thorough military survey of the country that for years has been looked upon as a probable theatre of war. I do not need to be told, for a single moment, that a responsible Minister of the Crown who came down to the House and asked for money for Cape Colony or Natal for such a purpose would not have got it. He would have got it at once. Then I should like a little further explanation on the question put to the First Lord of the Treasury

yesterday as to Sir William Butler's reports. I am at a loss to reconcile the statement made by the First Lord of the Treasury with that of the Under Secretary of State for War. On October 20th last the Under Secretary of State for War stated in the House that representations urging the necessity of increasing the garrison in South Africa had been received previous to June 27th from the High Commissioner, the Governor of Natal, and the officer commanding the troops in South Africa, who at that time was Sir William Butler. It is perfectly clear from the statement of the Under Secretary last October that there were official dispatches from Sir W. Butler advocating the sending out of increased forces for the defence of our South African Colonies. Now, the First Lord of the Treasury undoubtedly stated last night—I have not yet been able to verify it in *The Times*—that no report had been received by any public department in this country, either by the Colonial Office or the War Office, from Sir William Butler, advocating the increase of the garrison.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER, Isle of Wight): No, no!

*MR. BUCHANAN: Then the Attorney General knows more about it. This just shows the ambiguity in which the House is on this question, and how desirable it is for the House and for the country to have fuller and more complete information on this point. Surely we have a right to expect it, and that the position of two such persons in high places as the High Commissioner and the Governor of Natal should be made plain. I also think that more information should be vouchsafed as to the steps the Government are taking for retrieving the disastrous position into which they have brought us in South Africa. We have not heard in this House, nor in the other House, nor in the Queen's Speech—which is barren to a degree—what measures the Government propose to take; and there is not a

single one among the half-dozen Bills of which notice has been given on behalf of the Government which deals with the question of naval or military defence. There is a very natural anxiety prevailing that some statement should be made by some responsible authority, on behalf of the Government, of the steps they propose to take; and whether it involves large expenditure or not, I can honestly affirm that it will be cordially supported by hon. Members on both sides of this House. The hon. and gallant Member who preceded me objected to this Amendment on several grounds. I do not know that it is necessary for me to go into the points he makes, as there are many other speakers who desire to join in this debate. I would rather proceed to the reasons why I am fully prepared to support the Amendment. The Amendment contains two distinct parts. It expresses want of confidence in the Government for the lack of preparation for this serious war, and it expresses want of confidence in the Government also for the way in which they have conducted South African affairs from the time they came into office down to the present moment. With regard to the want of preparation the facts speak for themselves. The Government have themselves confessed it over and over and over again. There is not an individual who sits upon the front bench opposite who has made a public speech within the last two months who has not been obliged to stand in a white sheet and confess that the Government entirely misapprehended the strength of the Transvaal, and that through their own culpable ignorance we have been involved in these very serious disasters. I do not say that all these distinguished gentlemen give the same reasons for the mistakes. Far from it. We get a great variety of reasons. We had the reasons given by the First Lord of the Treasury, and they were examined into by my right hon. friend the Leader of the Opposition. We had other reasons given by the Prime Minister. We had a reason, by the way, given by the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who was formerly Under Secretary of State for War. His reason, I am bound to state, is the most extraordinary of all, for he told us only a few days ago that at any rate, if the Government had committed any errors, they were

errors of the head but not of the heart. Surely it is preposterous for the right hon. Gentleman to get up and trifle with an audience by saying, when the nation has had to suffer military and political humiliations such as it has not endured during the century, that after all the hearts of Her Majesty's Ministers are in the right place. The country does not pay them for that. The country pays them for exercising a little of the ordinary intelligence that it would expect to get from any dozen or two dozen Members selected from among Members of this House. Then there is the excuse given by the Secretary of State for War, which is rather a novel one. He told us that our war preparations were in an admirable state, but they were not preparations for war on the spot. Apparently they were preparations for war in general, but not for war in the Transvaal or South Africa. He might be justified in saying that the way in which the War Office were enabled to despatch an army corps to South Africa was worthy of credit, but it is no excuse for the failure of the Government to anticipate the greatness of the struggle in which we are being engaged for the noble Lord to say that our war preparations were in excellent order, but they were not in excellent order in the one place where war was likely to occur. Then we have had the excuses of the Prime Minister with regard to secret service money. "Information was merely a question of money," he said; "you do not give me enough secret service money." The Prime Minister has often shown that his ideas of government in this country are not those held by the bulk of the people of the country or by the bulk of hon. Gentlemen sitting on the other side of the House, but he has been long enough in public affairs to know that he must work with the machine he has got. He knows perfectly well that if the responsible Minister had asked for more money for that purpose he would have got it without a word of comment or a moment of delay. The noble Marquess, also, like the First Lord of the Treasury, blamed the poor unfortunate British Constitution, because, forsooth, there were impediments in the way of a single individual Minister spending what he likes and doing as he likes without calling Parliament together or without the con-

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trol of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the other officials of the Treasury. He complains of that, and says that if it had not been for that everything would have been well. This is, of course, preposterous. The Treasury, as far as all these matters are concerned, is the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer is a colleague of the Prime Minister, and the responsibility for any action that might be taken by the Treasury rests with the Chancellor of the Exchequer first and with the Cabinet if they agree with him. It is mean and paltry for a man in the position of the Prime Minister to endeavour to shift the blame on to a public department which has no opportunity of replying. One word more on the second part of the Amendment. A sentence which fell from the First Lord of the Treasury last night really has amply justified all the charges that have been brought against the Government in this matter, and also the moving of this Amendment. In the course of his speech, in speaking of the negotiations which had been instituted for the doing away of the Uitlanders' grievances, the right hon. Gentleman said that if the Boer Government did not make these concessions "we"—that is, the Government—"always knew it must lead to hostilities between the two countries." Just think what that means. It means that the Government embarked in a series of negotiations with a Power which they knew was difficult to deal with—intricate negotiations with a gentleman like Mr. Kruger, who was obstinate and well skilled in all the devices of diplomacy—they embarked upon these negotiations, and they knew, and they themselves say they knew, that if the negotiations failed there would be war, and yet for that war they made no preparations, or no sufficient preparations. Just see how this interpretation of their conduct can be justified out of the mouth of the First Lord himself. It will be in the recollection of many Members here that in last October the right hon. Gentleman found fault with a speech of the Leader of the Opposition and then very graciously pointed out the sort of speech the Leader of the Opposition ought to have made. This is the speech which the First Lord of the Treasury put into the

mouth of the Leader of the Opposition as a fit and proper speech—

"The Government might have hoped and were right to hope that peace might be maintained, but they had also to contemplate the possibility of peace not being maintained. It was their duty without menace to provide for the defence of the Empire. That duty they had failed to undertake, and we, the Opposition, express our unanimous condemnation of the failure to carry out the primary duty of the Government, viz., that of seeing to the safety of the Empire."

No words of mine could express more clearly or more strongly the case we have against the Government. I would rest the whole of my case as regards the second part of the Amendment upon that statement. The First Lord committed himself definitely to the knowledge that the failure of the negotiations would mean war, and he has over and over again admitted personally and through his colleagues that for that war they did not make adequate preparations. The early part of the Amendment deals with the past and with the conduct of colonial affairs—for that is what it comes to—in South Africa from 1895 to the present time. I support that part of the Amendment because I believe that the conduct of colonial affairs in South Africa from the time the present Government came into office has been clearly and directly the cause of this war and the disasters which have befallen the country. The right hon. Gentleman who has charge of colonial affairs certainly cannot plead ignorance of the affairs of South Africa. He objected last night to an opinion of his own in the year 1878 being quoted; I could quote opinions of his, both of earlier and later dates than that, from which it is clear that he had a thoroughly intimate and complete knowledge of the condition of affairs in South Africa. He has told us in former days more than once that he was one of the few who opposed the original annexation of the Transvaal; he was a member of the Cabinet that gave back the independence of the Transvaal, and he was the one member of the Cabinet who most strenuously defended both in and out of this House that course of action. There is no speech which puts more clearly the awful consequences of a war in South Africa between British and Dutch than the speech of the right hon. Gentleman at Birmingham in the summer of 1881. He knew well, and he stated

it in the vigorous and clear language of which he is a master, that in case of war the Free State burghers would immediately join with the Transvaal; he was under no such delusions as were other Members sitting on that Bench; he knew the dangers and the consequences which would ensue, and yet from 1895 down to the outbreak of war he has taken hardly a single step that has not brought war nearer our doors; he has shown a recklessness and a culpableness in the conduct of affairs such as I believe is not paralleled in our time. His position was made exceedingly difficult in the earlier stages of his Ministry by the most wicked and nefarious filibustering raid of Dr. Jameson. He took immediate steps to disown that action during the early months of 1896, but what steps has he taken from the summer of 1896 onwards to do away with the evil consequences of the raid? We have had it proved over and over again by all sorts of witnesses—by witnesses who take different views from those held by myself and my friends—that the deep suspicion caused thereby not merely of the Chartered Company, but of the Imperial Government and of everything British in South Africa, was one of the rankling causes in President Kruger's mind that has led to the Transvaal armaments and the war. I could quote correspondence from *The Times* correspondent, Captain Younghusband, who stated in 1897 that the first and chief and only effort to be made by the British Government should be to do away as speedily as possible with the atmosphere of suspicion through which, owing to the raid, every action of the Home Government was viewed by the Transvaal and by the population of South Africa. I do not say that the Colonial Secretary has been alone in his failure in this respect; undoubtedly there are others who must bear the blame with him. The leaders of the raid—Mr. Rhodes and others—have been whitewashed by the Colonial Secretary in extravagant terms, but they have also been petted and pampered and favoured by many of the highest in the land, and by all classes of the community. It is only natural that this attitude of suspicion on the part of President Kruger should have continued towards the action of any associated in any degree with those who were to blame for the raid. The first duty of the right hon. Gentleman should have been to disabuse Presi-

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dent Kruger of all such ideas, to clear up absolutely the remotest vestige of suspicion that there could be in any conceivable degree any complicity between the authors of the raid and the Colonial Office; and he should have proceeded by a cautious, patient, and conciliatory policy to do away with all the differences which existed. Moreover, there is no doubt that Sir Alfred Milner's direction of affairs in South Africa has not tended towards peace. I say this with the deepest regret, but it is palpable to all who read what has been and is being published, that the policy which Sir Alfred Milner has pursued has not been a policy which has tended to bring the two vast populations in South Africa together, but rather one which has tended towards racial antipathy and the stirring up of one section of the community against the other. [Cries of "No."] However, that is my opinion, and it is an opinion which is very generally felt. I will go further. So strongly is that opinion held that when the victorious issue of the war takes place I believe you will never have a permanent and satisfactory peace concluded in South Africa if Sir Alfred Milner continues to be High Commissioner and if the right hon. Gentleman continues to be Colonial Secretary. [Ministerial laughter.] It will be no laughing matter. There are difficulties of war, but there are difficulties still greater in making and concluding peace after war is over, and I believe most firmly that the retention of their present positions by those two right hon. Gentlemen will be a permanent obstacle which must be removed before such a peace can be concluded. I most cordially support both parts of the Amendment before the House. I consider that the Government have culpably failed in their duty in not making adequate preparations for this very serious war, and that they have also grossly failed in their duty by the way in which the affairs in South Africa have been conducted from 1895 onwards. Although it is improbable—impossible—that this Amendment should be carried, still I am perfectly confident that if it were carried it would be the best thing for this country and the best thing for South Africa—not because those who share my political opinions might come into power, but because I firmly believe that no disasters have ever come upon this country to parallel those which

have been brought upon it by the present Government, and that you could not get a body of men, wherever selected from, who could bring greater disgrace or greater disaster upon the State.

*COLONEL BROOKFIELD (Sussex, Rye): Most of the latter part of the speech of the hon. Member who has just spoken dealt with what are now rather old subjects of controversy. The people of the country at the present moment are chiefly interested in the events of the war, and not the causes which brought the war about. They go further, and are mainly interested in bringing the war to an honourable and satisfactory conclusion. I cannot agree with the hon. Member in thinking that the public or any body of people except the enemies of this country would hail with satisfaction a change of Government at the present time. On the other hand, it is quite possible to admit that someone should be held responsible for a considerable amount of mismanagement, and I frankly admit that the difficulty of most orators on this side of the House has hitherto been to fix this particular responsibility. The fact that we have had to strain every nerve and go to the very last of our military resources to face a struggle with a second or third rate Power is in itself a proof that we are not prepared to face any more formidable opponent, and that is a very serious national question. The Leader of the House has rather narrowed the issue lately by telling us frankly that the War Office and the Government were in possession of information from the Intelligence Department. I am one of the right hon. Gentleman's friends who were considerably disappointed with the speeches he made at Manchester a short time ago. In those speeches he appeared to be endeavouring to fasten some of the responsibility for the bad information he possessed on his friends in this House who were in the habit of criticising the War Office, and on the press. We may not have performed a very useful part; but one thing is quite certain, that in season and out of season ever since we have been in existence we have urged that our military system was thoroughly bad and needed radical reform. The right hon. Gentleman asked, when had

any of us said that we possessed bad field artillery? In a certain sense no one who knew anything about the army could say we had bad field artillery; it is the one arm of which we have always had most right to be proud, both as regards the officers and men, and, for that matter, the horses. But as regards its organisation, its armament, and its numbers, the right hon. Baronet the Member for Forest of Dean has often called attention to the subject, while the hon. Member for West Belfast has done the same; while in a formal document which we all addressed to the Prime Minister in September, 1898, we used this expression—

"The horse and field artillery also have been reduced to a condition even worse than that of the line."

I might quote extensively from this letter, which was certainly acknowledged, but never, as far as I know, acted upon. We said that the position of the military forces was very unsatisfactory, and we concluded by saying that we were convinced there was no matter of greater importance to the Empire at the present moment. With regard to the abstinence of the press from criticism in this matter, it must have been news to the readers of *The Times*, the *Morning Post*, and the *Pall Mall Gazette* that they had not constantly urged a complete reform of our whole military system. I am therefore glad the right hon. Gentleman has helped us to get on to the right scent as to where the responsibility rests. With regard to the guns, I cannot help thinking the right hon. Gentleman was somewhat confusing field guns and guns of position. All we desired to have were guns not unequal to cope with the guns to be brought against them. I have no doubt that our guns would cope with similar guns if brought against them, but the curious position that the Intelligence Department, or rather our generals abroad, had to deal with was in having to bring field guns to fight guns of position. With regard to the matter of preparation, I confess it would have taken a very astute Intelligence Officer to know that guns of position would be found to possess so much mobility and be brought into action in the way they have been. It was no doubt an error on their part, but I think a pardonable error. There is another factor which must not be forgotten in

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talking about want of preparation, and that is that this is the most novel kind of warfare that history can record—I mean that magazine rifles, smokeless powder, and things of that sort are so entirely novel that it would have required absolute prescience to know what their precise effects would be. But the right hon. Gentleman has said that Sir John Ardagh and the officers under him had practically warned the Government or the War Office of all that they knew on these subjects. We come back to the question of who is responsible for the various avoidable mistakes which have been made, and not the mistakes which everybody else would have made. Here I find myself once more in the old difficulty when criticising the War Office, that there never is anyone to attack. There is a deeply rooted, chivalrous tradition in official life in this country that we should never criticise subordinate executive officials, but surely the due maintenance of this tradition must depend upon one primary condition, namely that there should be somebody else to take the responsibility in place of the subordinate official. It is the War Office alone which, of late years, has tried to maintain this tradition, and at the same time extend it to everyone within its walls. The result is that, no matter how badly matters fare with the British Army, or what scandals take place, no one is to blame and no one is held to be responsible. It is considered to be a species of blasphemy to hint that some personages connected with the War Office can make any mistakes. There is an old maxim of our constitution that the King can do no wrong, but the War Office have extended that dictum to a very inconvenient extent. Of course when we have a reformed War Office charged with the duty of administering a great Imperial Army, it will be fairer to apportion the blame when blame is called for, but under the present condition of things, when both the Army and the War Office are maintained on principles that have been exploded in every other part of the world, I agree with my hon. and gallant friend who spoke earlier in the afternoon, that we should really take a wider survey of the matter, and, to a great extent, blame ourselves. The system that has to be administered at the War Office is so hopelessly antiquated—and in many respects corrupt and thoroughly bad—that it must be almost impossible

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for the most gifted Minister to make anything of it; and I believe that until the people at large make the discovery that they have a personal interest in the active efficiency of the War Office as a subject that concerns them, we are not likely to have any very vigorous reforms. For much of our unpreparedness at the present time both parties in the State must be equally blamed, and in one respect in particular, and that is in regard to the training of officers in high positions. I am not sure that Indian campaigns and the experience of savage warfare is not more of a snare than an advantage to general officers finding themselves for the first time confronted with civilised opponents armed with the most modern weapons. It is quite certain there is no peace training equal to the holding of manœuvres on a large scale; and when I remember the very grudging way in which the Manœuvres Bill was introduced at all, how we had to beg Ministers to proceed with it, how it was maimed and mutilated in its passage through the House, and how after it was passed it was only put in force once, and then in a most timid and tentative manner, I say that the Government of the country and Parliament, and especially those who obstructed the Manœuvres Act, are morally to blame for much of the loss of life that has taken place in South Africa. I could prove this point by very close argument if I were to transgress a rule we should all observe, namely, not to presume to criticise the generals now in the field. I think I can prove the converse proposition, that where manœuvres have been possible the greatest advantage has accrued. The country has for some years past had cavalry manœuvres, not on a very large scale, but larger than usual. Anyone acquainted with the facts will admit that it was in these exercises that Colonel French—now General French—learned those lessons which he has put into such brilliant practice in the field. There are many other items of unpreparedness to which I might have referred, but I should like before resuming my seat to say a word on the subject of the Imperial Yeomanry. Part of our want of preparation has been in regard to mounted infantry, a new arm about which in the public mind considerable misapprehension exists. I think the decision to form this mounted infantry out of any rough-and-ready material that first

presented itself, and to form a nucleus out of the rank and file of the Yeomanry was a wise one; but I consider the subsequent proceedings in raising this force of mounted infantry showed either carelessness or unacquaintance with the subject on the part of someone. I note especially the fact that nearly all the organisation and all the duties connected with the enrolment have been entrusted entirely to Yeomanry officers. The true cavalry spirit which distinguishes men like Lord Chesham, Viscount Valentia, Lord Harris, and no doubt his Grace the Duke of Marlborough is just the spirit that is not wanted for mounted infantry, and I ask my military friends who are well acquainted with this subject whether it is not true that mounted infantry is in many respects as unlike cavalry as it can possibly be? The horse in this case simply means locomotion, and the man is to become an infantry soldier when he gets to the place where he is wanted. Therefore it is a matter for serious criticism that this enrolment—by no means unconnected with a certain amount of jobbery—has been entirely entrusted to amateur cavalry officers. There have been many incidents connected with it which are not calculated to improve the spirit and increase the respect of those who have been enrolled for our military system to start with—I allude more particularly to the qualifications that have been exacted for shooting. I think it will hardly be believed that in selecting this mounted infantry for work in the war volunteers who come with certificates of marksmanship with the long rifle, which is what they will have to use against the enemy, are rejected because they fail to qualify with the short cavalry carbine. This is only one instance of the sort of blundering which takes place every day under our existing system. I know the House is anxious to hear far more important speakers, but I should like to say before sitting down that it is possible to hold the rather strong views which I have partly expressed and at the same time not agree with the Opposition in their desire to defeat the present Government. I agree with many of the premises that gentlemen opposite have brought forward, but I disagree with their main conclusion. I do not know who the particular Minister is whom they think the Queen and the country and millions of our loyal colonists

would look to with any confidence at the present moment to take up the present chaotic position of affairs. There is an old proverb about swapping horses while crossing the stream, which has great application at the present time. When the war is over it will be our duty to raise a very serious discussion upon the whole of our military system. I do not know whether it is too sanguine to express the hope that, out of all this material we have seen for the first time in the Colonial troops and the Imperial Yeomanry, who have come forward with such splendid spirit, it will be possible to weld some sort of homogeneous reserve for the future. At any rate, the Secretary of State will have an unrivalled opportunity of doing something of the kind if he is a man of common sense and reasonable ambition. I believe that whatever Government are in power they will find not only that vital changes are necessary, but that the people are quite ready to take their personal share in them; and I believe that this want of preparation, which cannot be altogether denied at the present time, may prove in the end the means of our being prepared for far more serious struggles that may still be before us.

SIR R. T. REID (Dumfries Burghs): It is not my intention to follow the hon. and gallant Gentleman in his criticism of the military aspect of the present situation, although I think any man who loves his country must feel very grave misgivings in regard to our military position, and considerable regret that there does not appear to be any adequate sense in the Government of the gravity of the situation with which we are confronted. I wish to speak upon the causes of this war and its political surroundings. I believe that the Government is responsible, because of its recklessness, want of judgment, and I must also add its want of straightforwardness, for one of the most difficult positions in which this country has found itself in the course of the last hundred years. It is perfectly true that, in a military sense, this war has been brought about by the invasion of Her Majesty's dominions, and I for one do not think it

possible to ask that the war should be stopped so long as enemies occupy Her Majesty's dominions. But I think we ought to recognise other causes of the war beside the proximate and immediate causes. Strategically I suppose the Boers were justified in what they did. I believe, however, that history will condemn them for taking the initiative, because so weak and absurd is the case for war between two civilised nations that if Parliament had had an opportunity of considering these grievances I do not believe that Parliament would have sanctioned the commencement of hostilities. I feel myself that it is necessary for us to speak upon these subjects. I know perfectly well that the newspaper press—part of which, I think, is very likely corrupt—after spending about three months in attacking and vilifying everyone opposed to the war, immediately before the opening of Parliament endeavoured to make out that it would be a most unpatriotic act to hold the Government responsible. If it is merely a question of submitting to the charge of want of patriotism I agree with the hon. Member for Plymouth in what he said some little time ago when *The Times* newspaper attacked him for being unpatriotic and cowardly. But we shall have to consider—and very soon, I trust—the question of the settlement of this terrible war with the Transvaal, and if we think that this war is an absolutely wanton, unprovoked, and vicious attempt on the part of the two Boer Republics to break down the authority of Great Britain, we should take a different view of what ought to be the settlement in that case from the view we should take if we believed, as I believe, that Her Majesty's Government are, in the ultimate sense, responsible for this war. I should be a coward if I did not state openly what I believe is the real cause of this war. The real cause of the war is a misunderstanding between two nations, fostered by the wickedness and folly of two men, and supported and made possible by the violence of the press and by the lies which the press has been circulating. So far as the inhabitants of the two South African Republics are concerned they have been for years possessed by the gravest suspicion of the intentions of Her Majesty's Government towards them. If we could penetrate what are the real innermost counsels of those who are our enemies, what do we suppose

they think and believe they are fighting for to-day? The First Lord of the Treasury in one of his speeches stated that the Boers were making a bold bid for empire, and that there has been existing a conspiracy in South Africa among the Dutch of Cape Colony and the two Republics for I do not know how many years to drive the British into the sea, and thus gratify their own ambition. I should like to examine that statement if I may, and if the House will allow me I will endeavour to do so. What is the character of this ambitious scheme? The Boers are not a type of people likely to be fascinated by the glitter of military enterprise. They are not soldiers, and they number in the Transvaal about 30,000 men, mostly peasants and farmers. They consist of persons between sixteen and sixty years of age. That is not the kind of people you would expect to find possessing a great army and anxious to found an empire. We have had evidences of their friendliness even since the Jameson raid, for when we were in difficulties in Rhodesia they offered to send a *commando* for the purpose of assisting Her Majesty's forces. After the Jameson raid they endeavoured to prevail upon Her Majesty's Government to cancel the Charter, and place under the stronger and firmer Imperial authority the whole of the territory called Rhodesia. After the Hague Conference we ought not to forget that the Blue-books are full of the most persistent and passionate appeals for arbitration upon points of difference, appeals which cannot but have been sincere, as they were constantly repeated; and I say it is idle after that to suggest, without a fragment of evidence, that these men have been animated by an ambition to drive us out of South Africa. The Free Staters were also supposed to be parties to this newly-discovered conspiracy. They have been our friends for years, and no one has made more strenuous efforts for peace than President Steyn. Not only this, but when Mr. Reitz, who is now the State Secretary of the Transvaal, was President of the Orange Free State not many years ago, he refused to accept the presidency until he had ascertained that an Englishman—Sir George Grey—was unwilling to accept the position which would have been willingly given to him by those who are now supposed to be a conspiring State. I grant that there is

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considerable danger of the Colonial Dutch being driven into a conspiracy. But was there any conspiracy among them before this war broke out? In 1895 they were willing to pay one-half the cost of the war waged by this country against the Transvaal. In 1897 Sir Alfred Milner wrote a despatch upon the occasion of Her Majesty's Jubilee, in which he dwelt with emphasis upon the loyalty of the Dutch in Cape Colony as well as those of British descent, and in May, 1899, the right hon. Gentleman who is now First Lord of the Admiralty made an excellent speech, in which he pointed with legitimate pride and enthusiasm to the loyalty of the Dutch in Cape Colony, who were then in a majority, as they now are, in the Cape Parliament. I will only remind the House of the reasons which justified the First Lord of the Admiralty in making this statement seven months ago. This disloyal State made a grant of £30,000 a year in 1898 to support the Imperial Navy, and handed over Simons Bay for the benefit of Her Majesty's forces. That sounds rather an improbable preface to a tale of conspiracy. There have been many Blue-books published in reference to South Africa, and there have been many occasions on which we have had differences about South Africa. The Colonial Secretary has told us that we have been on the verge of war four times within a small number of years, but you will not find in all the Blue-books a single trace of evidence or the expression of opinion on the part of any person conversant with South Africa contending for the existence of any such design, with the solitary exception of a most unfortunate and ill-advised passage in Sir Alfred Milner's despatch of the 4th May, 1899. More than that, there has been debate after debate in this House, and speech after speech made on critical occasions relating to South Africa during the last ten or twelve years, and there has never been, that I know of, a single public speaker, responsible or irresponsible, who ever dreamt of the existence of this conspiracy until this war broke out; and even those who support the Government feel that they are not able to justify the policy which led to this war by taking refuge in this pitiable fable. It is said sometimes that the armaments of the Boers are evidence of this conspiracy. I am not going to inflict upon the House any careful calculation, and I will only tell

them what the figures were for the years 1893 to 1898, in thousands, of the expenditure by the Transvaal upon their Army.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: The published figures?

SIR R. T. REID: Yes. I suppose the right hon. Gentleman knows the private figures. But what is the evidence of the private figures? Are we to be left to conjecture upon this private expenditure? I have not myself the other figures, but I will take care that they are put before the House before the debate is finished; but allow me now to put these figures before the House: In 1893 the expenditure was £17,000; in 1894, £28,000; in 1895, £87,000, and that was the year of the Drifts Question, the year of the Johannesburg revolution, and the year at the end of which was the Jameson raid. In 1896, the expenditure was £494,000; in 1897, £396,000, and in the first nine months of 1898 it was £163,000. The supposed policy of driving the British into the sea is a myth, an invention fabricated for the purpose of excusing the consequences of the fatal policy which Her Majesty's Government have pursued for the last four or five years. The Boers are fighting under the influence of one of the most powerful feelings which can animate human nature; they are fighting, as they believe, to save their country from foreign domination, and if any man wonders at their military success and their military prowess he has only to look back upon the history of Scotland, or Switzerland, or Holland, or the United States, and there he will find what is the true value of the stimulus of patriotism. My charge against the Government is, that by their policy since their advent to office they have stimulated and inflamed the alarm and suspicion of the Boers. Let me try and examine the facts in connection with that. The House well knows that the Boers have always been almost fanatically jealous of

their independence. Their independence was bestowed upon them in 1852, and twenty-five years afterwards their country was invaded and annexation took place in defiance of the Sand River Convention, in 1877. It was then discovered that that annexation had taken place, as I believe it did take place, under a misapprehension of the true desires of the inhabitants of the Transvaal. Then, in 1881 and 1884 their independence was restored; they were subject to the provisions of the Convention of 1884, but their internal independence was restored. It is not to be wondered at that after the violation of the Sand River Convention in 1877 they should be jealous and suspicious in the highest degree of the intentions of the Government of a country which after all was 6,000 miles away, and comparatively little known to an ignorant population. It was upon this soil that the policy of Her Majesty's Government since 1895 fell. What was the first thing that happened? Within six months of the advent to office of Her Majesty's present advisers the Jameson raid occurred. Now, there is no man in this House—I do not think there is a man out of it—who does not now admit that the Jameson raid was a wicked and contemptible act. It was an act, the wickedness of which we appreciate the less—singularly enough—because of the supposed weakness of the State which was invaded. If we could conceive 400 or 500 British subjects actually making a raid upon German or French territory, and that Her Majesty's Government should expect that they should escape punishment at the hands of the Government whose territory was invaded, we may be able to imagine the effect of the outrage on the people of the Transvaal. The raid certainly contributed very largely in itself to increase the suspicious temperament of the Boer population. I believe every Dutchman in South Africa, and a very large number of persons on the continent of Europe, whether rightly or wrongly, believe that the raid was organised with the complicity of the Colonial Secretary. We are not entitled to accept suspicion for proof, nor are we entitled to accuse where our duty really is to inquire; but it cannot be forgotten that this disgraceful raid was followed by a Committee of Inquiry, which I say, in the face of the House, was a scandal to the House of Commons, dishonouring to the

House, and dishonouring to the country. What were the circumstances? It was a Committee appointed after a promise given in Her Majesty's gracious Speech from the Throne in 1896 that there should be a full inquiry. When the question came before the Committee we all know that there were telegrams which were not produced, nor was Mr. Hawkesley compelled to produce them. What was still more important, Mr. Hawkesley's cross-examination was stopped. Lord Grey was not called, and Mr. Rutherford Harris was not called back. I forbear from further comment upon this Committee, because I believe if you speak privately to any gentleman, and if he will candidly tell you his thoughts, he will say there is a cloud over that transaction which ought to be cleared away. The inquiry was followed by the Colonial Secretary actually making a speech in this House at the close of the debate which took place on the Report of the Committee, in which he said that Mr. Rhodes had done nothing inconsistent with the conduct of a man of honour. This was said of Mr. Rhodes who had deceived his colleagues in the Ministry at the Cape, who had not communicated to the Governor the intelligence which it was his duty to communicate, and who had used information and telegrams from England for the purpose of misleading a number of young men into believing that they were acting with the Queen's authority. I am dealing with this as a matter that created suspicion in the minds of the people and the Government of the Transvaal. It is within everybody's knowledge that nothing contributed so much to shake confidence on the part of the Transvaal Government in its dealings with Her Majesty's Government as these most unfortunate episodes, and for my part I wish to say that I believe it is the duty of this House now to take up the broken thread of that inquiry, and, having regard to the general discredit which I am sorry to say has been created by those incidents upon the continent of Europe, as well as in this country, to pursue that inquiry to its final and ultimate conclusion. What was the next incident which contributed to the suspicion in the minds of the Transvaal Government? It was when the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary, for the first time since the Convention of 1884, claimed in 1897 suzerainty over the

Transvaal. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Plymouth—whose conduct and courage in this business will not soon be forgotten—has stated that after the communications that took place in 1884 it was against the national good faith to claim that suzerainty. I agree with him. I do not think anyone can read those Papers with an impartial mind without seeing that it was the intention not to maintain the suzerainty, and that internal self-government subject to Article 4, and it may be to Article 14, of the Convention of 1884 was to be bestowed on the Transvaal. I think Sir Alfred Milner was perfectly right in saying that suzerainty was a mere etymological question, and that the real importance lay in the adherence of both sides to the articles of the Convention itself. That is true. What is claimed under the suzerainty? I will not say under the suzerainty itself, because if you pursue it through the Blue-books you will find sometimes the word “suzerainty,” sometimes the phrase “position of paramount power,” then an appeal to “the letter of the Convention,” elsewhere a statement that this, that, or the other provision is outside the “spirit of the Convention.” It is a general, vague, intangible claim, and if we want to measure the degree of alarm that was created under it, we will have to follow the different claims put forward by the Colonial Secretary in regard to various acts of legislation by the Transvaal Government during the period generally from 1896 down to 1899. I do not state the Acts in order, but I will take them one by one, as it does not matter in what year they were passed. The Transvaal Government passed an Act against the immigration of aliens; it was an Act very similar to Acts existing in the United States and other countries. Her Majesty's Government complained of it as being contrary to the rights of Great Britain. Another Act was the Aliens Expulsion Act. Her Majesty's Government protested against that Act also, which was one to enable the Government of the Transvaal to expel persons whose presence was against the interests of peace and order. Then there was an Act passed to enable the Government of the Transvaal to suppress newspapers. Her Majesty's Government protested against that. Her Majesty's Government next claimed that the dynamite monopoly—which, after all, merely determined the question whether dynamite

should be sold in Johannesburg at 85s. or 42s.—was an infringement of the rights existing between the Transvaal and Her Majesty's Government. The Colonial Secretary further criticised and complained of the methods and incidence of taxation in the Transvaal, and finally he complained that the law as regards judges—which was altered, I think, in 1898—was contrary to justice, and contended that that was a matter which Her Majesty's Government had a right to complain of. I am not going to enter upon a discussion of that law now, because I want to spare the time of the House. I will assume that the law of 1898 simply repealed decisions given by the judges in the previous year and restored the condition of the law which had existed from the very commencement of the Transvaal Republic and which had been supported by the authority of all the courts there until the previous twelve months. I am not going to enter upon the merits of these laws; I believe that in some instances they were illiberal and narrow-minded, and not such as a thoroughly enlightened Government would be likely to pass. But that is not the point. In the case of hardly one of these laws was it even suggested that there was any oppressive use made of them in fact as against British subjects. They were not liberal, but still they were within the right of the Transvaal Government to pass, and the position which the Transvaal Government took up in respect of them was that they were perfectly prepared to receive hints or friendly suggestions, but that they disputed the constitutional authority of Her Majesty's Government to insist upon the repeal of these laws. Now I want to ask what was the effect of these constant interpositions upon men who were already perhaps legitimately suspicious of the intentions of Her Majesty's Government in regard to their independence? When we claimed that we were at liberty to complain of laws relating to people coming into the country, of laws relating to their being expelled for violating peace and order; that we had the right to interfere with their press laws; that we might complain of such things as a dynamite monopoly, and that we were at liberty to criticise taxation, and have our criticism attended to, how much of local independence was left? Try and compare the position put forward by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for the Colonies with regard to

the Transvaal Government, with claims that he would make in regard to any self-governing colony of our own. I might add that he also claimed to interfere in the matter of education. Would he interfere with Canada with reference to a dynamite monopoly, or education, or laws relating to judges? If Canada passed any law relating to any of these matters it would come before the Colonial Office, and the right hon. Gentleman would not object to it. The constitutional claims of the Colonial Secretary were so extensive that he lifted suzerainty to something more powerful than sovereignty itself. After that, in the year 1898, practically for the first time, the claim of personal grievances on the part of the Uitlanders was put forward. They were never heard of until a comparatively late stage in this unhappy controversy. I am perfectly agreed that if there is oppression of British subjects in any foreign State there is unquestionably a right of remonstrance and interference on the part of the Government. The constitutional ground of that claim is indisputable. I do not wish to enter upon those grievances, but I would ask the House to allow me to state my own impressions and conclusions, after a very careful study of the Blue-books. I think there has been gross exaggeration in the statement of those grievances and in the nature of the ill-usage of British subjects. The police, or some of them, were quite possibly corrupt; they were rough in their usage and treatment of coloured British subjects, but as regards white British subjects there are, I think, only two cases mentioned in the Blue-books. One was the case of Mrs. Applebee, who was brutally murdered. It was not suggested that she was murdered by the police; the only fault of the police was that they could not discover the culprit. The other was the notorious case of Mr. Edgar. I know that this subject has been already discussed in the House, and I can only say, after having studied the evidence, that so far as a man can judge of evidence who has not heard it given, the choice of the jury in that case was between a verdict of manslaughter and a verdict of acquittal. If a verdict of manslaughter had been given, and three months imprisonment had been inflicted, it would have been a finding warranted by the evidence, but I must say also that the finding arrived at by the jury was warranted by the

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evidence. There was one meeting broken up; it was a disgraceful case, and as far as one can judge it was connived at by some of the minor officials of the Transvaal Government and by the police. No one was seriously injured, however, and it must be observed that scores of meetings were held after that without the slightest interference. That case, therefore, must be regarded as an isolated one. A matter in which decided and strong representations would naturally be made was the case of the employment of *agents provocateurs* in the prosecution of two or three men in Johannesburg, against whom, however, the charge was not proceeded with, although I think the proceedings were very bad, and the practice was, of course, scandalous. I must leave hon. Gentlemen who have read the Papers to form their own opinions upon these cases, but I must say that the violence of the denunciations that were indulged in by the press in the autumn of last year for the purpose of inflaming the people of this country into sympathy with the supposed oppression of their fellow-subjects in Johannesburg, to my mind redounded to the dishonour of the journals which stooped to it. Now let me say a few words with regard to the last stage of the proceedings. There was a Conference at Bloemfontein at which President Kruger earnestly pressed that all subjects of difference between Her Majesty's Government and his Government should be entered upon. That was refused. It was refused, rightly or wrongly, as a matter of policy; I do not wish to express an opinion on the matter, but it was considered that until the franchise question was settled it was unnecessary or useless to enter upon these other considerations. It is unnecessary for me to enter upon that now. It has been discussed by the hon. and learned Member for Plymouth, and also by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bodmin, and the House is in full possession of all that can be said on the subject. In the month of August, 1899, the Colonial Secretary and the Transvaal Government were very close together. Indeed, it was only a misunderstanding apparently on the part of the Transvaal Government of the terms and intentions of a dispatch of the right hon. Gentleman which prevented an accommodation being arrived at. But all this time Her Majesty's Government proceeded to pour

troops into the country; and while I do not at all think myself that there was any moral justification for the conduct of the Boer Government in commencing the war—for I believe that if Parliament had been allowed to meet there would have been no war—still, what can you say of the wisdom and the statesmanship of those who on the one hand were carrying on negotiations for a franchise settlement, and who knew well that they were within arm's length of one another, and who at the same time were arousing the natural suspicions under the circumstances of the Transvaal Government by pouring troops into South Africa? I know that blame had been laid by some speakers upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer for not supplying enough money to send sufficient troops to South Africa. All I can say is that I most heartily wish that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been able, by withholding the money, to prevent the sending out of a single soldier, because I am convinced that had it not been for the sending of these troops into South Africa peace would have been preserved. It was the fatal persuasion of the Government that the policy of menace and brag would succeed, that was the real cause which led to the deplorable position in which we now find ourselves. And what are the consequences? Some of the consequences which are apparent are, the enormous expenditure of money, the serious danger of complications abroad, and the loss of thousands of lives of brave men on both sides, all of whom have perished needlessly and uselessly, for their death will heal no feud nor advance any cause of humanity. And what is to be the further prospect? The First Lord of the Treasury told us yesterday, in perfectly explicit language, that it was the intention of the Government to carry on this war until the complete supremacy of Her Majesty was established all over South Africa; that is, until you have effected the complete subjugation of the Boers, and deprived them of their independence. Well, there has been a good deal of miscalculation already. There has been miscalculation in regard to military preparations. There has been still graver miscalculation in regard to political negotiations. I wonder whether that policy, to begin with, is practicable. Of course I suppose that with the enormous resources of this country it may be possible at some cost to do it

just as, in the same way, if you throw a guinea into water twenty fathoms deep it may be possible to recover it by applying all the resources of civilisation. But what is the cost? The cost in men would be enormous in a country like that, at a vast distance from your base. I cannot help thinking that some little reflection may well be indulged in before endorsing a policy of that kind from a practical point of view. We are not the only country in Europe, and we have not got too many friends on the continent of Europe. I do not suppose that there are many nations who would look with sympathy or favour upon the endeavour to annihilate the independence of these two numerically small States. And what would follow? The war must necessarily mean, if it has been successful, the destruction of about one-half of the male adult population. Does anybody suppose that that is calculated to draw nearer the bonds of affection between ourselves and the survivors of the population, or between us and the subjects of the State? It would require an enormous standing army for an indefinite number of years. Lastly, I should oppose such a policy upon the old-fashioned view that it would be an unjust policy. This situation in which we find ourselves is the first fruits of the new Imperialism. If Imperialism means sober pride in the great Empire we control, a most earnest desire to knit together in the bonds of friendship the various populations that belong to it, a firm determination to preserve the integrity of our Empire at all costs, and the using of the means of advancing civilisation among all kinds and conditions of men—then there is no one more of an Imperialist than I am. But if it means departing from the old and honoured tradition of this country to respect the freedom of other nations, even if they be small nations, and to advance rather than to retard liberty which from the most recent developments I am afraid is its true and significant meaning—then it is the duty of every honest citizen of this country to destroy that spirit, because otherwise that spirit is certain to destroy us.

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (MR. BRODRICK,
Surrey, Guildford): The hon. and learned

Second Day.

Member, the conclusion of whose speech has been received with loud cheers on the opposite side of the House, commenced with a statement that there was no adequate sense on the part of the Government of the gravity of the situation in which we now stand. But as the hon. and learned Gentleman proceeded with his speech it became apparent to every member of the House of Commons not blinded by partisanship that that speech showed an absolute divergence from the Amendment he was about to vote for, and that he, at any rate, had no sense whatever of the gravity of the situation, or of the duty which he owes to his own conscience as a Member of this House. What could be more illogical, more immoral than for a Member to make a speech from which you gather that every step that has led to this war has been an unjust step, that the operations of the war are unjust operations, and then for him to go into the lobby and vote for this Amendment, which complains that the Government have been too backward in their preparations for the war? The hon. and learned Member had shown us over and over again that his objection to the Government was not that they had been wanting in foresight in their preparations against the South African Republic, but that they had gone to war at all. When we came here yesterday the whole country was looking to the Opposition for a statesmanlike exposition of their policy and of the policy which they wished the Government to pursue. The hon. and learned Member has told the Government what their policy should be, but he is now going to vote against us because our policy has not been the opposite. He has indicted the Government on one side, but what was the speech of the noble Lord who introduced the Amendment? That speech was a long apology for the War Office and a declaration, in behalf of the preparations for the war, that the War Office had not been backward. What was his indictment? It was that had there been a little less suspicion on

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the part of the Transvaal authorities, we might have been able to produce some result, although he did not go so far as to say that it would have been such as to prevent the war. Important as is this debate, it has not risen to the level which the country desires, because hon. Gentlemen opposite have simply devised a formula of opinion which enables them to vote together, though they held absolutely divergent opinions upon every point of policy. The noble Lord, who comes of a stock which has produced a good many politicians and some statesmen, spent a considerable time last night in justifying his position as a member of the Opposition which indicted the Government by digging from past records to prove from the attitude of other statesmen that it was correct to indict the Government. It may be statesmanlike to indict the Government when you have a policy to substitute, but to indict the Government on a long review of past events, on tags of speeches, and tale-ends of quotations from Blue Books when you have no alternative policy to propose, and never have had any, is not a course that rises at the present crisis to the expectations of the country. It is a course that is neither statesmanlike nor politic. The resolution before the House, if it means anything, means the fall of the Government. I do not complain in the slightest degree that the Opposition for party reasons think it desirable to bring forward such a motion, but when you look at it from the point of view of the country we come to a rather different conclusion. The noble Lord, in the absence of the First Lord of the Treasury, objected to some remarks which fell from him about the conduct of the Opposition, and said it would be necessary to remind him of the events in this House from 1882 to 1885. If my right hon. friend the First Lord will not take up the challenge of the noble Lord opposite, I will. It is quite true that the Opposition in those years harassed the Government of that day, and put the

House to the trouble of continual divisions on votes of censure until they had accomplished the fall of the Government. But we did so in pursuance of a definite policy. We knew that the Government was divided as to the policy which had been pursued; we knew that our interests in Egypt and in Europe were suffering in consequence. We knew that the operations of one section of the Government and then of another were losing us confidence and success, and so we determined to bring about the fall of that Government, and we succeeded. That was a true policy, and the Opposition of that day only did what was expected of them as an Opposition. If the present Opposition succeed in overthrowing the Government what policy are they going to adopt? They can only by that measure effect either of two objects—they may weaken the Government, or they may overthrow it. But is the Government divided, or is the Opposition at one? The country cares nothing for who sits on these benches, or on those benches. What the country cares for is, that we should pursue this war vigorously to a conclusion. Now the question is, who can do it best, the Government or the Opposition? The Government are at one. All the speeches which have been made have not shown any divergence of view between members of the Government. But where are the Opposition? Have they got a majority? or how are they going to get it? They must drag into the lobby all the gentlemen who have made speeches throughout the country saying they disapproved of the war; all those gentlemen who object that the preparations for the war have not been sufficient; all those who openly say they sympathise with the Boers. They must drag in gentlemen like the right hon. Member for Montrose, who told the country not long ago that the whole differences between the Transvaal Government and the Uitlanders were not worth the bones of one Scotsman: they must drag in also the Leader of the Opposition himself, who

indulged last night in studied ambiguities, and who in this matter sat upon the fence until he was tumbled over, by *force majeure*, upon the right side. They must drag in also all those Members like the hon. Member for Berwick Division, the right hon. Member for East Fife, the hon. Member for Haddington, who have all made it perfectly clear in their speeches in the country that there is no fault with the Government or in the negotiations, so much as in the fact that under no circumstances whatever did President Kruger intend to give to the Uitlanders that which any British Government would be forced to demand for them. These are going to be the parties who will find themselves in the lobby together. On what principle do they suppose that they will be supported by the people of this country, who want a more vigorous policy if it can be obtained, and a more consistent diplomacy if it can be found? I hope before I have done I shall succeed in proving to the House that the Government have some higher grounds for expecting a vote of confidence than was stated in Opposition. But if I had not, I could afford to quote the argument attributed to Charles II. in relation to James II., who said "they would never get rid of me in order to exalt you." I should like to say that in the whole of this controversy the point which I deprecate most is that this great question should be made solely the subject of party attack. The real question which lies before us is not a question of party recrimination at all. The real question is, was the Government justified in espousing the grievances of the Uitlanders, and, if so, was there any means, by diplomacy or otherwise, by which we could have obtained substantial redress without going to war? The Opposition complain of our want of foresight in this matter, but the speeches they have made show a curious want of backsight on their part. This Amendment has been carefully drawn by a skillful Parliamentary hand on a question of time, but it has not been equally sedulously drawn in regard to questions of

policy. If you look back you find that the grievances of the Uitlanders began before we came into office, and that the suspicions of the Transvaal Government were roused long before the present Government came into power. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Dumfries Burghs told us that the grievances were immensely exaggerated. I do not think it is possible to treat these grievances as the hon. and learned Gentleman treated them. What were these grievances? These Uitlanders had no municipal government, no police protection, no organised maintenance of order; they had no even-handed administration, no Parliamentary representation. It is quite true that though they were a majority of the population in number, they had no power or voice in the State; they paid nine-tenths of the taxation, and they had nothing to do with the governing body. But that was not all. If that had occurred to British subjects in other parts of the world, it may be that the hon. and learned Member and those who think with him might be justified in hinting that their case might have been met by Convention. Well, we had Conventions with the Transvaal. We had agreements. I will not go so far as to say how many of the grievances could be put down to breaches, and how many to evasions, of the agreements. There were the granting of monopolies, the war tax, the discrimination in other taxation, etc. The whole spirit of the agreements was violated, a spirit of oppression was shown, and a spirit of opposition was roused, and it was almost impossible for any Government to avoid being drawn into the controversy. Very much has been said as to the opinion which Europe holds in regard to this matter. But I venture to remind the House that that was not the opinion before the war; that was not the verdict of the European press, when, before the war, the question was not merely one of the success of the British arms, but of justice to members of other nationalities who were under oppression. A quotation has

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been made in this House from an Austrian newspaper, the *Pester Lloyd*. In July last it said, "No Great Power can tolerate such treatment of its subjects as British subjects endure in the Transvaal," and that "if England does so her predominance in South Africa would be destroyed."

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE (Wiltshire, Cricklade): The right hon. Gentleman quotes from the *Pester Lloyd*. Does he mean to say that that is an Austrian paper? It is an Hungarian paper.

*MR. BRODRICK: This country is Great Britain and Ireland, but I do not take the trouble every time I speak of Great Britain to mention Ireland.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The relations between Great Britain and Ireland are very different to those between Austria and Hungary.

*MR. BRODRICK: As the noble Lord is a purist, I would study to follow him in future, but I think his interruption on this trifling question is a measure of the breadth of view he takes on the whole South African subject.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I only wished to point out that it is not fair to quote the *Pester Lloyd* as illustrating Austrian opinion, because Austrian and Hungarian opinion on this matter has shown the widest divergence.

*MR. BRODRICK: So it may; but what I want to say is, that hon. Members opposite should not judge by the tone now shown in the press of Europe what was the opinion of the Governments of Europe, and the opinion of the press of Europe, before the war was declared, with regard to the grievances of the Uitlanders. On that point we have obtained no guidance whatever. It is quite true that the hon. and learned Member, like the hon. Member for Poplar who spoke before him, illustrated his arguments by a good many suggestions, some of which I do

not think the Government will accept. The hon. and learned Member quoted figures showing that £1,186,000 was the expenditure of the Transvaal on their military services. That, no doubt, was intended to prove how innocent President Kruger was of any idea of offence against this country, how absolutely the Transvaal was set on home defence, and how unjustified we should have been in undertaking these preparations for war upon which he is going into the lobby to vote. There would have been some point in the observation before the war began, but every one who has any knowledge of figures knows now that the sum quoted would not produce a half, a third, or a quarter of the munitions of war which the Transvaal Government had put into the field. The true sum which the Transvaal has been spending has not been stated, because the Boers knew that if it had been stated correctly their designs would have been unmasked, and the Transvaal has been smuggling in munitions of war so as to gull this country into fancied security. That being so, I wonder the hon. and learned Member has thought it worth his while to put these figures before the House. Has he been altogether blind to our casualties? Has not he read of the positions held against British troops? When he tells us that all the statements about Kruger are a myth, then I am bound to retort that these figures taken alone are an imposture. In the same way I cannot help referring to certain arguments addressed to us by the hon. Member for Poplar. The hon. Member for Poplar told us that the raid would never have occurred if it had not been for the advent of this Government into power, and their having remained in office. The hon. Gentleman's argument was that there was a strip of Bechuanaland which we had granted to the Chartered Company, and that that strip the Chartered Company made their jumping-off point. It was a subtle but inconclusive argument. If there was an obligation to hand this strip of territory over to the Chartered Company, it had to be handed over according to the obligation incurred.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: We were bound to do so in time, but not at that time.

*MR. BRODRICK: Then I join the hon. Gentleman in the same category as the noble Lord who tries to carry out his duty in a great national crisis by using similar arguments. No one on this side of the House defends the raid. No one has lost more by the raid than the Government, and no one feels more than the Government how much it has handicapped us in our negotiations. It has handicapped us not because the suspicions engendered made it impossible for the Transvaal Government to believe in the integrity of British statesmen, but because it occurred at a moment when President Kruger had almost reached the end of the endurance of his own burghers in the unreasonableness of the treatment of the Uitlanders. If for a few months more the system of terrorising by means of an oligarchical Government over a great body of men paying nearly the whole of the expenses of government of the country had been allowed to continue, there were many evidences to show that even the burghers were ready to go further in concession than their President has lately been. If that system had endured for a short time longer, and if the catastrophe had not been precipitated by these misguided men, that which happened in all civilised States sooner or later must have come about, where one man insisted upon pursuing an unreasonable policy against the wishes of those around him. You are ready enough to attribute it to the blunders of the Colonial Secretary, but not one of you will stand bail that the President of the Transvaal would ever have acted reasonably of his own free will towards the Uitlander. So long as that man is there, nothing will be done, and it is idle for hon. Gentlemen opposite to get up and tell us there was no objection to giving freedom to the Uitlanders. I deeply regretted to hear the reference of the hon. and learned Member to the proceedings of a Committee of the House. Though I have been a Member of the House for twenty years, I have never heard an hon. Member before dare to tell the House that the proceedings of its own Committee were dishonouring to it.

AN HON. MEMBER: It is quite time, too.

*MR. BRODRICK: The hon. Member said there was a cloud over that Committee.

AN HON. MEMBER: Produce the correspondence.

*MR. BRODRICK: It was a Committee which included the Leader of the Opposition, who voted for a practically unanimous Report, the late Leader of the Opposition, the hon. Member for Poplar, the hon. Member for the Rushcliffe Division of Nottingham, and other Members of the Liberal party, and yet the hon. Member is going into the lobby in common cause with those hon. Gentlemen against the Government with the declaration that the proceedings of that Committee were dishonouring to the House of Commons. I think that the speech of the hon. Member was not only an illogical speech, but a highly immoral speech. It is said that there were ulterior motives behind, that Members on the Government side had something to conceal. That suggestion has often been disproved in this House before. If the suggestion is to be made it would be much better if it were openly made. Hon. Members have preserved an amusing silence with regard to their indictment of the Government for their want of military preparations. That will be dealt with at more length by the representative of the War Office. Up to this moment we have not heard what it is they accuse the Government of. The reference has been dragged into the end of the resolution to catch the votes of a few stray Members on their own side, like the hon. Member for South Shields, but if a suggestion of this kind is to be made, it should be supported by facts. The only suggestion which we have had is that the Council for National Defence has been established for the purpose of overruling the decision of the Secretary of State. I never heard before that the establishment of a Cabinet Committee was for the purpose of overruling the particular office which might be engaged in certain work. I look upon the establishment of a body which will connect all the numerous departments which must be welded together on questions of national defence—the War Office, the Admiralty, the Treasury, the Colonial and Foreign Offices—as a most important step in our military organisation. It lies with the right hon. Gentleman to show how that council could have interfered with the furtherance of the military operations.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: We do not know anything about it.

*MR. BRODRICK: It would have been better, then, if, like other fishing suggestions of the right hon. Gentleman, the remark had not been thrown out. If the right hon. Gentleman is so anxious to water down the responsibility of the Secretary of State, it may be necessary some day to show the House how far the right hon. Gentleman, when in power, appreciated that responsibility. If the right hon. Gentleman challenges me, I will take up the challenge. My respect for the right hon. Gentleman as a man is very great, but it will not prevent me from dwelling somewhat on his acts as a Minister. The case of the Government with regard to the whole question is this; we are accused of errors and of vacillation. The errors have to some extent been pointed out, but no one has even suggested where the vacillation has occurred. The case of the Government is that, having recognised the grievances of the Uitlanders, we have striven to obtain redress for those grievances in whatever form might be most acceptable to the authorities of the Transvaal. If the Transvaal were willing to make concessions, well and good. If they were willing to give any form of franchise which would give effective representation to the Uitlanders, her Majesty's Government were ready to accept that. No man on the Opposition side of the House can complain that the Government have been unduly rapid in their operations. From the time of the raid to the time of the declaration of the war is a period of nearly four years. During that period every effort has been made to induce the Transvaal Government to meet the grievances, but all efforts failed. Would hon. Members opposite then have shut up the book, have admitted their failure, and gone no further? Would they, knowing the enormous preparations of the Transvaal, have taken no steps to defend the colonies? The noble Lord complained of the Foreign Office not issuing an edict to forbid the export of arms in June of last year. Such an edict would have been as direct a provocation to the Transvaal as the sending of troops, and would have been quite ineffective for its purpose, because they could have imported arms from elsewhere. The

right hon. Gentleman opposite said that this was the very time for effective criticism. The criticism might be effective from a party standpoint; but it is doubtful whether this frontal attack is the wisest strategy for right hon. Gentlemen opposite. It is difficult to see how this criticism can be effective from a patriotic standpoint. Not one word has been said to assist the Government in regard to the problems which they have to decide in the future. There is only one direction in which this Amendment can be effective—it will be a direct solace and encouragement to the Boers. The essence of the Amendment is that the Government has blundered into war. Those who hold that opinion must hold the Government guilty of the war; and that gives the clearest evidence to those arrayed against us in the field that they it is who are to be regarded as the injured persons. That is the evidence for which the Boers have been waiting and praying for months. They look for evidence of the cleavage of parties in this country—of a cleavage of opinion which may result in our abandonment of the war, or, if it is still pursued, which will result in their obtaining terms such as the Government have now no intention of granting. I do not believe that hon. Gentlemen opposite represent the feeling of the country in establishing this cleavage in the House of Commons, and I believe that the country will resent the immense difficulty which has been created by this action for our soldiers in the field. I know that there are men opposite who are not thinking of party considerations; and I know that there are behind the Treasury bench a large body of men determined that the Government shall not fail in any duty which a patriotic Englishman would wish to be fulfilled. Although some of my hon. friends may have misgivings as to a part of the military operations of the past, and are determined that by every means at their disposal the Government shall be kept up to the mark, they will not accept an Amendment which must condemn the efforts made by the Government on behalf of British subjects in the Transvaal, which must stultify the previous decisions of the House, and which must also bitterly hamper the Government in the vigorous prosecution of the campaign.

Motion made, and question "That the debate be adjourned till to-morrow" (*Sir Charles Dilke*) put, and agreed to.

Motion made, and question proposed—"That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour*.)

SIR J. KENNAWAY (Devonshire, Honiton): A vote of censure on the Government has been moved under unprecedented circumstances; but the object, I take it, of this House ought to be to show ourselves united before the world. Every speech that has been made, and every hour the debate goes on, prevents us being united. We want some hearty words to cheer up our countrymen and soldiers at the front, and that is not possible while the debate continues. I wish to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he will not, after consultation with the Leader of the Opposition, endeavour to bring this debate to a close, on Friday night at all events, so that the House may go on to the questions of the defence of the country and the Government may state the course they intend to take.

*MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion): Allow me to call the attention of the House to the fact that this Amendment raises a question which has not been adequately debated on any previous occasion. When the justification for the war was last discussed the First Lord of the Treasury moved the closure within four hours after the defence of the Government had been stated by the Colonial Secretary. With regard to the division in this House, there is a division in the House and country, and no appeal the right hon. Gentleman may make to close that discussion will keep me silent. All shall be made known to the world, and I protest against any attempt being made to stifle the debate. How does it touch military operations? Do you think the Boers fight simply because we talk here? It will not affect them in the slightest degree, or the courage of

our soldiers, and the military operations will go on whether we talk or not.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I concur with my hon. friend that probably in the crisis or condition of affairs in which the country finds itself it takes very little interest in the threshing out of old controversies and in the telling again of twice-told tales. But when he asks me to bring this debate to a close, I must point out that a vote of censure has been moved with all the formalities which could attend such an operation. It has been moved by a Member who sits on the Front Opposition Bench, with the full concurrence and in harmony with the Leader of the Opposition. On the result of the motion must depend the fate of the Government; and it would be quite contrary to all the traditions of this House if we were to stifle so important a Parliamentary interest, or to interfere with the privileges which the Opposition undoubtedly possess in this matter. It is for them to consider how far this debate ought to be prolonged, and how far the advantage of the House and of the country will be served by a prolongation of the debate. From every point of view I am desirous that the debate on the Address should conclude, because the House has been brought together, at an inconveniently early date, in order to deal with important financial business. The sooner we get to that business and the sooner the Government are able to make the statement for which the country is looking as regards our general military position, the better the Government will be pleased. But it is impossible for me to suggest to the

Opposition that they should curtail discussion on a formal vote of censure on which, after all, the existence of the Government depends. That by all party tradition must rest, and ought to rest, with the House itself, and not with the Leader of the House.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Perhaps I ought to say a few words in following up what the right hon. Gentleman has said, whose perfect correctness or correctitude of tone in the matter has been recognised on all sides of the House. I can quite understand my hon. friend opposite desiring that the debate should come to a speedy conclusion. He would not have raised the debate himself, and he does not agree with the opinions of those who have raised it. But I can assure him that this is a matter which large bodies of men in the country desire to see fully threshed out in debate. That is also the desire of a large number of Members on this side of the House; and with every desire to make reasonable progress with the effective business of the session, I am afraid it is quite impossible to look forward to the early cessation of the debate. I know as a fact that there are a large number of gentlemen behind me who desire to take part in the debate and who have been looking forward to it for some time, and I cannot give any hope of satisfaction to the ardent expression of the desire of the hon. Gentleman.

Question put, and agreed to.

House adjourned at half-past
Five of the clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, 1st February, 1900.

REPRESENTATIVE PEERS FOR IRELAND.

VISCOUNT CLIFDEN.

Petition of Thomas Charles Agar Robartes, Viscount Clifden, claiming a right to vote at the elections of Representative Peers for Ireland; read, and referred to the Lord Chancellor to consider and report thereupon to the House.

EARL OF MEXBOROUGH.

Petition of John Horatio, Earl of Mexborough, claiming a right to vote at the elections of Representative Peers for Ireland; read, and referred to the Lord Chancellor to consider and report thereupon to the House.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

ARMY (YEOMANRY).

Yeomanry Training Return, 1899.

ACCIDENTS TO RAILWAY SERVANTS (ROYAL COMMISSION).

Report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the causes of the accidents, fatal and non-fatal, to servants of railway companies and of truck owners. Part 2. Minutes of evidence and appendices.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION.

I. (Proceedings.) Return for month of November, 1899.

II. (Judicial Rents.) Return for the month of June, 1899.

AGRARIAN OUTRAGES (IRELAND).

Return for the quarter ended 31st December, 1899.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND).

Return of evictions in Ireland for the quarter ended 31st December, 1899.

VOL. LXXVIII. [FOURTH SERIES.]

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1887 (EVICTION NOTICES).

Return of the number of eviction notices filed during the quarter ended 31st December, 1899.

TRADE REPORTS (1900).

Annual Series, No. 2377. China (Hangehow).

Presented (by command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

FOREIGN JURISDICTION ACT, 1890.

I. Orders in Council, dated 7th October, 1899—

1. "The East African Order in Council, 1899."
2. "The Somaliland Order in Council, 1899."
3. Order in Council for the discontinuance, as regards all such matters and cases as come within the jurisdiction of the Japanese Courts, of the operation of the Orders in Council regulating Her Majesty's Consular jurisdiction in Japan as from 4th August, 1899.

II. Orders in Council, dated 27th December, 1899—

1. "The Lagos Protectorate Order in Council, 1899."
2. "The Northern Nigeria Order in Council, 1899."
3. "The Southern Nigeria Order in Council, 1899."

III. Order in Council, dated 11th January, 1900—

"The Somali and Brunei (Repeal) Order in Council, 1900."

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894.

I. Order in Council, dated 7th October, 1899, approving certain pilotage byelaws, made by the Cork Harbour Commissioners.

II. Orders in Council, dated 28th November, 1899—(1) extending the provisions of section 444 of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894 (Load Line) to India; (2) approving certain byelaws made by the Swansea Harbour Trustees; (3) approving certain pilotage byelaws made by the Barry Pilotage Board.

III. Orders in Council, dated 27th December, 1899—(1) approving certain pilotage byelaws made by the Belfast Harbour Commissioners; (2) applying certain pilotage byelaws made by the Corporation of Trinity House.

LAND TRANSFER ACT, 1897.

Order in Council, dated 28th November, 1899, postponing the operation of the Land Transfer Order in Council of 18th July, 1898, in certain portions of the county of London.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1858.

Order in Council, dated 28th November, 1899, approving a statement of new and revised appointments, alterations of salaries, and abolition of appointment in the establishment of the Secretary of State for India in Council.

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE ACT (IRELAND), 1877.

Orders in Council—

- I. Giving effect to Rules of Court (Bankruptcy);
- II. Amending Order of 25th February, 1885, rearranging the circuits in Ireland;
- III. Giving effect to Rules of Court under the Local Government (Applications of Enactments) Order, 1898.

WINTER ASSIZES (IRELAND).

Four Orders in Council, dated 1st November, 1899, for holding winter assizes in Ireland.

INEBRIATE RETREATS (RULES AS TO MANAGEMENT).

Regulations and Orders made with the approval of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, for the domestic management of the Buntingford House Retreat, Hertfordshire, licensed as a retreat under the Inebriates Acts, 1879 to 1899.

LIGHTHOUSES, &c. (LOCAL INSPECTIONS.)

Reports to Board of Trade by the Trinity House of Deptford Strond and the Commissioners of Northern Light-

houses of their inspection of local light-houses, buoys, and beacons.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

I. Annual Accounts of Exchequer Bills and other Government securities purchased.

II. Return of the amount of notes issued more than forty years which have not been presented for payment, and which have been written off from the total amount of notes issued from the Issue Department of the Bank of England.

CHURCH TEMPORALITIES (IRELAND).

Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General upon the account of the Irish Land Commission in respect of Church Temporalities in Ireland, for the year ended 31st March, 1899; together with the Account for the above period, and that from 26th July, 1869 (the date of the Irish Church Act) to 31st March, 1899.

BUILDING SOCIETIES.

Fifth Annual Report by the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies of the proceedings of the Registrars under the Building Societies Acts.

SUPERANNUATION.

Treasury Minute, dated 21st November, 1899, granting a reduced retired allowance to Mr. Patrick Quinlivan, excise officer, Dublin Collection, in the service of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, under Section 2 of the Superannuation Act, 1887.

DUCHY OF CORNWALL.

Account of receipts and disbursements for the year ended 31st December, 1899.

GREEK LOAN.

Annual Account for 1899.

SARDINIAN LOAN.

Annual Account for 1899.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

LORD SALISBURY AND THE TREASURY.—PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of SALISBURY): My Lords, on Tuesday evening I, in answer to the noble Earl, expressed some opinions as to the comparative position of ourselves and foreign countries for the purpose of carrying on war, and pointed out some matters in which I thought there was room for amendment; and among others I mentioned the Treasury. What I said was that "by the exercise of the power of the purse it claims a voice in all decisions of administrative authority and policy," and that I thought "that much delay and many doubtful resolutions had been the result of the peculiar position which through many generations the Treasury has occupied." I was very careful to point out that I was not in the least degree intending any application of these views to the action of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer. It would have been very unjust if I had, because my right hon. friend has been singularly careful and considerate in the exercise of the powers of the Treasury during the crisis of the last few months. I say here, and I said then, that the powers of the Treasury have been administered with the greatest judgment and the greatest consideration, and I exhorted the House not to imagine for a moment that I supported the idiotic attacks made on the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I am sorry to say that in the other House of Parliament an impression was conveyed to the minds of some excellent gentlemen that I was censuring the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the manner in which he had administered his duties. I can only repeat what I said. "Idiotic" is a very strong word. I am afraid that if I used a stronger it would be thought to be uncivil. I can only say that I have expressed myself as clearly as I can, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer exercised his powers in the manner most conducive to the public welfare, and that he never refused anything which the War Office or the Admiralty thought necessary for the public service. But I have not risen merely for the purpose of saying that. I wish to point out that I spoke of the resolutions to which I objected as having

been the result of the peculiar position which during many generations the Treasury has occupied. I think it has gradually acquired a position in regard to the defensive Departments very different from that which the Finance Department occupies abroad, and on the whole I think that, for the purposes of national defence, that is not a satisfactory condition. But, as I say, I carefully prevented my remarks from applying to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. There is now conveyed to me a letter from a most excellent public servant, Sir F. Mowatt, who seems to think that because I did not blame the Chancellor of the Exchequer I must have meant to blame him. Nothing was further from my mind. I was blaming a system which has been the result of causes which have lasted for a considerable time, and which affect no individuals whatever, and in speaking of "the action of the Chancellor of the Exchequer," I include the action of those who are acting under him in his own office. The impression of Sir F. Mowatt is entirely unfounded, and although my personal acquaintance with his action is not very great, from everything I have heard, the public service does not contain a more admirable Minister of the public welfare than himself.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: My Lords, I very willingly recognise that the noble Marquess in the observations he made most strictly guarded himself against being supposed to make the smallest reflection on the Chancellor of the Exchequer. That was abundantly evident from the remarks he made to the House. With regard to the general question, which is a very large one, I concur so far with the noble Marquess. From the experience I have had I gather it is very often somewhat difficult in the smaller matters to obtain the consent of the Treasury, and sometimes I think from the feeling which is entertained by the other departments things which might judiciously be done are not pressed; but with regard to great matters of national welfare I would submit that the Treasury is by no means supreme. It is the Cabinet which is supreme. It is the Cabinet which is responsible. I never myself happened to be in charge of a large spending department; naturally I would

not be as a Member of this House ; but I have heard a great deal from my colleagues, both in and out of the Cabinet, on the subject, and there have been, I believe, in most Governments from time to time considerable difference on points of that kind. But the Minister who is responsible for a department which requires a larger expenditure than usual for some great public object, who appeals to the Cabinet, and places his case strongly before the Cabinet, has a reasonable chance of carrying his point. But, in any case, a matter of that kind must come before the Cabinet, and if the Minister is of opinion that the subject is one of great importance it is his duty not to give way to the Treasury without having previously submitted it to the Cabinet, which is supreme. I must say that I have had some dealings with particular Chancellors of the Exchequer, and, while the Treasury is very difficult to deal with, if you have to deal merely through the officials of your department, who, however able, naturally have not the influence of the head of a department, I have found when I have discussed with more than one Chancellor of the Exchequer matters of importance they were discussed in a manner which generally ended in a way which I think was sufficient for the performance of the duties of the public service. I merely make these observations, for though I concur with the view as to the difficulty the departments have with the Treasury, I do not think the mechanism of government is such that if these great questions are submitted to the Cabinet they may not be dealt with satisfactorily, although the Treasury has the duty to place, and is bound to place in the strongest way before the Cabinet any objections which they may have to urge.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY : If I may explain, I think it is a mistake to assume that it is only large measures which produce large effects. I quite agree that questions of large measures go to the Cabinet, and if the Cabinet think the Treasury wrong the Treasury is overruled. Just as a wall is built of bricks, reforms—salutary reforms—are built up of a long succession of useful changes, but it is in those smaller changes which individually are small, but in the aggregate are large, that I think the exaggerated control of

The Earl of Kimberley.

the Treasury has done harm. I think it has had the effect of discouraging and impeding reform, and it has had besides the effect of taking away the freedom and diminishing the initiative of the respective departments. I do not wish to use language of exaggeration, but I think it is an evil, and I fear the great power which the Treasury has acquired in this country, in consequence, no doubt, of its great service in getting rid of corruption and extravagance, has been carried too far, and much of the immobility of the departments of which complaint is made is due to the existence of this undue control.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY : I know it is out of order for me to speak again, but I should like to make this admission, that I do think that in some cases where the matter is not apparently one of great and supreme importance there have been things omitted to be done which have subsequently had serious consequences. Such things I have known, and especially this, that discussion with the Treasury sometimes causes undue and dangerous delay ; and I remember more than one case where things were allowed to tide over because of the long discussions until the moment for action was lost.

MR. JUSTICE GRANTHAM AND THE DEAN OF DURHAM.—QUESTION.

THE EARL OF DURHAM : My Lords, I beg to ask the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack a question of which I have given him private notice—namely, Whether his attention has been drawn to the utterances of Mr. Justice Grantham on the Bench with reference to a recent sermon of the Dean of Durham.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (The Earl of HALSBURY) : My Lords, I apprehend that the question has been put to me because I am head of the Judicial Bench. The utterances of a gentleman like the Dean of Durham, I suppose, would be listened to with respect ; but I cannot help saying that, if deans will take advantage of their pulpits to introduce violent political controversy where no one can answer them, and where those whose feelings may be deeply offended go for the purpose of worshipping God and

not for the purpose of listening to violent political controversy, I do not think it lies in their mouth to complain that others should take advantage elsewhere of the opportunity of protesting against such language and such observations as those to which my attention has been called. It would, perhaps, be a counsel of perfection if deans and judges kept themselves clear of political controversy. But that is not the question which the noble Lord asks at present. I have, by the courtesy of the noble Lord himself, been afforded an opportunity of reading the sermon in question; and speaking, I hope, with the calmness of one who had not been obliged to listen to it, I am bound to say that a more offensive, and, to my mind, a more mischievous oration has seldom been delivered from the pulpit. I do not propose to read the words of the whole of the sermon, but your Lordships will probably allow me to read one or two extracts. I think when it is remembered how, where, and when, these words were uttered one cannot be surprised that some people should be, at all events, deeply offended at the utterance. One very interesting passage is this—

“It is about 330 years since such another war broke out.”

—I should like to call your Lordships' attention to the word “such.”—

“The greatest sea Power in the world, then the only real colonial empire in the world, the land whose soldiers were far above all in repute for hardness and bravery, the land of an inexhaustible supply of wealth, whose trade truly followed its flag—this Power set itself to trample down one of the free small States of Europe. The Church blessed the effort—the little State was independent, heretical, an offence in the nose of the Imperialism of that age. They thought little of such a small country, hardly a country at all; they were the haughty overlords over it; these were the unfortunate Beggars whose resistance could not stand more than a few months before the strongest Power in Europe (which had the men, the guns, and the money too). They treated their ragged enemies with contempt, their free life should go, the Imperial Power must prevail, and the Church again should control the erring people with the grim control of fire and sword. Need I carry on the parallel? It is writ full large for anyone who has grace to read it, in the pages of history.”

With reference to the parallel, I think that if there is one period of the world's history and one military expedition which

has been stamped by the reprobation of all civilised beings it is the great crime of the military expedition of the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands; and that is the parallel which the Dean of Durham thinks it right to mention. But the passage to which the learned Judge called attention was of a more modern character; and this sermon which was preached, as I understand, with the object of inculcating Christian charity and love towards one another, proceeds thus—

“What, then, do we find around us? With what spirit do we send out our fighting men? The drunken revels which form the music-hall ideals of good-fellowship—the excitement of the gin palace and the London streets—as if the bottle was the best prelude for the battle; the cries to the poor lads to avenge this or that, the greedy newspapers spreading unfounded slanders against our opponents, the insistence by which prejudice and angry ignorance have persuaded us that the enemy was but a horde of savages, who would run away at once. The whole temper of our times is so utterly anti-Christian that it appals me when, from the quietude of this home, I look out upon it all, and note the intolerance with which men hate opinions opposed to the momentary enthusiasm.”

Now, my Lords, with reference to this language, I daresay it is true that in some of the enthusiastic demonstrations which took place in the London streets, the idea of fellowship, in some classes of life, was to offer drink; and I have seen it stated that in some instances some of those poor fellows, taking leave of their nearest and dearest, did take too much drink. It is very likely to be true; but I ask is this the language, is this the mode in which the enthusiastic loyalty and bravery of those who are going out to fight the battles of their country ought to be denounced by a Christian clergyman in a Christian church? And now, my Lords, I come to the Judge's offence. When I first saw the controversy in the newspapers I am bound to say that I thought an easy answer could be given, because I thought that if one gentleman misunderstood what another gentleman had said he would apologise by saying that he was sorry for the language he had used. But I have the language here printed by the authority of the Dean, and for the life of me I cannot understand the difference between what Mr. Justice Grantham referred to and the Dean's printed words. The suggestion therefore that the learned Judge was in error in taking a newspaper report as evidence appears to be extraordinary in face of the fact that the report

was perfectly accurate. Now I come to the more immediate question, whether my attention has been drawn to the remarks of Mr. Justice Grantham. Yes. The noble Lord thinks that I have some control over the judges. I am not certain whether I might not ask my most rev. friend the Archbishop of York what he will do with the Dean. I have a strong suspicion that he has a greater control over the Dean than I have over the Judge. For the benefit of the people of this country it has long been a regular and ascertained rule, and established by statute, that the judges are perfectly independent of all control, except that an Address may be moved in the Houses of Parliament. Perhaps the noble Lord would like to take that course. I do not promise him much support; but that is the only constitutional course. Although I may say that the counsel of perfection is one which I would myself prefer, I do not at all wonder at Mr. Justice Grantham, who has taken a deep and most useful interest in the Volunteers, and has been able to assist them in their efforts to act for their country, being deeply grieved at reading what I think is a most unjust and improper observation, characterising our conduct in sending out men because two or three of their fellows, in bidding good-bye to their friends, had taken too much to drink on their way to the station. The Dean says he has not sacrificed his right of free speech as an Englishman. Neither has Mr. Justice Grantham. Mr. Justice Grantham is entitled to have his opinion. But there is this difference between them. The learned Judge addressed the grand jury, and the grand jury could, if it pleased, reply to him. In more than one instance a grand jury has replied to a judge with whom they did not agree. The Dean spoke where no one could reply, and, apart from any other question, I should have thought that that fact would induce a more modest reticence on the part of the Dean than he appears to have observed. The Judge is perfectly independent, and he exercised his rights as an Englishman in speaking as he did. As far as I myself am concerned, although I have no control over the Dean, I express my opinion as an Englishman that it was a great outrage to preach such a sermon in a church.

LORD MONKSWELL: My Lords, may I, with the indulgence of the House, *The Earl of Halsbury.*

say a word with regard to pulpit utterances, and relate an experience of my father when a member of Mr. Gladstone's Government? My father went to a church and heard the clergyman say, in the course of his sermon, that Mr. Gladstone's Government was "a wave of iniquity howling in the unutterable depths."

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR.—SIR WILLIAM BUTLER'S DESPATCHES.

LORD MONKSWELL: My Lords, the Notice standing in my name—"To ask the Secretary of State for War whether the experience gained during the South African campaign as to the armaments and the numerical strength of the enemy in the field has tended in any way to throw doubt either upon the accuracy or the completeness of the information obtained as to these matters by the Intelligence Department before the outbreak of hostilities; and whether it is proposed to lay before Parliament the despatches of Lieutenant General Sir William Butler while in command at the Cape; and to move for papers"—was put on the Paper before the speech of the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War on Tuesday; and as to the first part of the question I am perfectly satisfied with the statement he then made. At the same time, I hope the noble Marquess will not consider that I am unduly critical if I say just one word or two with regard to the delay which has occurred before the noble Marquess did what seems to me to be only a simple act of justice to the Intelligence Department. In putting this notice of motion on the Paper I acted absolutely on my own initiative. I did not consult any member of the Intelligence Department, and I do not appear in this House as the mouthpiece of any member of it. Owing to the silence of the noble Marquess and every other member of the Government on this subject for nearly three months, the public have been led to believe—and I think the very great majority of the public have believed—that the Intelligence Department has been scandalously inefficient. As long ago as 6th November the ball was set rolling with regard to the Intelligence Department. On that date no less a person than the noble Viscount the Commander-in-Chief is reported in

the newspapers to have made use of these words—

“We”—presumably the Government—“found that the enemy were far more numerous and powerful than we had anticipated.”

Naturally, my Lords, these words were taken as an indication that the noble Viscount had no great confidence in the Intelligence Department, and the public distrust in that Department was intensified as, day by day, checks, reverses, and disasters were heard of, seeming to show more and more clearly how entirely the Government had been deceived with regard to the strength of the Boer forces. Not only did no member of the Government say one single word in exoneration of the Intelligence Department, but while the newspapers were full of these insinuations the Leader of the House of Commons went down to Manchester and made his “man-in-the-street” speech; and it was also reported in the newspapers, whether true or not, that Mr. Kruger had stated that he had entirely deceived our emissaries with regard to the importations of guns and ammunition. Parliament was not in session, truly, but to every one of Her Majesty’s Ministers the platform and the press are open, and, if the noble Marquess did not wish to rush into print or to appear himself on a platform, the task of exonerating the Intelligence Department might easily have been delegated to one of his colleagues. I think the noble Marquess will agree with me that it is unfortunate he did not find time and opportunity at an earlier period to exonerate the Intelligence Department. It is clear that the principal colleague of the noble Marquess, the Prime Minister, was perfectly unaware that the Intelligence Department was not to blame, for the noble Marquess said on Tuesday last that it was very probable the Intelligence Department had not got a great deal of information because they had not a great deal of money.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I do not think I used those words. I stated that getting information necessitated the use of a great deal of money.

LORD MONKSWELL: I think the noble Marquess implied that he was not confident that the Intelligence Department had given to the Government that in-

formation which it was desirable the Government should have. As to the despatches of Sir William Butler, the question has been raised in the House of Commons, and I ask for the production of those despatches on the two grounds that were stated in that House by my right hon. friend Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman—first, on the ground that the public have a right to know what advice Sir William Butler had given to the Government; and, secondly, on the ground that Sir William Butler has a right to have his character cleared of the grave charges which have been made. I must confess that it does seem to me rather strange that these despatches have been so long withheld. I beg to move my motion.

Moved—“That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty for the despatches of Lieutenant-General Sir William Butler while in command at the Cape.”—(*The Lord Monkswell.*)

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (The Marquess of LANSDOWNE): My Lords, I understand the noble Lord regards the few words which fell from me the other evening in reference to the Intelligence Branch as, upon the whole, a sufficient answer to his question. But he added that he was surprised to notice my tardiness in defending that department of the War Office. He told your Lordships that so long ago as November last, the Commander-in-Chief himself had, in effect, pleaded guilty on behalf of the Intelligence Branch.

LORD MONKSWELL: No. What I said was that the Commander-in-Chief had used words which induced the public to suppose that the Intelligence Department had been scandalously inefficient.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: I accept the noble Lord’s correction. The words of the Commander-in-Chief were that we had found the Boers more numerous and powerful than we had anticipated. Those words were spoken, I believe, without very much preparation, and may not have been as carefully weighed as if they had formed part of an official statement. But the Commander-

in-Chief's meaning was perfectly clear. What he intended to convey to his hearers was that we had found opposed to us in the field a larger number of the enemy than we had anticipated; and that was, I think, a perfectly correct statement. I am under the impression that at this moment the Boers have placed every man in their country in the fighting line. In most of our forecasts we had anticipated that part of the Boer forces would be detailed to watch the frontier at other points. We believe that that has not been done, and that the enemy have put in the fighting line in Natal and on the western border of the Orange Free State, one may almost say every soldier that they possess. That was the meaning of the Commander-in-Chief. But then the noble Lord went on to suggest that it was my business, if I had noticed—as I presume he thinks I should have noticed—the attacks made upon the Intelligence Department, to exonerate that department in the press or on the platform. All I can say is that, if the head of a department, which, as the noble Lord knows himself, is somewhat hard worked even in ordinary times, were to take upon himself in a time like that through which we have been passing to reply to every attack in the press on himself or on his subordinates, he would not have much leisure left for the legitimate work of his office. With regard to the Intelligence Branch, I repeat what I said the other day, that although they make no pretence to infallibility, and although they are ready to admit that there may have been cases in which either men or munitions of war have found their way into the Transvaal without the knowledge of the department, yet, on the whole, their information has been carefully and accurately collected, and has been as sufficient as we could reasonably expect. Then I pass to the second question of the noble Lord. He asks me whether it is proposed to lay before Parliament the despatches of Lieutenant-General Sir William Butler while in command at the Cape. My Lords, we do not intend to present those despatches to Parliament. It is clear from what has been said by the noble Lord that he desires information as to the circumstances which led to Sir William Butler's resignation, and, I imagine, also as to the allegation that Sir

The Marquess of Lansdowne.

William Butler constantly supplied her Majesty's Government with advice and information as to the military strength of the Boers, which advice and information Her Majesty's Government are supposed to have neglected. Now, my Lords, as to the correspondence and despatches for which the noble Lord has moved, I am afraid they could not, with advantage, be presented to the public at the present time, but I am perfectly ready to tell the noble Lord that Sir William Butler's resignation was placed in my hands, and accepted by me, on the ground of divergence of opinion between himself and the High Commissioner—a divergence so great that Sir William Butler himself came to the conclusion that his presence in command in South Africa had become a source of embarrassment to the High Commissioner. That statement was made frankly to me by Sir William Butler, and it was upon that statement that I accepted his resignation. I also desire to add this, that in the Papers for which the noble Lord has moved, and which I am unable to present to the House, there is nothing whatever which has reference to any estimate which Sir William Butler may have formed of the strength of the Boer forces or of the strength of the forces which it was our duty to oppose to them.

LORD MONKSWELL: Do I understand the noble Marquess to say that in all these despatches Sir William Butler expressed no opinion as to what measures ought to be taken for the safety of Natal and the conduct of the war, if war broke out?

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: There were despatches, no doubt, containing plans of defence for the colonies—plans of considerable minuteness—and for that very reason I object to presenting to Parliament Papers containing very confidential matter, and which, moreover, it is not usual to present to Parliament.

On Question, resolved in the negative.

House adjourned at Five of the clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Four of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, 1st February, 1900.

PRIVATE BILLS.

Ordered, That Standing Order 195 be suspended, and that the time for presenting Petitions for Private Bills to the House (which shall have been previously endorsed by the Examiners) be extended to Friday, 9th February.—(*Dr. Farquharson.*)

PETITIONS.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES SERVANTS' SUPERANNUATION.

Petition from Wimborne and Cranborne, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

OWNERS' SITE VALUES.

Petition from Camberwell, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY.

Petitions against, from Hackney; Hackney Wick; Walthamstow; Gloucester; and Huddersfield; to lie upon the Table.

VACCINATION ACTS, 1867 TO 1898.

Petitions for alteration of Law, from Camberwell; and Wimborne and Cranborne; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, &c.

WAGES AND EFFECTS OF DECEASED SEAMEN.

Account presented [30th January] to be printed. [No. 21.]

COLLEGE CHARTER ACT, 1871 (UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM).

Paper [presented 30th January] to be printed. [No. 22.]

FOREIGN JURISDICTION ACT, 1890.

Copy presented,—of Order in Council of 7th October, 1899, for the discontinuance as regards all such matters and cases as come within the jurisdiction of the Japanese Courts, of the operation of the

Orders in Council regulating Her Majesty's Consular Jurisdiction in Japan as from 4th August, 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Order in Council of 7th October, 1899, entitled The East Africa Order in Council, 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Order in Council of 7th October, 1899, entitled The Somaliland Order in Council, 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Order in Council of 27th December, 1899, entitled The Northern Nigeria Order in Council, 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Order in Council of 27th December, 1899, entitled The Southern Nigeria Order in Council, 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Order in Council of 27th December, 1899, entitled The Lagos Protectorate Order in Council, 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Order in Council of 11th January, 1900, entitled The Somali and Brunei (Repeal) Order in Council, 1900 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1894.

Copy presented,—of Order in Council of 7th October, 1899, approving certain Pilotage Bye-laws made by the Cork Harbour Commissioners [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Order in Council of 28th November, 1899, approving certain Pilotage Bye-laws made by the Barry Pilotage Board [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Order in Council of 28th November, 1899, approving certain Bye-laws made by the Swansea Harbour Trustees [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Order in Council of 28th November, 1899, extending the provisions of Section 444 of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894 (load line), to India [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Order in Council of 27th December, 1899, approving certain Pilotage Bye-laws made by the

Belfast Harbour Commissioners [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Order in Council of 27th December, 1899, approving certain Pilotage Bye-Laws made by the Corporation of Trinity House [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1858.

Copy presented, —of Order in Council of 28th November, 1899, approving a Statement of new and revised appointments, alterations of salaries, and abolition of appointment in the Establishment of the Secretary of State for India in Council [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

LAND TRANSFER ACT, 1897.

Copy presented,—of Order in Council of 28th November, 1899, postponing the operation of the Land Transfer Order in Council of 18th July, 1898, in certain portions of the County of London [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY PENSIONS.

Copy presented,—of Return showing the names of all Constabulary Officers now in receipt of Pensions, of all Head Constables, Sergeants, and Constables, and of all Widows and Children to whom Pensions have been granted since the Constabulary Estimate for 1899–1900 was prepared, with the amount and date of Pension in each case [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TREASURY CHEST.

Account presented,—for the year 1898–9, together with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 23.]

BANK OF ENGLAND.

Copy presented,—of Return of the amount of Notes issued more than forty years which have not been presented for payment, and which have been written off on the 9th November, 1899, from the total amount of Notes issued from the Issue Department of the Bank of England [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

GREEK LOAN.

Account presented,—of Moneys paid out of the Consolidated Fund for Interest and Sinking Fund on that part of the Greek Loan guaranteed by this Country and of the amount repaid by the Greek Government on account of the same to 31st December, 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 24.]

SARDINIAN LOAN.

Account presented,—of the Total Sums issued out of the Consolidated Fund and advanced to His Majesty the King of Sardinia, and of the Sums received to 31st December, 1899, for Interest and Sinking Fund thereof [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 25.]

DUCHY OF CORNWALL.

Account presented,—of the Receipts and Disbursements of the Duchy of Cornwall for the year ended 31st December, 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 26.]

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1884.

Copies presented, — of Treasury Minutes declaring that the under-mentioned persons were appointed to the offices set against their names without a Civil Service Certificate through inadvertence on the part of the Heads of their Departments, viz. :—

John Brooks, Engine Man, Post Office, London Post Office Department, dated 30th April, 1859;

Joseph Hill, Shell Moulder, Royal Laboratory, War Office Department, dated 26th May, 1859;

Marianna Prince, Postmistress, Bridport Post Office Department, dated 11th January, 1865;

Bryan McDonald, Rural Postman, Carrick-on-Suir Post Office Department, dated 23rd April, 1875;

William Cleaver, Postman, Bath Post Office Department, dated 24th July, 1876;

George William Seaborne, Postmaster, Shoreham Post Office Department, dated 18th December, 1877;

James Simpson, Postmaster, Alnwick Post Office Department, dated 25th June, 1873

[by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1887.

Copy presented,—of Treasury Minute, dated 1st November, 1899, granting a reduced retired allowance to Mr. Patrick Quinliven, Excise Officer, Dublin Collection, in the service of the Commissioner of Inland Revenue [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

ARMY (YEOMANRY CAVALRY).

Copy presented,—of Training Return for 1899 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

INEBRIATE RETREATS (RULES FOR MANAGEMENT).

Copy presented,—of Regulations and Orders made with the approval of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, for the Domestic Management of the Buntingford House Retreat, Hertfordshire, licensed as a Retreat under the Inebriates Acts, 1879 to 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

PAPER LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

Building Societies. — Copy of Fifth Annual Report by the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies of the Proceedings of the Registrars under the Building Societies Acts, &c. [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 27.]

TRADE AND NAVIGATION.

Return ordered, “of Accounts relating to Trade and Navigation of the United Kingdom for each month during the year 1900.”—(*Mr. Ritchie.*)

Return, in part, presented accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 28].

QUESTIONS.**SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—SIR W. BUTLER'S REPORTS.**

MR. DILLON: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether he will lay upon the Table of the House any reports or memoranda on the military situation in South Africa sent in by Sir William Butler during the three months before he was relieved of his command in South Africa.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (MR. WYNNDHAM, Dover): May I ask the hon. Member to address this question to the First Lord of the Treasury?

MR. DILLON: I will put it to the right hon. Gentleman to-morrow.

MR. WYNNDHAM: I believe the First Lord will be ready to answer it to-day.

MR. BAINBRIDGE: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in view of the numerous comments which have appeared in the press with reference to the views and proceedings of Sir William Butler, and in view of the fact that the rules of the service preclude an officer from placing on record the true facts of the case, the Government will supply the House with such despatches of Sir William Butler, or such information as to the advice he has from time to time given the War Office, as will enable a correct estimate of his conduct to be arrived at.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (MR. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): There appears to be no reason for laying any further despatches of Sir William Butler's on the Table of the House. His general opinions upon South African questions are very well known to the public, and there has been no concealment on the subject. I do not know whether it is worth reiterating in explicit terms to the House that he never in any communication to the War Office, public, semi-public, or private, suggested that the number of troops required in the case of an outbreak of hostilities would be anything like the number of troops actually sent to the theatre of war.

AN HON. MEMBER: Now sent?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No, not now sent. I want to make this quite plain, as doubts are thrown upon the statement. The statement is this. There were sent out as a defensive force before the outbreak of hostilities 24,000 men, or thereabouts, to Natal and Cape Colony. There were sent out subsequently what is known as the Field Force, and those two together amount to a body of men well in excess of 70,000. Sir William Butler never suggested a number of men any-

thing like that as being necessary in the case of an outbreak of hostilities.

MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.): May I ask whether Sir William Butler did not send a statement of the Boer forces and of the strength of the Boer armaments to the War Office or to the Government, and whether, if such a statement exists, it may be laid before the House?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am not aware that he sent any such statement, but if the hon. Gentleman will put a question either to me or to the Under Secretary for War, we will endeavour to answer it.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): The right hon. Gentleman in his answer has limited his statement to the War Office; may I ask whether he includes Sir Alfred Milner in that department?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not suppose he sent any communications on purely military subjects except to his military chiefs. I never heard of it, nor would it have been a proper course to pursue.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Did Sir Alfred Milner attempt to interfere with Sir William Butler in the disposition of the troops?

MR. DILLON: Had the reports from Sir William Butler reference to any plan of campaign or arrangement of the troops in Natal?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! Notice must be given of that question.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether the Secretary of State for War will now consent to publish the correspondence between the War Office and Sir William Butler which led to the resignation by Sir William Butler of his command at the Cape, and the letter of Sir William Butler tendering his resignation; and whether the series of circumstances which terminated in Sir William Butler's resignation commenced by representations made to the Colonial Office by Sir Alfred Milner on the divergence of opinion on the South African crisis between Sir William Butler and himself.

The following questions also appeared on the paper—

MR. HEDDERWICK (Wicks Burghs): To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will lay upon the Table of the House a copy of all the correspondence and despatches of Major General Sir William Francis Butler, from the date of that distinguished soldier's appointment to the command of the troops in South Africa in 1898.

MR. DILLON: To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will now publish the despatches sent by Sir William Butler while he was acting as High Commissioner in South Africa.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: We are not prepared to lay the correspondence referred to on the Table of the House.

MR. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs): In order to clear up the mystery will the right hon. Gentleman tell us whether Sir William Butler was withdrawn, or did he resign? His experience was certainly of great value.

[No answer was given.]

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I do press for an answer to the second part of my question.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not think Papers could be laid, but there need be no concealment of the fact that Sir William Butler and Sir Alfred Milner had divergent views of policy.

PROGRESS OF THE WAR.

MR. W. ALLAN (Gateshead): Can the right hon. Gentleman give us any information as to the position of affairs in South Africa, particularly as to whether any further engagements have been fought?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: There is no information to-day.

THE ALLEGED BOER CONSPIRACY.

MR. BAINBRIDGE: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, either before the October session of Parliament or since, the Government were in possession of any evidence which justified

them in believing that the policy of the Transvaal Republic (with or without an agreement or understanding with the Orange Free State) is the establishment of Boer supremacy over the colonies of Natal and Cape Colony; and, if so, whether any Papers bearing on this subject will be laid before the House.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The conclusion we have formed upon this very important question of course is the result of the consideration of a vast number of particular circumstances which, at all events in my opinion, all lead up to the conclusion I have more than once expressed in public, and which the hon. Gentleman has embodied in this question. But if he asks me whether there is any statement by President Kruger or President Steyn to this effect, whether they have ever announced in public that they were parties to this conspiracy and communicated the fact to any British official whose words might be embodied in a Blue-book, of course that is not the case.

MR. DALZIEL: Has the Intelligence Department supplied any evidence on this subject which can be laid before the House?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: They are not a political body.

CONTEMPLATED MILITARY MEASURES.

SIR FORTESCUE FLANNERY (Yorkshire, Shipley): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in view of the great anxiety throughout the country, and the loss of time resulting from the present debate, he can see his way to state at once what steps the Government are taking, and what additional adequate reinforcements they are preparing to forward to South Africa.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I entirely recognise with my hon. friend the very great importance of this question in itself, and also the great public interest which it naturally and properly excites. But my hon. friend, who is an old member of the House, and the House generally, will recognise that it will be not only most irregular, but most inconvenient, to interpolate important business of this kind, which must lead to discussion, into

the middle of the Queen's Speech. We, certainly, who sit on this side of the House and on this bench, are most anxious for every reason that the debate on the Address should be brought to a rapid conclusion. The House is aware that it does not rest with us, and, if blame there be, it is not my business to suggest that that blame should be placed on the right shoulders.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: The right hon. Gentleman is always very fair, so I will ask him whether he recollects the pledge he gave us last session, when the Address was hurried through, that ample time would be given for the discussion of Amendments to the Address this session.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not know what the terms of my answer then may have been; all I have to say to-day is that we are most anxious, on public grounds, not for the purpose of our own convenience, that a discussion in which, I believe, the public take no interest whatever should be brought to a speedy conclusion. I never suggested that any undue curtailment of the debate should take place.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Why do you not call in one of the generals to "take away that bauble," and abolish the House of Commons?

THE JAMIESON RAID—THE RHODES-HAWKSLEY CORRESPONDENCE

MR. S. T. EVANS (Glamorgan, Mid): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been called to the letters and telegrams passing between the late Assistant Permanent Under Secretary for the Colonial Office and the solicitor to the Chartered Company of South Africa, which were published in the *Independence Belge*, on the 5th January last, and which were afterwards republished in some of the press of this country; whether inquiry has been made as to the authenticity of those letters and telegrams; and whether such letters and telegrams are authentic and accurate; and if so, whether he knew of them at the time they passed, or at what date they first came to his knowledge.

The following question also appeared on the paper—

MR. BAINBRIDGE: To ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the attention of the Government has been drawn to the publication during the present month in the *Independence Belge* of certain letters purporting to be correspondence relating to the South African Commission, and whether it has been thought desirable to inquire whether such letters are genuine.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham, W.): The answer to the first paragraph of the question of the hon. Member for Mid Glamorganshire is in the affirmative. I have only personal knowledge of two or three letters from Mr. Fairfield and one to the Colonial Office. These are substantially, but I think not verbally, correct. As to the remainder, I have been informed by Mr. Hawksley that it has recently come to his knowledge that they had been stolen from his office by a clerk who was summarily dismissed in October, 1897. Mr. Hawksley does not say whether they are genuine or not. I had no previous knowledge except of those to and from Mr. Fairfield, and was only informed of their existence a few days before they were published.

MR. S. T. EVANS: My question was confined to the documents passing between Mr. Fairfield and Mr. Hawksley. May I point out that the right hon. Gentleman has not answered the last part of the question, whether he knew of the letters and telegrams at the time they passed, or at what date they first came to his knowledge?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: If the hon. Member refers solely to the letters of Mr. Fairfield, I do not think I saw them at the time, but I have no doubt they were sent under my instructions.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether his attention has been directed to a series of letters published on the 6th inst. in the *Independence Belge*, written by the late Mr. Fairfield, the head of the African section in the Colonial Office, and Mr. Hawksley, the solicitor of the Chartered Company, of various dates

from 11th February, 1896, till April, 1897, and more especially a letter dated 20th February, 1897, written by Mr. Hawksley to Earl Grey, a prominent director of the Chartered Company, and the administrator of the Chartered Company in succession to Dr. Jameson, C.B.; whether he is aware that these letters support the charge that the Secretary of State for the Colonies was cognisant of the Rhodes-Jameson plot against the Transvaal, that the Colonial Office had arranged to secure the acquittal of Dr. Jameson, C.B., and the Right Hon. Cecil Rhodes by the Select Committee of the House of Commons, and that an agreement had been effected for the suppression of the series of letters and cablegrams known as the Rhodes-Hawksley Correspondence; has he any reason to believe that these letters are forgeries; and what steps, if any, do the Government intend to take when a member of the Cabinet is deliberately charged with personal dishonour and public falsehood.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I understand that this question has been answered already by my right hon. friend.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: No; the former question dealt with the authenticity of the letters, and not their import. I will read the paragraph.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member would not be in order in doing that.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It seems to me that all the questions have been answered except that in the last paragraph of the hon. Gentleman's question, a question which I suppose he hardly means seriously.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Yes, I do.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: If he does, my view is that such accusations should be treated with contempt.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: That does not answer the second paragraph. Will the right hon. Gentleman answer or decline to answer it? I do not care which.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I will answer that in the negative.

THE MAGERSFONTEIN ENGAGEMENT.

MR. HEDDERWICK: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether there will be a full inquiry instituted into the circumstances that led to the deplorable loss of the Highland Brigade at Magersfontein.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: While military operations are going on there can be no inquiry of the kind suggested by the hon. Gentleman.

THE CABINET COMMITTEE OF DEFENCE.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he can say generally what are the matters which the Committee of Defence considers and decides upon, and what are its functions. Does it deal with matters of naval or military strategy, and with the numbers and composition of the naval or military forces to be employed for specific purposes? Does it take advice from naval or military experts before coming to its decisions? Does it take into consideration the bearing of political considerations upon proposed naval or military action? How are its members appointed? And is any record kept of its proceedings?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Committee of Defence is a committee of the Cabinet, and does not differ essentially from other committees of the Cabinet. It neither removes responsibility from the Cabinet as a whole, nor from any of the Ministers responsible for the Departments either of the Army or of the Navy. Of course the Committee obtains the best information it can from experts and from others. Like other Cabinet Committees it keeps no records.

MR. DALZIEL: Is there any foundation for the statement that the Committee did not meet for six months after it was appointed?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have not seen the statement, and I really do not know.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Has there ever been a Committee of Defence in any other Cabinet before?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! That does not arise out of the question.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: May I call attention to the fact that the right hon. Gentleman, I do not know whether inadvertently or whether perhaps because he did not wish to answer my questions, has not replied to the questions as to whether the Committee deals with matters of strategy, whether it takes into consideration the bearing of political considerations, and how its members are appointed?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I thought my answer really covered the ground. My hon. friend must be aware that Committees of the Cabinet are appointed by the Cabinet. There is no special mode of election; we do not have a ballot in the Cabinet. The subjects they take into consideration are any subjects delegated to them by the Cabinet dealing either with the interests of the Army or Navy, or those two services taken in conjunction.

SURVEYS, MAPS, &c.

MR. HEDDERWICK: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether in 1898 manœuvres of the garrison of Natal took place in the area bounded on the south by Estcourt and on the north by Dundee; whether in the course of these manœuvres the country was surveyed for military purposes by officers detailed for that object; whether the position of the drifts or fords, the nature of the banks of the river, and the advantages for attack and defence afforded by the locality were noted by these officers in their surveys; whether the reports of their surveys were accompanied by sketches and photographs; whether General Buller and his staff were furnished with copies of these surveys, sketches, and photographs; and whether there is any foundation for the statement that the British generals were supplied with no maps on an adequate scale of the country in which they were required to operate.

***MR. WYNDHAM:** Manœuvres took place in 1898 as far as the Biggarsberg on the north and southward along the Ladysmith-Colenso road. Excepting a rough sketch of this road, no survey was made. The map which the Intelligence

Department had made in 1896 was used. Beyond this map—on a scale of four miles to the inch—there is no topographical survey of Natal, the making of which would be a question for the Colonial Government. None of the sketches, photographs, &c., mentioned in the question were received. Ninety-six thousand sheets of the four-miles-to-an-inch map have been sent to South Africa, besides large numbers of special maps and plans of localities of military importance. Provision has also been made for the reproduction locally of maps and sketches made by officers on the spot during the war.

MR. HEDDERWICK : Was any military map made of the frontiers of Natal ?

***MR. WYNDHAM :** As my answer shows, maps of the frontier were made. The military map on a large scale does not extend far into Natal, but it covers the ground north of Ladysmith.

MR. RADCLIFFE COOKE (Hereford) : I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been called to a statement to the effect that some time back the Intelligence Department of the War Office made an exact survey of the territory north of the Tugela River, that the officers engaged in the survey sent in their figures and details to the Department, where they were pigeon-holed and nothing more known of them ; and whether, on the advice of Sir Thomas Holditch, R.E., late head of the Field Survey Department in India, two engineer officers, Captain Close and Captain Jackson, with a staff of men, have now been sent out to South Africa to survey this part of Natal.

***MR. WYNDHAM :** A survey of Natal north of the Tugela River was made by officers of the Intelligence Department in 1896, and was printed by that Department and issued to the forces in South Africa. A copy of this map, which is on a scale of one inch to a mile, was sent to the Tea Room of the House of Commons on 20th October. Three engineer officers, experts in topographical surveying and map reproduction, have been sent to South Africa, but not for the purpose of surveying this part of Natal, which, as explained above, has already been mapped. Sir Thomas Holditch was not consulted,

nor did he tender any advice to the Secretary of State. He wrote a letter to *The Times* after the foregoing measures had been taken or initiated.

MAFEKING STATION MASTER.

MR. SHEE (Waterford, W.) : I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether James Quinlan, the station-master at Mafeking, was recently shot by order of Colonel Baden-Powell ; and, whether Colonel Baden-Powell has made any report of the circumstances ; and if so, of what nature.

***MR. WYNDHAM :** No report of the circumstances referred to in the question has reached the War Office.

MR. T. M. HEALY : Does the hon. Gentleman think it 'within his competence to obtain a report on the incident, which is said to have occurred before Mafeking was invested and has been much commented upon in the Cape papers ? Are the reports absolutely silent on the subject ?

***MR. WYNDHAM :** Mafeking was invested a few days after the outbreak of the war, and communication with Colonel Baden-Powell is difficult. I will look over the reports at the War Office, but I know nothing of the matter.

BARBED WIRE CUTTERS.

MR. NUSSEY (Pontefract) : I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War, in view of the modern system of defence by barbed wire, have the regular troops, rank and file, either infantry or cavalry, or both, been provided by the War Office with wire cutters ; and, if so, what troops exactly, and how many wire-cutters have been sent out to South Africa, and on what date or dates, and by what ship or ships ; and, if not already sent, how many wire-snippers have been ordered, from what firm or firms, on what date, and of what weight and size are the wire-snippers ?

***MR. WYNDHAM :** About 4,000 wire-cutters have been sent out, and more are being sent out as fast as they can be obtained from the trade. During the present pressure of business in the War Office no attempt can be made to work

out the minute details included in this question.

INOCULATION OF TROOPS AGAINST ENTERIC FEVER.

MR. A. E. PEASE (Yorkshire, Cleveland): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War if the War Office has sanctioned the experiment of inoculating with anti-typhoid vaccine troops now on their way to the front; and if, in view of the uncertainty that exists as to the efficacy of inoculation as a preventive of enteric fever, and the debilitating effects of the operation, the Department will forbid the continuance of these experiments; and whether his attention has been drawn to the description in the *Morning Post* of 29th January, of the condition and appearance of the soldiers who had submitted to the inoculation on board the "Dunottar Castle."

*MR. WYNDHAM: The efficacy of the treatment appears sufficiently well established to justify the continuance of this operation, which is voluntarily submitted to by the troops.

LORD WOLSELEY AND THE INTELLIGENCE DEPARTMENT—THE BOER STRENGTH.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether the attention of the Secretary of State for War has been directed to the statement of Lord Wolseley in November last in explanation of the British reverses in Natal, that we found the enemy much more powerful and numerous than we had anticipated, and to the statement on unimpeachable authority that the Report of the Director of Intelligence of the strength of the Boers in artillery corresponded exactly with the recently ascertained knowledge of what the enemy had put in the field; and that, moreover, as to numerical strength the Intelligence Department's estimate was rather over than under the totals now said to be arrayed against us; and whether there is any way in which these apparently contradictory statements of the Commander-in-Chief and of the Intelligence Department can be reconciled.

*MR. WYNDHAM: In the statement referred to the Commander-in-Chief did not question the accuracy of the informa-

tion supplied to him by the Intelligence Branch as to the fighting strength of the Boer Republics. What he intended to convey was that we had encountered larger numbers of the enemy in the field, and that the military qualities exhibited by the Boers had been of a higher order than was generally anticipated.

BOER MILITARY STORES.

MR. HEDDERWICK: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether the Government received from time to time communications from the Intelligence Department as to the nature and magnitude of the military stores purchased by the Boers during the last four years; and, if so, whether he will state the substance of these communications and the dates when they were made.

*MR. WYNDHAM: Information has been given from time to time to the Intelligence Department on this subject, and, as the First Lord has told the House, we have no reason to question its accuracy.

THE BOER STRENGTH AT THE OUTBREAK OF WAR.

MR. BAINBRIDGE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, at the date of the Bloemfontein Conference, and in view of that Conference possibly leading to negotiations of a critical character, he had obtained information as to the strength of the Boer army in relation to the British forces available in Natal and in Cape Colony.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: There is no regular Boer army, but the number of men capable of military service was, I believe, substantially known.

OPERATIONS ON THE TUGELA.

MR. DILLON: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether a Field Order was issued by Colonel Wynne on the eve of the recent operations on the Tugela; and, if so, whether he will lay the text of that order upon the Table of the House.

*MR. WYNDHAM: The reports on the recent operations on the Tugela have as yet been only telegraphic. Field Orders would only come by post.

MR. DILLON: Will the hon. Gentleman publish the Order as soon as it arrives?

*MR. WYNDHAM: The hon. Gentleman must allow us an opportunity of reading it.

SIEGE OF LADYSMITH.

MR. HOGAN (Tipperary, Mid): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether 200 children have been allowed to remain in Ladysmith during the siege, and whether any explanation of this occurrence has been received from the general in command.

*MR. WYNDHAM: It is not known how many children remained in Ladysmith. On November 3rd, Sir George White applied to General Joubert for permission for non-combatants, sick and wounded to go South. He refused—but agreed to allow them to go to a special camp four miles from Ladysmith. The townspeople refused to accept the offer, but the sick, wounded, and a few inhabitants moved there on the 5th November.

SIR G. WHITE AND THE GOVERNOR OF NATAL.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he authorised, or subsequently sanctioned to any extent, the pressure by the Governor of Natal on Sir George White not to withdraw at the outset of the war from Glencoe and concentrate at Ladysmith, on the ground that such a step would involve grave political results and possibilities of a serious nature.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I have to refer the hon. Member to the Papers which have been distributed, and which give all the information in my possession.

CLOTHING FOR TROOPS AT THE FRONT.

MR. WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War if the War Office is supplying the troops at the front with shirts and necessary clothing; and if not, if they will take steps to do so in future.

*MR. WYNDHAM: The War Office has supplied and is supplying the troops

in South Africa with shirts and necessary clothing.

PUBLICATION OF NEWS AT THE WAR OFFICE.

MR. WHITMORE (Chelsea): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War who is responsible for the editing and publication of war news at the War Office; whether Her Majesty's Government have given general directions as to the times at which, and the form in which, such news should be issued; and if so, whether he will state what these directions are.

*MR. WYNDHAM: The Secretary of State for War is responsible. No general rules can be laid down upon this subject.

CENSORSHIP OF WAR NEWS.

MR. HOGAN: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether the operation of the censorship extends to the letters as well as the telegrams of war correspondents; and whether this is the explanation of the mutilated condition in which a number of press despatches arrived at the London offices to which they were directed.

*MR. WYNDHAM: No complaints have reached the War Office upon the subject, but I shall be glad to make inquiries.

WAR CHARITABLE FUNDS.

SIR J. LENG (Dundee): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War what sums are at the disposal of the administrators of the Patriotic Fund and the Imperial War Fund for the benefit of soldiers' wives and families and widows and orphans; is any assistance from them extended to dependents of soldiers other than widows and orphans; what is the usual allowance made from these funds to the widow of a soldier killed in action; is anything extra given on account of children; and, if so, how much for each child; upon what principle are the grants made, and are annuities given for life, or do the grants terminate at the expiry of a certain period; is an equal sum given in all cases, or do the Commissioners inquire into the circumstances of each case and determine their grants accordingly; and are any precautions taken to prevent the overlapping of the

various national, local, newspaper, and other benevolent war funds now in operation.

*MR. WYNDHAM: The statements asked for in the first five paragraphs of the question are too long to be given in answer to a question, but I shall be happy to give a return if it is desired. The War Office, in conjunction with the Lord Mayor, has done its best to prevent overlapping of the various funds.

PROPERTY IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLICS.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether Sir Alfred Milner issued on 26th January a proclamation to the effect that Her Majesty's Government will not recognise as valid any forfeiture, fine, or encumbrance on property in the Transvaal or the Orange Free State subsequent to 10th October, the date of the commencement of the war; if so, was the proclamation issued after consultation with and by direction of Her Majesty's Government; does this proclamation refer to all property whatever, or to the property of British subjects alone; can he explain the purpose and scope of the proclamation; and will he lay a copy of it upon the Table of the House.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The answer to the first and second questions is, yes; to the third it is, not only the property of British subjects; and to the fourth, it has been apprehended that after confiscating property, which has been threatened, the South African Republic may purport to sell it, in order thereby to procure funds for the war. In answer to the fifth question, I will lay a copy.

AUSTRALIAN MILITARY CONTINGENT, ROMAN CATHOLIC CHAPLAINS.

MR. THOMAS CURRAN (Sligo, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he can state the reasons that dictated the refusal of the application of His Eminence Cardinal Moran, Archbishop of Sydney, that a recognised Roman Catholic chaplain should accompany the Australian military contingent to South Africa, as was done in the case of the Australian contingent that was despatched by the Right Hon. W. B. Dalley to the Soudan in 1885.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The New South Wales Ministers asked whether Church of England and Roman Catholic Army chaplains could be sent with the troops or whether there are sufficient Army chaplains accompanying the British troops. The War Office, whilst expressing their appreciation of the offer, replied that a sufficient number of commissioned Army chaplains, including Roman Catholic, had already been detailed for service in South Africa.

TRANSPORT SERVICE RETURN.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether he will agree to the motion for a return as to the transport service to South Africa, which stands on the Paper this day.

*MR. WYNDHAM: The return will be granted.

FORAGE FOR THE FRONT.

MR. STRACHEY (Somersetshire, S.): I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether forage for the cavalry employed in South Africa has been purchased from abroad; and if so whether he will state from what countries and at what prices it has been purchased.

*THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE WAR OFFICE (MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS, Birmingham, S.): Forage for South Africa has been purchased from Canada, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and Argentina. This imported forage is found to stand the voyage to, and climate of, South Africa better than that supplied from this country. Moreover, there are certain descriptions of forage, supplies of which are desired by the military authorities, which are not produced in this country. It is not usual to give the actual prices paid, which are always regarded as confidential. Oats have been mainly bought in London, but it does not, of course, follow that they are home-grown.

MR. STRACHEY: Can the hon. Gentleman tell us the amount paid per ton for hay?

*MR. POWELL-WILLIAMS: Not without notice.

INDIAN TROOPS SERVING OUT OF INDIA.

SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India what forces in reduction of the Indian establishment are now serving out of India.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord G. HAMILTON, Middlesex, Ealing): There are at present in South Africa, in reduction of the Indian establishment, two batteries of horse artillery, three batteries of field artillery, four regiments of British cavalry, and four battalions of British infantry. Besides these, one battalion of native infantry is serving in Mauritius, and another is under orders to proceed to that colony; another is under orders for Ceylon, and another for Singapore.

EMPLOYMENT OF INDIAN TROOPS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

MR. BAINBRIDGE: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in view of the fact that the campaign in South Africa has now assumed a grave relation to the important question of the maintenance of the British Empire, the Government will reconsider their expressed intention of not making use of the native Indian troops, especially in view of the special adaptability of the Ghoorka and Sikh regiments to the African climate, and of the probability of such regiments being brought into use in case of an invasion of Northern India, whether by white or coloured troops.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: For reasons which the House I think understands and thoroughly appreciates it is not the intention of the Government to use native troops in Africa, but the hon. Gentleman appears to assume, by the last clause of his question, that native troops are not even to be used in the defence of India against any attack by any European Power. That, of course, is not the case.

MAURITIUS GARRISON.

SIR CHARLES DILKE: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War what is the composition of the black battalion, additional to the Indian battalion, which is at Mauritius in garrison; and what statement was ever made to Parliament with regard to its recruitment or service.

*MR. WYNDHAM: The garrison of Mauritius is composed of the 1st Regiment of Bengal Infantry and the 27th Regiment of Madras Infantry. The black battalion no longer forms a part of the garrison. The right hon. Baronet will find the establishment detailed on page 159 of the Estimates for 1899-1900, and a reference to the battalion will also be found in the Secretary of State's memorandum accompanying those Estimates.

PROMOTIONS FROM THE RANKS.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether he will consider the advisability of filling up a certain number of the existing vacancies in the commissioned ranks of the Army by the promotion of some of the senior non-commissioned officers mentioned in despatches in the present war, instead of giving all these vacancies to comparatively inexperienced Militia subalterns and Sandhurst cadets; and whether, seeing that many of these gallant non-commissioned officers may lose their lives before the termination of the present war, he will take steps to see that the Gazette is issued without delay, more especially as such action will not only give satisfaction to the public but also act as an incentive to recruiting.

*MR. WYNDHAM: The suggestion of the hon. Member has been anticipated: and a communication on the subject was made to Lord Roberts on the 19th January.

EMBODIMENT OF THE MILITIA FORCE.

MR. WARNER: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War if there is any reason for not having embodied the whole of the Militia, so as to avoid leaving this country with so few trained troops; and how soon all the Militia will be embodied.

*MR. WYNDHAM: Fifty-six battalions of Militia are now embodied for service at home. With these Militiamen, and with the Reservists called up, and the Regulars left behind by regiments which have gone to South Africa, our barracks are quite full. A statement will be made shortly as to the Government proposals for the defence of the country.

MR. WARNER: Does that include the barracks in Ireland as full?

*MR. WYNDHAM: All barracks in the United Kingdom are at this moment full to overflowing.

MR. FLYNN: Is it not a fact that while the Irish Militia have been sent abroad the English Militia have been kept in the home barracks?

[No answer was given.]

MILITIA OFFICERS AND RETIRED PAY.

CAPTAIN NORTON: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been drawn to the effect of the operation of Articles 489 and 602B of the Pay Warrant, whereby retired officers serving in the Militia are deprived of their retired pay during the time the Militia is embodied; and whether he will consider the advisability of issuing a special Army order, similar to that issued as regards non-commissioned officers and men, in order to place both classes upon the same footing in this respect.

*MR. WYNDHAM: The whole case is under consideration.

THE FIRST MILITIA REGIMENT.

SIR E. T. GOURLEY (Sunderland): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War why the men of the first Militia Regiment embarked for South Africa were sent out in their winter clothes, and why they were not equipped in khaki, or some other description of uniform suitable for active service in a tropical climate; and can he say if the regiment was accompanied with a Maxim gun; if not, why not.

*MR. WYNDHAM: It was found impossible to clothe this battalion in khaki before it embarked, owing to the very heavy calls on the Clothing Department. The khaki was ready shortly after, and will be dispatched in charge of an officer of the battalion. This officer will also take out the machine gun, for instruction in the use of which he had remained behind.

VOLUNTEER OFFICERS' COMMISSIONS.

MR. MCRAE (Edinburgh, E.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether it has been decided by the Secretary of State for War that all officers in the Imperial Yeomanry, C.I.V., or service companies of Volunteers, who do not already hold a commission in the Regulars or Militia must enlist as private soldiers, and will afterwards receive temporary commissions to the ranks to which they are promoted; and whether any sufficient reason can be given for singling out officers of Volunteers, who after all hold Her Majesty's commission, for this treatment, to which officers of the Militia battalions are apparently to be exempted.

MR. LEES KNOWLES (Salford, W.): I beg at the same time to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether an order has been issued stating that Volunteer officers not holding line or Militia commissions who wish to volunteer for active service must do so as privates, and that on conforming with such order they will receive acting commissions; if so, whether or not such acting commissions would carry with them the usual provisions made for an officer of the line of the same rank on active service with regard to pay, allowances, pension, &c.; and whether, on return from active service a Volunteer officer would lose seniority or might find that, his place having been filled in his absence, there was no vacancy for him in his own corps.

*MR. WYNDHAM: In replying to this question I will at the same time answer the question put by my hon. friend the Member for the West Division of Salford. The Volunteer Act only applies to service in Great Britain, and confers no power outside it. It was therefore necessary to enlist Volunteer officers, and to give them acting commissions. They are given temporary Army rank, and enjoy the corresponding privileges as to pay, &c. On rejoining they will not lose seniority but will be held as supernumerary in the same way as officers of the Regular Army on rejoining from extra-regimental employment.

VOLUNTEER RECRUITING.

*SIR ALBERT ROLLIT (Lllington, S.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State

for War is it the intention of the War Office to adhere to the Special Army Order of 2nd January, 1900, under which members of Volunteer corps on active service are to be considered supernumeraries, and to restrict recruiting to the normal strength of each corps.

***MR. WYNDHAM:** The effect of the Army order mentioned is to allow Volunteer corps to add as many new members as they have sent men to the front. The possibility of further extending this permission so as to allow the corps to exceed its establishment is under consideration.

VOLUNTEERS AND RIFLE PRACTICE.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War if he will consider the expediency of providing Volunteers with better facilities than at present exist for practising shooting; and will they be otherwise encouraged to obtain proficiency as marksmen.

***MR. WYNDHAM:** Efforts have been and are being made to acquire suitable ranges for rifle practice. The Volunteers will be given every encouragement to attain proficiency.

NEW RIFLE RANGES.

MR. RADCLIFFE COOKE: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether he can state how many rifle ranges in Great Britain have been closed within the last ten years, and what steps the Government are taking to secure a sufficiency of ranges for the due instruction in rifle shooting of the defensive forces of the country.

***MR. WYNDHAM:** A return of the ranges closed since 1890 was presented to the House in June last, and is printed as Sessional Paper 251. Since the date of that return one range has been closed and nineteen new ranges have been constructed or approved. Money is provided in the Military Works Loan for new ranges for Regulars and Militia; and Volunteers are assisted in acquiring ranges.

LICHFIELD RIFLE RANGE.

MR. WARNER: I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office if

the purchase and construction of rifle ranges has been set aside during the press of work owing to the war, or if any progress has been made, and especially what progress has been made towards the range for Wittington Barracks, near Lichfield.

***MR. WYNDHAM:** The purchase and construction of rifle ranges are proceeding, and are not affected by the war. The provisional order for the acquisition of land for the range at Lichfield has been signed, and the confirming Bill will be introduced in this House immediately.

MR. TOMLINSON (Preston): Have the Government had under consideration the question of the improvement of the means of access to existing ranges?

***MR. WYNDHAM:** I must ask for notice of that.

INCORRECTLY SIGHTED RIFLES.

MR. F. W. WILSON (Norfolk, Mid): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War if the new Lee-Enfield rifles issued last week to the Loyal Suffolk Hussars, who have volunteered for the front, have been called in because they were incorrectly sighted for a thousand yards.

***MR. WYNDHAM:** I propose to deal with this matter in the course of my speech to-night.

MR. F. W. WILSON: But I hope the hon. Gentleman will give me an answer. Some of these Volunteers sailed yesterday.

FORCES AVAILABLE FOR HOME DEFENCE.

MR. STEVENSON (Suffolk, Eye): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether he is able to state approximately what is at the present moment the effective numerical strength of the Regular Army within the limits of the United Kingdom under the heads of household cavalry, cavalry of the line, royal artillery, royal engineers, foot guards, infantry of the line, and special service corps.

***MR. WYNDHAM:** A statement will shortly be made as to the military situa-

tion. It will include the information asked for.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): Does the hon. Gentleman mean that a printed statement will be laid on the Table, or that a verbal statement will be made on behalf of the Government?

***MR. WYNDHAM**: So far as I have contemplated it will be made verbally by the Secretary for War in another place, and a similar statement will be made by me in this House. We will consult as to whether any printed statement should accompany it.

MAJOR RASCH (Essex, S.E.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in consideration of the fact that after the brigades under orders have sailed there will be practically no Regulars or organisation in the country, he will state what steps, if any, the Committee of National Defence is prepared to propose for the protection of the United Kingdom.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It has already been explained that a statement on this subject will be made in a form more convenient than in answer to a question.

QUICK-FIRING GUN TRIALS.

MR. HEDDERWICK: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether in 1896 trials of the 37 mm. automatic gun, which has been used in the present campaign by the Boers, were made at Shoeburyness; whether a year ago trials of modern quick-firing field guns, in competition with the service 15-pounder, were carried out at Okehampton; whether these trials took place under the supervision of experts appointed by the War Office; whether reports of the results of these trials were duly furnished to the War Office; and whether the Government will lay copies of the reports of these trials upon the Table of the House.

***MR. WYNDHAM**: The trials alluded to took place, though not at the dates named; in the trial of the quick-firing guns mentioned in paragraph 2, the service 12 pounder, not 15-pounder, was used. The trials were duly conducted under

proper superintendence, and reports furnished to the War Office, but they are confidential, and their publication would not be in the public interest.

ALLEGED OUTRAGE ON THE STOCK EXCHANGE.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he is aware that one of the partners of a firm of brokers was on 15th January, when he entered the London Stock Exchange, knocked down and kicked until he fainted by a crowd of stock jobbers interested in the war with the Transvaal, and that the perpetrators of this outrage thus ill-used this gentleman under the erroneous belief that his firm had refused to keep open the place of two clerks who had volunteered for service in South Africa; whether the Government intend to take any steps to bring to justice the ringleaders in this disorder; and whether, having regard to the fact that the Stock Exchange has been previously the scene of riotous proceedings in reference to the present war, he will take measures to prevent the repetition of similar outbursts.

***THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT** (Sir M. WHITE RIDLEY, Lancashire, Blackpool): It was open to the person stated to have been assaulted to take proceedings, and I can take no action in the matter. The Stock Exchange is a private place, and it is the duty of the authorities of the Stock Exchange to take whatever steps are necessary to preserve order therein.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Having regard to the influence the Government possess over the Stock Exchange, will the right hon. Gentleman recommend the authorities to take action?

[No answer was given.]

ISSUE OF TREASURY BILLS.

MR. BUCHANAN (Aberdeenshire, E.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer in what amounts, at what dates, for what times, and at what rates have the Treasury bills under the Act of last session been issued.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EX-CHEQUER (Sir M. HICKS-BEACH, Bristol, W.): (1) Issued on 15th Novem-

ber, 1899, to the public, in twelve months bills, £1,000,000, at an average price of £3 5s. 6d. per cent. per annum, and in six months bills, £2,000,000, at an average price of £3 18s. 4d. per cent. per annum. (2) Issued on 20th November, 1899, to the National Debt Commissioners, £500,000, in twelve months bills, at £3 5s. 6d. per cent. per annum, the rate at which the bills (1) were allotted to the public. (3) Issued on 30th December, 1899, to the Bank of England, £3,000,000, in three months bills, at £4 per cent. per annum. (4) Issued on 6th January, 1900, to the public £1,000,000 in twelve months bills, at an average price of £4 3s. 7d. per cent. per annum.

THE "VICTORIA AND ALBERT."

SIR E. GOURLEY: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty if he will be good enough to inform the House the cause of the capsizing of Her Majesty's new yacht "Victoria and Albert" when in Pembroke Dry Dock; whether extensive alterations are being made in the vessel's deck and masting arrangements; will he also state the nature of her ballast and if there are water-ballast tanks in all the holds and peaks, and the yacht's draught of water when empty and when filled; and where the coal bunkers are placed, and whether filled in part or wholly when the ship capsized.

MR. W. ALAN: I beg at the same time to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty what was the number of tons of pig-iron ballast put into Her Majesty's new yacht at Pembroke to bring the vessel into an upright position; whether there is a serious mistake in her design, seeing the centre of gravity of the vessel is too high, necessitating the adoption of iron ballasting to secure stability; will this pig-iron ballast remain in her during her trials at sea; if so, why will it not be removed so that the vessel's stability as designed can be substantiated; and what is the cost and nature of the repairs the vessel is now undergoing at Portsmouth Dockyard.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. G. J. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): I think I had best answer these questions by a clear, consecutive statement of the actual facts. In the calculations on which the design of the

Royal yacht was based many of the weights, especially those connected with the structures composing the upper portion of the ship, must have been greatly under-estimated; and various additions to these weights, among which was an increase in the height of the masts, were sanctioned during her construction for the sake of improving her appearance and comfort, under the idea that the original estimate had been a sufficiently liberal one to justify these changes. The result was that while the dockyard officers supposed that at the time the vessel was floated she would be in the condition she was designed to be in when empty of coal and stores, and therefore perfectly safe, she was actually unstable when upright, and heeled over to a considerable angle. Owing to a defect in the caisson at the entrance to the dock the water could not be retained at its full height, and the vessel's bilges rested on the blocks and against the side of the dock. A considerable amount of crushing in of the outer bottom occurred, but the inner bottom was only injured to a slight extent. This damage is now being made good at Portsmouth, and the cost is being kept separate. Until fresh calculations, which are in progress, have been made of all the weights that have still to go into the ship it is impossible to say exactly what the extent of the error in estimate was, or what alterations will be necessary to ensure satisfactory conditions of stability, but they will probably include the shortening of the masts and funnels, the removal of a large quantity of silicate cotton which was introduced between the cabin bulkheads and in other places for the sake of deadening sound, and the removal of the greater part of the forecastle. In the alterations that are made the greatest care will be taken to interfere as little as possible with either the comfort or appearance of the vessel, or with her efficiency in any way. When the vessel was first floated her bunkers and holds were empty. On leaving Pembroke she had 270 tons of coal on board, and about 550 tons of water and iron ballast. In this condition she had a mean draught of 19ft. 6in. On the passage from Pembroke to Portsmouth she experienced a heavy sea, and proved herself an excellent seaboat with very easy motion and a total absence of vibration from the engines. Sir W. White, who throughout his long

and distinguished career has had conspicuous success in producing ships which have invariably almost exactly fulfilled their design, accepts full responsibility for the mistake, for which at present he is unable to account. The matter will, of course, form the subject of a careful inquiry as soon as the necessary calculations to establish the actual facts have been completed.

MR. W. ALLAN : May I ask the right hon. Gentleman if it is the intention of the Admiralty authorities to keep pig-iron ballast in Her Majesty's yacht so as to render it stable ?

MR. GOSCHEN : The whole matter is under inquiry. I have nothing to add at present to what I have stated, and, of course, I shall be perfectly prepared to give every possible information.

MR. W. ALLAN : This is a matter of national importance. Do I understand from the right hon. Gentleman that there has been a mistake made, as his words imply, in the design of this yacht and in her construction, rendering her unstable for Her Majesty whenever she goes abroad ?

MR. GOSCHEN : A mistake has been committed. That is fully acknowledged by Sir William White ; but in remembering that mistake I trust the enormous services he has rendered to the shipping of the nation will not be forgotten. He admits he has made a mistake for which he is at present unable to account.

MR. W. ALLAN : Then—

***MR. SPEAKER :** Order, order ! The right hon. Gentleman has fully answered the question.

PACIFIC CABLE BOARD.

MR. HOGAN : I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is aware that the dilatory proceedings of the Pacific Cable Board have occasioned considerable disappointment and dissatisfaction in the colonies concerned ; and whether he can state the position in which this important Imperial undertaking now stands.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN : The Pacific Cable Committee have held two meetings,

and are making inquiries with a view to the settlement of a definite scheme. These inquiries, relating as they do to technical questions, necessarily take time, but I have no doubt that there will be no avoidable delay.

EASTERN TELEGRAPH COMPANY'S CONCESSIONS.

MR. HOGAN : I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether certain concessions have recently been granted to the Eastern Telegraph Company as regards the opening of independent offices in the Australian capitals in connection with their proposed new cable from South Africa to Australia ; and whether there is any ground for the apprehension that these concessions will seriously affect the financial success of the cable that is about to be laid from Canada to Australia under the auspices of the Imperial, Canadian, and Australian Governments.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN : The application of the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company was, I understand, under the consideration of the Australian Premiers at their Conference last week, but I have not yet been informed whether they have arrived at a decision. The bearing of the application on the prospects of the Pacific cable will no doubt have been carefully considered by them.

ANGLO-GERMAN SECRET TREATY.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES : I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the secret treaty between Great Britain and Germany, with reference to Africa, will be communicated, either in its full terms or so as to convey its effect to this House ; can he state generally the subjects to which it refers ; and can he, consistently with the interests of the public service, give any information regarding it.

***THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (MR. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford) :** I am not in a position to give the House any information on this subject.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL : Will the right hon. Gentleman kindly state the date of the treaty ? Was it a few days before the meeting of Parliament in October last ?

[No answer was given.]

FAMINE IN INDIA.

SIR W. WEDDERBURN (Banffshire): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether he can state the number of persons on famine relief in the affected districts of India, the extent of the area and the population affected, and the estimated cost of relief up to 31st March and afterwards; and, whether he will now suggest to the Lord Mayor of London the expediency of opening a Mansion House Fund for subscriptions in this country.

LORD G. HAMILTON: The number of persons in receipt of famine relief in India at the end of January is approximately 3,500,000. The population affected by the famine is estimated at 49 millions, of which 22 millions are in territory administered by the British Government, and 27 millions in the territories of native princes. The area affected is about 550,000 square miles, of which 150,000 are in British territory and 400,000 in native territory. The relief expenditure up to the end of March 1900 is calculated to be between 3 and 4 crores of rupees. No accurate estimate of the probable relief expenditure after that date can at present be made. As regards the last part of the question I would refer the hon. Baronet to the correspondence which has passed between the Lord Mayor and myself on the subject.

HEXHAM RAILWAY ACCIDENT.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he will cause an inquiry to be made respecting the accident to a cattle train which occurred on 31st October, 1898, between the stations of Fourstones and Hexham, on the road to Newcastle; Whether he is aware that, owing to the breakage of couplings and a subsequent collision, many cattle were killed and others seriously injured, and the remainder were detained 28 hours in transit for a distance of about 60 miles; and whether the railway company made any report of this accident.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (MR. RITCHIE, Croydon): The accident referred to was not reported by the company. They were not under legal obligation to report it, and the Statute does not provide for an official

inquiry. I have communicated with the North-Eastern Railway Company, and the manager informs me that the uninjured cattle were placed in a field adjoining the railway, and that they were removed the morning after the accident. No person was injured.

DUBLIN MUSEUM—REMOVAL OF OLD FURNITURE.

MR. DALY (Monaghan, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can explain why the authorities at South Kensington have removed from the Dublin Museum attractive old furniture that was so much admired by visitors, and of so much use to the Dublin people as models to manufacture from; whether he is aware that a catalogue was arranged for sale in the Dublin Museum incorporating furniture removed; and whether he can state what course he intends to take to get this furniture returned to Dublin Museum.

THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL ON EDUCATION (SIR J. GORST, Cambridge University): The furniture in question was a loan from the Circulation Division of the Victoria and Albert Museum from the collection which it circulates to the Dublin and other museums in the United Kingdom. The loan has been left for a long period, but is now required for another museum. The furniture removed was included in the catalogue mentioned by mistake.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT—SUGGESTED AMENDMENTS.

SIR J. T. WOODHOUSE (Huddersfield): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether it is the intention of the Government, during the present session, to introduce a Bill to extend the provisions of the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897, to agricultural labourers and other classes of workmen not now comprised within the Act; and, if so, when such Bill will be introduced.

*SIR M. WHITE RIDLEY: The Government have always hoped to be able to propose an extension of this Act, but under present circumstances we cannot see our way to promising such proposals during this session.

MR. FIELD: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he has received a resolution from a meeting of the Dockers' Union, held in Dublin, protesting against the decision of a judge excluding casual labourers from the benefit of the Working Men's Compensation Act; and whether the Government intend to introduce an amending Act in respect to casual labourers, and to the definitions of factory, machinery and plant, buildings, scaffoldings, distance of fall, time for service of notice and claim, and also other points which have been legally interpreted against the interests of the working men.

***SIR M. WHITE RIDLEY:** Yes. I received a copy of the resolution. The hon. Member was himself good enough to send it to me. I have seen it stated that there is to be an appeal against the decision in question. Whatever the result of the appeal may be, there are no doubt several points in the Act as to which amendment will eventually be necessary; but I do not think that the Act can be said to have been interpreted at all generally against the interests of working men. I have already stated, in answer to a previous question, that we cannot see our way to legislation on this subject at the present moment.

IRISH LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS.

MR. DILLON: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury what procedure has been adopted by his Department for the consideration of claims put before it by way of appeal from the amounts of compensation fixed for existing officers who have refused to act, or are not employed by the county councils in Ireland, under the provisions of the Local Government Act, 1898, and whether any opportunity, and what, is given for the views of the county council being put before the Department in respect of these claims, and how the Departments act when a difficult question of law arises affecting the right of the applicant to any compensation, and which there is not provided by the statute any power to determine by the Irish courts of law; and whether he has any objection to grant a return showing the results of the appeals in these cases up to the present to his Department.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (MR. HANBURY, Preston): The practice of the Treasury is to ascertain and sift the facts of the case by correspondence with the parties concerned, and, having done so, and having referred to the statutes affecting the case as well as to previous decisions, if any, to calculate the sum which should be awarded according to the provisions of the Seventh Schedule to the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898. Before a decision is finally made, an opportunity is always given to the county council to put its views on the case before the Treasury by letter. When a difficult question of law arises, the Treasury consults its legal advisers. I am not aware of any objection, on principle, to granting the return asked for, but I think it would be better to wait until at least a year has elapsed since the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, came into operation (1st April, 1899), as the appeals as yet decided are few.

MR. DILLON: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has any objection to grant a return showing the result of the action of the Local Government Board for Ireland in fixing the remuneration of county and district council officials in Ireland where there was an appeal to them from the sums fixed by those councils; and what inquiry was made, if any, by the Local Government Board before they fixed the amount, and whether they consulted with the county and district councils concerned in every case before finally determining the amount in order to have their views on the subject.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (MR. G. W. BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): The salaries of "existing" officers of county and district councils have not yet all been fixed. I see no objection to the publication of the return as soon as it is complete. In August last the Local Government Board wrote to each county and urban district council inviting their observations upon the claims made by their officers for increased remuneration under Section 115 (18) of the Local Government Act, and all representations received from the councils in response to this request, as well as all entries on the minutes of their

proceedings upon the same subject, received full consideration from the Board.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): Has the question of the legality of all these claims been taken into consideration by the Local Government Board?

MR. G. W. BALFOUR: Yes.

CAPTAIN DONELAN (Cork, E.): Were the council in each individual case consulted?

MR. G. W. BALFOUR: The Board's functions were confined to the operation of the 115th Section, Sub-section 18.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): Will the same plan apply to cases of superannuation?

MR. G. W. BALFOUR: I must ask for notice of that question.

PARCEL POST BETWEEN ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, whether more than fourteen years have elapsed since negotiations commenced with a view to establishing parcel post between England and the United States; whether he is aware that there is a parcel post arrangement between the United States and several British colonies; and whether a parcel post has been established between Germany and the United States.

MR. HANBURY: The answer to all three paragraphs of the hon. Member's question is in the affirmative. Renewed proposals for a parcel post with this country have recently been made to the United States Post Office, and the Postmaster General hopes soon to receive a favourable reply.

CORK POST OFFICE.

MR. MAURICE HEALY: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, when the work of extending the Cork Post Office will be commenced.

MR. HANBURY: It is hoped that the work will be begun in April next.

CORK STAMP OFFICE.

MR. MAURICE HEALY: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether any steps are being taken to transfer the Stamp Office in Cork from the Custom House to some more convenient centre.

MR. HANBURY: The question of transferring the Inland Revenue Offices in Cork from the Custom House to some more central position is under consideration by the Commissioners of Inland Revenue and the Board of Works in Ireland—but no definite scheme has so far been formulated.

TELEPHONE COMMUNICATION IN THE SOUTH OF IRELAND.

MR. MAURICE HEALY: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, whether the Postmaster General has received representations from the Cork Chamber of Shipping and Commerce as to the great want of trunk telephonic communication between Cork and the neighbouring cities and towns of the South of Ireland; and what steps are being taken to remedy this grievance.

MR. HANBURY: The Cork Chamber of Commerce and Shipping ask to have direct trunk wire communication established between Cork and Youghal, Mallow, Tralee, Fermoy, Dungarvan, and Waterford. There are at present no telephone exchanges in any of these towns except Tralee and Waterford. At Tralee the number of exchange subscribers is very small. Efficient trunk wire communication between Cork and Waterford is already provided, though not by a direct circuit, but the number of messages is less than two a day on the average. There seems, therefore, no prospect that the amount of business would give any adequate return for the large outlay involved in carrying out the proposals; but if local guarantees are given the trunk wires will be provided.

IRISH LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTION PETITIONS.

MR. DILLON: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he will consent to publish as a Parliamentary Paper the judgments delivered by the Commissioners selected to

try the Local Government Election Petitions in Ireland during 1899, prefaced by a brief statement of the grounds upon which the petition was brought and the relief claimed by the petitioner.

MR. G. W. BALFOUR: The cost of the preparation of a return such as is indicated in the question would be very great, and it does not appear to me that its publication would serve any useful object commensurate with the expense. Under the circumstances, I am unable to consent to the return.

IRISH LOCAL GOVERNMENT ORDERS.

MR. MAURICE HEALY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can explain why it is that the Return of Rules and Orders issued under the Irish Local Government Act, ordered to be printed last August, has not yet been issued to Members.

MR. G. W. BALFOUR: I understand that this return, which is a very voluminous one, will be ready for distribution in the course of a day or two.

MR. MAURICE HEALY: Will it be kept up to date?

IRISH DISTRICT COUNCILLORS' DISQUALIFICATIONS.

MR. POWER (Waterford, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, seeing that the Local Government Board have stated that five tenants of cottages erected under the Labourers Acts who have been elected to the Kilmacthomas Rural District Council are disqualified from acting as rural district councillors, the Local Government Board have decided that they are also disqualified from acting as guardians; whether steps will be taken to have a test case under Article 12 (5) of the Order in Council on the subject decided; whether the members of the Kilmacthomas Rural District Council referred to had acted for a considerable time before the Local Government Board called their attention to the above-mentioned view of the law; and, if it is found that these five tenants of cottages are disqualified from acting as district councillors or guardians, will the

Government insert a clause in their proposed Amending Act dealing with a matter of much interest in most parts of Ireland.

MR. G. W. BALFOUR: The Local Government Board's attention has been called to the fact that tenants of labourers' cottages, acting as district councillors, have voted for a reduction in the cottage rents, and the Board have been advised that tenants of these cottages are disqualified by the provisions of Article 12 (4) (e) of the Application of Enactments Order from being members of a district council, by reason of their being concerned in a bargain or contract with the district council. Disqualification from acting as a rural district councillor would carry with it a disqualification from acting as guardian. The Local Government Board are about to take steps to obtain a judicial decision on the subject in order to test the correctness of the opinion which they have expressed on the subject.

IRISH AGRICULTURAL GRANTS.

CAPTAIN DONELAN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the proportion of the agricultural grant allotted to the relief of occupiers under the Local Government (Ireland) Act has been found sufficient to cover half the county cess upon agricultural land on the basis of the standard year; and whether steps will be taken to make good any deficiency.

MR. G. W. BALFOUR: The proportion of the Agricultural Grant, in respect of county cess, is, in each county, a fixed sum equal to one-half the amount certified to have been raised by county cess during the standard year. It cannot, as yet, be stated whether this sum is equal to one-half the present year's rate, as the audits of the accounts have not yet been completed. Whether the amount will prove equal to the proportion of the poor rate to be raised for county charges in succeeding years will largely depend upon whether the county and district councils are economical in their administration, or the reverse. If the rate for county purposes exceeds the standard year rate, the Government will not make up the deficiency in the grant, nor in the event of the rate being below that of the

standard year will they demand that any portion of the grant shall be refunded by the Councils.

CAPTAIN DONELAN : If the amount is not sufficient to meet the sum raised during the standard year, will the deficiency be made good ?

MR. G. W. BALFOUR : I have already replied to that question.

ROAD MAINTENANCE IN IRELAND.

CAPTAIN DONELAN : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of the desirability of giving labourers in Ireland an opportunity of undertaking the maintenance and repair of roads, steps will be taken to empower the various councils to carry out this work by means of direct employment.

MR. G. W. BALFOUR : There is no power, under the existing law, to give effect to the suggestion contained in this question. The matter, however, is under the consideration of the Government.

MR. FLYNN : Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that power is given to the County Councils under the English Local Government Act ?

MR. G. W. BALFOUR : Yes, Sir.

RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS OF IRISH JUDGES.

MR. DALY : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that out of 18 judges in the superior courts in Ireland only three are Roman Catholics ; and seeing that another Protestant judge has been appointed within the past few days in a country where two-thirds of the population are Roman Catholics, whether he can devise any means of remedying this state of things.

MR. G. W. BALFOUR : The reply to the first paragraph is in the affirmative. With respect to the second paragraph, it would appear to me impracticable and mischievous to lay down any rule which should make religion the determining qualification in the appointment of judges.

IRISH PROBATE DUTY.

MR. TULLY (Leitrim, S.) : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland will he explain why in the case of the Roscommon County Council only half the amounts payable in respect of probate duties on behalf of the different poor law unions in Roscommon, and half the amounts payable in respect of medical and educational expenditure and sanitary salaries, have been lodged to the credit of the council, and whether it is intended to lodge the remaining half with the county treasurer before 31st March next, so that allowance may be made for these sums in the rate to be struck for the half-year from last September to next March.

MR. G. W. BALFOUR : There has been some delay in the distribution of the probate duty grant owing to new rules having to be made by the Privy Council, dealing with this matter. It is hoped, however, that two instalments will be distributed before the 31st of March next. The recoupments in respect of medical and educational expenditure incurred in unions, and of sanitary salaries paid in rural districts during the half-year ended the 30th September last, will be made before the 31st of March.

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION IN IRELAND.

MR. FIELD : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Government will introduce a Bill to amend the Intermediate Education Act of 1879, or whether they will assist an Irish Member to introduce and pass a measure of amendment.

MR. G. W. BALFOUR : (Yes, Sir, a Bill is being prepared and will be introduced before very long.

IRELAND AND THE ALLOTMENTS ACT.

MR. FIELD : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Government intend to extend the Allotments Act to Ireland this session.

MR. G. W. BALFOUR : I can give no pledge.

CODIFICATION OF IRISH STATUTES.

MR. MAURICE HEALY : I beg to ask Mr. Attorney General for Ireland whether any Bill or Bills codifying Irish Statutes will be introduced this year.

MR. G. W. BALFOUR : I cannot give any undertaking that a measure of the kind suggested will be introduced this session.

JUDICIAL RENTS IN IRELAND.

MR. FLAVIN : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that tenants' applications from Ballymacelligot and Castleland districts to have judicial rents fixed have been lodged since March 1898 ; and whether, owing to the great delay that has been frequently caused in the hearing of fair rent applications, some representations will be made to the Land Commission to have more frequent sittings of that body.

MR. G. W. BALFOUR : I understand the fact is as stated in the first paragraph. A sub-Commission sat in Tralee in October last for the hearing of cases from the districts mentioned, and a further sitting will be arranged for by the Land Commissioners at as early a date as possible.

IRISH GOLD ORNAMENTS.

SIR G. ESMONDE (Kerry, West) : I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury what steps the Government propose to take with reference to the Irish gold ornaments recently acquired by the British Museum.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR : There has been a most regrettable delay in connection with this matter. Up to the present time we have not obtained the decision of the English law officers upon certain special points submitted to them. I understand that that decision will soon be communicated to the Government, and as soon as it is communicated to the Government I shall be happy to inform the House on the matter.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE.

MR. WARNER : I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if Her Majesty's Government contemplate introducing legislation early this session to compel

the clergy of the Church of England to obey the Prayer Book and the rules and ordinances of the Church as laid down by the Crown and the decisions of the courts.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR : The answer is in the negative.

RESIGNATION OF THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.—VOTE OF THANKS TO SIR R. PALGRAVE.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (MR. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.) : I gave notice on Tuesday last that I would to day ask the House to pass a vote of thanks to their late Clerk, Sir Reginald Palgrave. I need not, I am sure, insist at any length upon the propriety of that course, which I am certain meets the wishes of every single gentleman I am addressing. Sir Reginald Palgrave was not only fitted for his office by great knowledge of Parliamentary tradition and Parliamentary learning ; he not only had that essential requisite for a Clerk of this House, a great knowledge of the long history and tradition which lies behind us, but he had, what is perhaps even more important in one in his place, that invariable courtesy which made him the adviser to whom all, whatever their opinions, whatever their standing in the House, could apply, with the certainty that he would give them not only a courteous answer, but all the assistance which his great knowledge enabled him to give. Under these circumstances I shall only be giving expression to the general view when I ask the House to concur in the following resolution—

“ That Mr. Speaker be requested to convey to Sir Reginald Francis Douce Palgrave, K.C.B., on his retirement from the office of Clerk of the House, the assurance of its sincere appreciation of the valuable aid it has derived from his intimate acquaintance with the law and custom of Parliament, acquired during upwards of forty-six years of devoted service in different offices, of which thirty-one have been passed at the Table of the House, where his accurate knowledge and ready advice have rendered constant assistance to the House and its Members in the conduct of its ever-increasing business.”

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs) : I do not know that this motion requires anything in the way of seconding, but I am sure I speak the opinion of all on this side of the House in

saying that we entirely concur with the right hon. Gentleman in the appreciation which he has in such felicitous terms expressed of the services of Sir Reginald Palgrave, and that we shall all unite heartily in this public recognition of his services.

Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That Mr. Speaker be requested to convey to Sir Reginald Francis Douce Palgrave, K.C.B., on his retirement from the office of Clerk of this House, the assurance of its sincere appreciation of the valuable aid it has derived from his intimate acquaintance with the law and custom of Parliament, acquired during upwards of forty-six years of devoted service in different offices, of which thirty-one have been passed at the Table, where his accurate knowledge and ready advice have rendered constant assistance to the House and its Members in the conduct of its ever-increasing business.—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[THIRD DAY'S DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment [30th January] to Question [30th January], "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, as followeth—

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Captain Pretyman.*)

And which Amendment was, "At the end of the Question, to add the words—

'But we humbly express our regret at the want of knowledge, foresight, and judgment displayed by Your Majesty's advisers, alike in their conduct of South African affairs since 1895 and in their preparations for the war now proceeding.'—(*Lord Edmond Fitzaurice.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added."

Debate resumed.

*SIR CHARLES' DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): In one of Shakespeare's plays, the first part of "Henry VI.," a messenger comes in to the council and tells what is the state of things prevailing with regard to the British arms in France. He relates there a state of things which is very similar to that existing as regards our arms in South Africa now. I have no doubt that the messenger was not a popular person at the time he made that speech, and that the leading member of the council had the same view with regard to his statements of fact as the First Lord of the Treasury has with regard to this debate, namely, that the country takes no interest in it at all. But I cannot help thinking there have been, and will be, matters raised in this debate in which the country does take the very deepest interest. I certainly have become aware of such an interest by the ordinary means by which a Member of this House obtains information as to the opinions of his own constituents. We need hardly dwell upon the winter through which we have passed. There is hardly a Member of this House—I doubt if there is one—who has not relatives or dear friends either dead, wounded, prisoners at Pretoria, or dying of typhoid in one of those entrenched camps the history of which, as has been said by the greatest of military writers, is inextricably mixed up with the history of capitulations. The country has gone through an awful winter, and under our constitutional system there are persons responsible, and we have to examine the nature and character of that responsibility. Some Government speakers who during the recess have addressed the country have drawn certain comparisons between the occurrences in this war and those in the Crimean War. There is this great difference, that in the Crimean War the arms of this country met with no single check. We went even in that terrible autumn and winter from the victory of the Alma to the victory of Balaclava and on to that of Inkerman. Throughout the whole of the Crimean War the British arms never met with a check at all. ["Redan."] What occurred in that instance? The town was taken, it was evacuated that night. There was a slight repulse, but the town was evacuated on the night of the great attack, and Sebas-

topol fell with losses, even in the final attack, which are small compared with the losses we have suffered in this campaign, and without a single prisoner being taken. I remember—I am sorry to say I am old enough—on the night of the fireworks of the peace illumination at the close of the war—I was a child in the crowd—I passed the residence of a Member of this House who had illuminated his house with a transparency, in which he said, "This is a mourning for a war disgracefully conducted." I confess that I believe the present war has been far more disgracefully conducted than the Crimean War had been, and that the mourning is far more applicable to this case. Now, with regard to the checks or reverses—that is the accepted phrase—we are really afraid in these days to talk about "disasters."—the First Lord of the Treasury at Manchester distinctly stated there had been "no disaster." There has been no single great engagement in which we have met with an absolute disaster, but for the first time in our military history there has been a succession of checks or reverses—unredeemed as they have been by a single great military success in the whole course of the war—in many of which we have left prisoners in the enemy's hands. We began with the abandonment of the entrenched camp at Dundee, and of the great accumulation of stores that had been made there, of the wounded and of the dying general, and we lost the headquarters of a regiment of cavalry that tried a cavalry pursuit. We lost the headquarters of two battalions at Nicholson's Nek; we lost the headquarters of one battalion and a very large portion of another battalion in the repulse at Stormberg; we lost the colonel, most of the field officers, and the whole of one company of the Suffolks on another occasion. These headquarters of cavalry, and the principal portion of the remaining men of five battalions of British infantry, are now prisoners at Pretoria, not to speak of what happened to the Highland Brigade at Magersfontein, or of the loss of the guns in the repulse at the Tugela, or of the fact that thirteen of our field guns, besides a mountain battery, are now in the enemy's hands. The loss of guns in proportion to our small strength of guns is equivalent to the loss of some 300 guns by the German army. None of these events constitutes what the First

Lord of the Treasury calls a disaster. Probably he is right. But can any Member of this House deny that the net result of these proceedings has been disastrous to the belief of the world in our ability to conduct a war? Therefore, if there has been, as the right hon. Gentleman says, no one disaster, surely the result of the proceedings has been one disastrous to the credit of this country. There has been one immense redemption of that disaster, which is that all the Powers, however hostile, have very frankly acknowledged on these occasions the heroism of the officers and men. Our military reputation, which undoubtedly never stood lower in the eyes of the world than at the present moment, is redeemed in that respect, and the individual courage of officers and men never stood higher in the estimate of the world than it does now. It seems to me to be a patriotic duty of those who have in the past discussed in this House the question of Cabinet responsibility for military preparations to discuss the question now; to see who is responsible, whom I will not say we will hang, but whom we are to hold blameworthy in the highest degree for what has occurred. I believe that the opinion is attributed to the Prime Minister that the British Constitution is not a fighting machine. I am told he has thrown doubt upon the working of the British Constitution as a Constitution which will allow this country successfully to go to war. That is a very serious matter. The Constitution of this country has been maintained as a fighting machine by the Members of this House who are now responsible for the Administration. No one has ever put the doctrine of Cabinet responsibility for preparation for war higher than it has always been put by the present Leader of the House, and anything more direct than the conflict on that point, as on many others, between his opinion and the opinion of the Prime Minister it is impossible to conceive. Some of us have sometimes been charged with a certain measure of heresy upon this point. The suggestions I have made have never been those which have been made by some of my friends as to the appointment of a soldier invested with all power, in imitation of the Prussian system. I have always recognised the necessities of our constitutional situation, and, though the First Lord has sometimes

charged me, or appeared to charge me, with holding these heretical views, as a fact I have always agreed with him on this point. The suggestion which I made was a suggestion that all Army reform should be accomplished in this country by the Prime Minister, that the Prime Minister should take the office of Secretary of State for War, as the only man in the Cabinet who would be strong enough to carry this reform through. No one has put Cabinet responsibility so high as the First Lord of the Treasury undoubtedly has, and he must see that this is the occasion when that doctrine of Cabinet responsibility must be pressed home, and responsibility for what has occurred must be there. The right hon. Gentleman seems to doubt that he has ever put that doctrine so high. We shall see. On Thursday last the right hon. Member who preceded me in this debate—the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs—delivered a speech, and made a statement which he did not make again last night, and a similar statement was made in this debate from the benches opposite. The Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs said that all which had been done in this war had been “solely dictated by military advice,” and “military advice alone determined all that had been done.” I should like the House to consider what that statement means. The right hon. Gentleman was the member who, on three occasions, brought the question of the ammunition supplies of this country before the House: it was he who moved the amendment which turned out the Rosebery Administration on the cordite debate, and he led the discussion on two subsequent occasions on which we debated the same question. At the opening of the next Parliament the whole question of Ministerial responsibility for war preparation was thoroughly and exhaustively considered by this House. I confess that I did not expect to hear the right hon. Gentleman—who, on those three occasions, so firmly pressed, to the very extinction of the Government itself, the doctrine of Cabinet responsibility—as it were sheltering the Cabinet behind military advice, advice which he rejected, as also did the Leader of the House, with scorn upon that occasion. There was a dispute in the second debate as to what the exact nature of that military advice may have been, and finally we got out the

facts in the third debate. When the Government was defeated, the hon. Gentleman opposite and the First Lord of the Treasury absolutely declined to accept that plea of military advice, and maintained the sound constitutional view of absolute Cabinet responsibility for preparation for war. I agreed with that view at the time, and I do so now. I feel it a duty to myself, and to all who hold the same opinion as I do, to press home this doctrine of Cabinet responsibility on this occasion. In that debate the hon. Member who seems likely to follow me in this debate—the present Under Secretary for war—took part. He was then a private Member and warmly occupied his mind upon this question, and he used these words—

“If they were overwhelmed by disasters the Minister for War would be held responsible.”

Not only he, but the whole Cabinet are responsible, and the present Leader of the House in following the hon. Member in that debate emphasised that fact, and pointed out the importance of complete Cabinet responsibility. That doctrine was emphatically maintained. There are practical reasons why this question should be pressed home on this occasion. This is obviously the time to press it home if ever it should be done, and it seems to me that such practical reasons are to be found in two considerations. We have been told that at the beginning of every war it is always fated that there should be muddling. We have been told it from both sides of the House that we always begin by muddling our wars. If there is one fact more certain than another it is that, in future wars, not with Boer Republics but with great Powers, there will be no time for muddling at the beginning of war, and it is vital that this muddling should be guarded against. If we are to look forward as a matter of certainty that this country is always to muddle at the beginning of a war, then we may look forward with almost certainty to defeat. The other consideration which I venture to put forward upon this subject is that I believe the Government even now do not fully realise what this war, begun as they began it, still involves. I believe that pressure upon this point, with reflection upon what has passed and their responsibility for what

Sir Charles Dilke.

has occurred, may help in bringing home to them the great responsibility which still lies upon them in this respect. I have the strongest possible feeling as to what has happened up to the present, and I regard it as vital for the future that we should guard against any such recurrence. I do not despair even now of the military situation of the present war, and I do not accept those prophecies of evil in regard to the war which some Members have pronounced. I am convinced that it is our duty now to state the facts connected with the present war to the House as they appear to us with regard to the responsibility of the Cabinet in the matter of the deficiency of their knowledge and their military preparations. The right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs threw out a challenge to us in which he said--

"They had not heard the definite charge as to military preparations. Let them give us the facts."

I will try to answer that challenge, and give facts to the Government and to the House which at all events appear to us to demand an answer from the Government which they have not yet received. I do not wish to press the question of what was known to "the man in the street." I understand that the man in the street knew as much as the Government as to whether at a certain time, when military preparations might have been made, there would or would not have been war. That admission of ignorance at that time is followed by a more definite statement of ignorance as to whether there would or would not have been war with the two Republics, if war came at all. This question has been left in a singular position by the discussion across the Table of the House between the two Leaders the other day. The speech to which reference was made, but which was not quoted, was delivered at Dewsbury on the 28th of November last, and these were the words used by the Leader of the House. He said--

"If I had been asked two months ago whether it was likely we should be at war with the Orange Free State, I should have said 'You might as well expect us to be at war with Switzerland.' They were loyal friends, from whom we had nothing to fear, and who had nothing to fear from us."

That statement seems to me to be an amazing one in face of the facts. The

House will note that the papers circulated here this morning bear upon this question, but at all events we know that, as the Leader of the Opposition remarked at the time, there was a public alliance between these two Republics, and that alliance had been strengthened after the raid and the conspiracy at Johannesburg with every element of publicity. There had been meetings and banquets, and speeches made by the two Presidents had been published to the world in which it was openly declared to be their common intention to wage war jointly if war could not be averted. There has been a White-book published this morning, and in it you will find that the Government knew on the 6th of September that "every preparation had been made by the Orange Free State" in the event of war to "attack Natal upon short notice," and that all the Free State farmers who generally stayed in Natal had already "trekked" from that State and sacrificed their sheep. Those facts were before the Government early in September. On the 21st of September there was a speech made by the President of the Orange Free State in the Raad at the opening of the war session, and in that speech President Steyn distinctly declared that in the event of war the Orange Free State would go with the Transvaal. I confess that I can hardly understand the statement of the Government that they were ignorant of the fact that in case of war they would have to meet the forces of the two Republics, and it seems to me almost incredible that in the face of these facts such ignorance could have existed in the minds of the Government.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): Let me explain how the matter stands. In that part of my speech I was referring to the general course of events which had led up to the war, and I stated distinctly and emphatically that it was *a priori* incredible that the Orange Free State would be so idiotic as to sacrifice their independence in a fight with a nation which had never interfered with them, with whom they had never interfered, and with whom they had lived on terms of perfect amity. I was not discussing our knowledge of their intention or the military situation. We were aware that the Orange Free State had been nominally in alliance with the Transvaal, and we had

no doubt that the great mass of the young Free State Boers would join the Transvaal; but we had no grounds for thinking that there were any diplomatic or international reasons why the Orange Free State should take action with the Transvaal.

***SIR CHARLES DILKE:** Then I understand that the Government wished the Orange Free State to join the Transvaal?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I said from a military point of view it had not the importance which the right hon. Gentleman attributes to it.

***SIR CHARLES DILKE:** I was trying to find some excuse for the Government under-estimating the extent of the enemy's forces and the number of troops necessary for this war, but I do not find the excuse that I expected on this point.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: We do not want any excuse.

***SIR CHARLES DILKE:** I think it will be found that some excuse is necessary. The attitude at all events of the Orange Free State had been stated by themselves in an official communication to their Consuls-General in foreign capitals. It was to the effect that they intended to act on the terms of their alliance if they could not preserve peace, but that they were using all their efforts to preserve peace. Moreover, the Government, had there been any doubt as to the action of the Free State, had by their language made that action certain. The Leader of the House in his Manchester speech said that during the negotiations it was above all things the duty of the Government "to abstain from unnecessary menace," but they not only did not abstain from unnecessary menace, but they had also failed to make sufficient military preparations. I do not rely so much—unexpected as it was at the time—on the publication of Sir Alfred Milner's despatch of May, which caused a shock in the country and made war seem much more likely than anyone had thought before that time. I rely chiefly on some language used by Lord Salisbury in the House of Lords. We have no right constitutionally to draw a distinction between Minister and Minister, but you cannot prevent foreign

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countries from doing it. They regard a particular Minister as being a stronger friend of peace in any particular negotiations than another Minister. Lord Salisbury undoubtedly enjoyed that reputation in South Africa, and it was thought that his weight as Prime Minister would be exerted on the side of peace. Lord Salisbury, however, at this particular moment most conspicuously violated the duty which the Leader of the House said rested on the Government, and did so without making any preparations for war. On the 28th July, the Prime Minister, speaking in the House of Lords, used these words with regard to the Conventions—"The Conventions are mortal. . . . They are liable to be destroyed." I confess, looking at the negotiations at that time, if I had been an inhabitant of either of the two Republics I should have treated that statement of the Prime Minister as a threat of annexation, and as holding out the prospect of a war in which the independence of my country would be taken away. Were these words, whether wise or unwise in themselves, wise when used without the smallest preparation for war having been made? Afterwards, more language of a similar kind was used, but it is on these words used at that particular period that I mostly rely. I think it is established that the Government at that time did not expect war, or, at any rate, war with the two Republics. At all events they hoped against war; but the language I have quoted made war more probable. Did the Government have before them ample information as to what this war, which they thought possible though not probable, would be if it came about? On that question absolutely different answers have been given by the Leader of the House and the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister says, "No, we had not the information." The Leader of the House says, "Yes, we had it." The Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in the speech he made on Thursday last, said, "If there were miscalculation the Government were themselves deceived." The Leader of the House said, "We did know of the Boer armaments," and the Prime Minister said, "How on earth were we to know?" This question of information or misinformation of the Government also has a personal aspect. For between two and three months the most cruel attacks were

made on Sir William Butler on this very point of the non-information of the Government, and it was said by almost every person and newspaper discussing the question that Sir William Butler was the person who should have given information to the Government, and that he had not given that information. That charge was made against him by a supporter of the Government—Lord Heneage—in terms which constituted, in fact, a charge of treason. The Under Secretary of State for War defended Sir William Butler in general terms.

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (MR. WYNDHAM, DOVER): Yes, early in October.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: Yes, but two months after the defence a Cabinet Minister used words which, if they had been taken apart from the previous charge, might pass as merely a party statement to a party meeting, but which I say, given the original charge and punctuated by the cheers of an excited meeting, were really as cruel an attack as any. The charge against Sir William Butler was, in fact, the charge of treason. It was the same charge on which I heard Marshal Bazaine condemned to death by a military court, presided over by the Duc d'Aumale at Versailles—the charge of preferring political to military considerations. I hope it may be taken now as admitted in this House that Sir William Butler is too great a general and too good a soldier to be guilty of the military crime of preferring political to military considerations. He was virtually removed from South Africa for political reasons; and using such means of information as I possess regarding the services of our generals, I should imagine that even from a military point of view that was one of the heaviest mistakes which the Government had made. The Prime Minister denied that the Government had the necessary information, and gave reasons—all sorts of reasons—which I do not wish to criticise, because there are circumstances which render it undesirable. The Leader of the House said that the "Intelligence Department was not guilty of under-estimating the military preparations of the Boers." His subsequent words show that he was referring to armaments and numbers. "There was no evidence," he says, "to show

that they were wrong in any of their facts. They accurately estimated both number and armaments." The view of the Prime Minister is the exact contrary. He says, "We had no power of search," "We had not enough of secret service money," "Information is a matter of money, and of nothing else." We discussed the question of secret service money in this House a few years ago. The hon. Member for East Aberdeenshire, who made an admirable speech last night, will remember that discussion, in which he took part. We discussed the Intelligence Department from every point of view, and the almost universal opinion was that more money would be given by the House cheerfully if asked for by the Government, and any attack of reformers on the War Office was not aimed in that direction. I am not going to attack the War Office now, and I am glad my noble friend who initiated this debate did not do so. The War Office Vote will come up on a future occasion—this is the occasion for pressing home Cabinet responsibility. The Intelligence Department was always regarded as one of the branches of the War Office not adequately supplied with means, but on this occasion I venture to say—and I challenge the Under Secretary for War to deny it—that the Intelligence Department has admirably done its work. No Government was ever so well informed as to the resources of their opponents as the present Government in entering upon this war. There was every reason why the collection of information should be easy. The Boers had no sea-port, nothing could reach them except through our own territory or through Lorenzo Marques, where we have a consular agency. We had an agent at Pretoria. Mr. Conyngham Greene and also his *locum tenens*, Mr. Fraser, reported on these questions. No capitals are so easy of access as Pretoria and Bloemfontein. Special service officers were employed and sent out to make inquiry and to report. Mr. Phillips has shown that secrets are not well kept in Pretoria, and all the Transvaal military system was known to us in a way that very few military systems have been known. I fancy it is completely admitted that we knew of every gun and every pound of ammunition, but did we know the number of our opponents?

Some day the military history of this war will come to be written. It will not be like a Soudanese war; it will be a history in which the name of every man who has fought against us will be known. The field-state from day to day will be given. The commando system requires it. We know that system well, for it is actually in force in our own Cape Colony, where there is universal military service, and we have employed it in the native wars. I venture to say that there never was a war in which one side knew so accurately the numbers of its opponents as this war. The estimate of the number of Boers which could be put into the field, given in all the ordinary books of reference, was 49,000. I will challenge the Government. Did the man at the War Office who put the Boer numbers highest—the man most inclined to exaggerate—say that there are in arms against us, all included, 60,000 men? I do not think that the opinion that there are under 60,000 will be challenged by anyone who knows the facts. It is a matter of public knowledge that the books of reference gave 49,000; but conversations have got out, to which I will not further allude, that the War Office estimate of those who would join from our own colonies was 4,000. But the highest estimate I have heard, from the most competent soldiers, of the numbers which the Boers could place in the field against us was 59,000 men, although I believe that to be an extreme estimate by an extreme man. The Leader of the House takes a different line. He has said twice "We did under-estimate the military efficiency of the Boers." Now who is the "we"? "We" is the Cabinet, and I want to know on whose advice did the Cabinet under-estimate the military efficiency of the Boers? The Cabinet is responsible for the military under-estimate. The Cabinet chooses the generals; the generals do not choose themselves. The Cabinet choose the Commander-in-Chief and the most responsible military advisers of the time. Who were the persons who misled the Cabinet as to the military efficiency of the Boers? "If there were miscalculation," we are told, "the Government themselves were deceived," and that "the number of men" to be sent out to South Africa "was dictated solely by military advice." I want to know whether this was not military advice of military men misled by previous political miscalculation. At

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any rate, it is military advice for which the Cabinet are responsible, because they selected the men who gave it. I think I have established the reasons for the deficiency in the extent of the Cabinet's preparations for the war. But there is something to be said about the nature of their military preparations. Now, the Leader of the House has over and over again—here twice this session, and four times at Manchester—spoken of the intentions of the Government in a military sense as being the preparation in South Africa of a defensive force. I am not going to fall into the trap, I hope, of stating that a defensive force is a force that does not take the offensive, but the Leader of the House has stated that the Government policy was defensive.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: In the first instance.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: The words the right hon. Gentleman used were—

"A force sufficient to defend the frontiers.
 . . . The defensive force was sent out.
 . . . Our hope was that the colonies would be fully defended by the force."

The policy, then, was a defensive policy in the first instance. During the recess Lord Salisbury and Lord Lansdowne spoke precisely to the same effect. They talked of "the interval before we were in strength" being "inevitable." I do not like that word "inevitable," but it runs through the Manchester speeches—everything was "inevitable," or due to "the hand of fate." "Inevitable" is the usual word when things go wrong with people by their own fault. I suppose the defensive policy was a policy of watching the frontiers. It was not a policy of falling back on the Tugela and abandoning the half of Natal to the enemy. There was a gross under-estimate of the military efficiency of our enemy, and therefore a belief that the frontiers of Natal could be held to the full extent by a force smaller than that which we were able to send there. The policy in Natal was defensive: that known to military writers as "the defensive in a theatre of operations in which no solution is intended." My contention is that every precaution recommended by every authority in such a case was neglected by the Cabinet, and I shall try to make that point clear to the

House. Stores were accumulated at Dundee and Glencoe in holes, places easily commanded by artillery from the surrounding hills. Then, at Ladysmith, stores were accumulated on a gigantic scale, accumulated to a fabulous extent, also in another hole under easy artillery fire from hills all round—a position incredibly miscalculated for defence. Nothing was done which in the least contemplated, up to the last moment, the possibility of our having to fall back in the course of these defensive operations. The most ordinary precautions were neglected. Not a single gun of position or siege artillery was sent out to Natal. Garrison artillery were not sent out. Very small parties of engineers were sent out, but not numerous enough to complete entrenchments on a sufficient scale, capable of being defended by artillery. The destruction of the railways was neglected, so that the Boer Republics were able to bring down their heavy guns immediately and use them against us. Culverts and bridges were not blown up. There were special reasons why the tunnel at Laing's Nek was less important than is usual with tunnels, but there was all the greater necessity for blowing up the bridges. Bridges are even much more important in South Africa than here, because the rivers there rise and fall with extraordinary rapidity. The policy of the Government was defensive, but I do not believe that it was made clear to themselves or to the soldiers in the field; and there was overhanging all the extraordinary miscalculation of the fighting powers of the Boers. The Government sent as a defensive force a force of an ineffective offensive nature. The force was sent from India. We know that India is always prepared for war, as we are unprepared; and that Indian force contained its proper proportions of cavalry and artillery. They sent not a defensive force, but a force to fight the Boers in attack. They did not prepare for either a defensive or offensive war, but only a means of offensive war, which did not prove effective. There are some who argued that the war must have come some day and that it was wise to anticipate it. I will not discuss the policy of anticipating war so far as this country is concerned. It may be a wise policy in the case of countries which have but a single danger. France and Germany, as we know, both tried to

anticipate war in 1869. But in our own country, with dangers in every portion of the world, if we tried to anticipate war we should never have peace. But if it was necessary to anticipate this war, which might come some day, the policy we should have required, was the rapid concentration of a great force for an advance upon and occupation of the capital of the enemy. Both by those who would have anticipated war and by the Government it has been alleged that the existence of a Parliamentary Opposition was the reason why the military precautions of the Government were inefficient. But the Government has been in power since July, 1895, and has been supported by overwhelming majorities, and it would have had the cheerful acquiescence of the House of Commons for every measure of military precaution, and all the military expenditure which was asked. The Cabinet are responsible, but if there is to be any difficulty on account of the existence of a constitutional Opposition—even a weak one—I say that by that doctrine we are fated to be beaten on every occasion we go to war. The time for the reform of our military system will come when this war has ended. We cannot reform it in a time of war. We have often addressed the House upon this subject. We preached to deaf ears. We were not listened to before war. Shall we be listened to when war is over? While I admit that in a time of war you cannot reform your military system, what you can do is to press home to the Cabinet the responsibility. The points upon which we have broken down have been those which have been put before the country time after time. We have broken down in staff and command, mounted branches—cavalry, artillery, and transport. In the October sitting a distinguished military Member drew attention to command, but said in this case it did not matter because we were only fighting Boers, but it would very materially affect us if we were fighting a Great Power; and Sir Redvers Buller put the same thing as succinctly as it could be put in the report issued to this House in 1898, in which he spoke of “a heterogeneous mass of units thrown together under commanders strange to them and strange to each other,” with “an improvised staff.” What Sir Redvers Buller had to use in 1897 he has again had provided for him on

this occasion. With regard to the mounted branches, we have constantly brought the matter before the authorities, but in spite of that we have constantly diminished the number of trained horses in this country until, and this will not be denied, two years ago we had fewer trained horses by far than we had twenty-five years ago. With regard to the artillery, we are told in a book by Jomini that to a great enlightened manufacturing Power the perfecting of artillery gives very great advantage. "It is a blessing to an able Government. . . . a curse to a mediocre, ignorant or incapable one." A Commander-in-Chief has told us, and we were told yesterday that the Boers are an ignorant population. Well, they may be, but we have not found in this war that the great enlightened manufacturing Power has derived that advantage from "the perfecting of artillery" which Jomini tells us in his book we had every reason to expect. The Government in their defence of themselves have repudiated the idea that position guns, for example, ought to be employed in the field, but the Germans take position guns into the field at manoeuvres, and we talk of it now as if it was a new discovery. There are seven German army corps fully provided with field guns and position guns as well. All our artillery officers have told us that direct artillery fire has failed against the Boer entrenchments. We have known for years past that direct artillery fire would be likely to fail against strong entrenchments; yet we sent twenty-one batteries of field artillery to South Africa before the first one of three howitzer batteries was despatched. With regard to the number of guns, it has been one of our strongest charges against the War Office for some years that our Army is more insufficiently supplied with field artillery than any other Army in the world. Ours is not even comparable with the field artillery of Switzerland and Roumania. We have to point to countries who only spend half a million a year on armaments to get a comparison at all. In regard to our guns, the Leader of the House stated in a speech at Manchester that we had guns in South Africa sufficient "for three army corps of regular troops." I should like to know on whose authority the right hon. Gentleman made that statement. The first force sent to South Africa from India was supplied with guns—not on a Continental scale, but still in fairly decent

and respectable measure. The forces of Lord Methuen and Sir Redvers Buller fall altogether short of even the scale adopted for the Indian contingent. Both these generals have themselves called attention to their deficiency in this respect. We have not even now got artillery on anything like the scale laid down by the right hon. Gentleman, and we could not have it in South Africa, because we have not got it in the world. In these circumstances I can only characterise the statement of the Leader of the House as entirely erroneous and misleading, and altogether a blunder. With regard to the batteries which are even now being sent out, many of them are manned by Reservists drawn from garrison artillery, who have had no experience in the handling of modern field guns. The First Lord of the Treasury at Manchester condescended to make a party attack over the question of our artillery. I hope he will agree with me that in all these matters I have never made a party speech, and I only make one now because I feel strongly on the subject. He said that all increases of efficiency in artillery had been carried out by Conservative Governments. As a matter of fact the present Government was in office for two and a half years before it turned its attention to the artillery. It then proposed an increase of a single battery. A year later it proposed a further increase, which was on a very feeble scale in comparison with any other Power, and even that increase had not been attained when the present war broke out. Does the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord remember what occurred to the artillery at the time when Mr. Stanhope was Secretary of State for War? Mr. Stanhope, as the House knows perfectly well, made a reduction in the Horse Artillery which has never been compensated for by any increase in the Field Artillery. In these circumstances it is bitterly to be regretted that the Leader of the House should have sought to make party capital out of our artillery deficiency. [Mr. A. J. BALFOUR expressed dissent.] What complaint was the right hon. Gentleman going to make?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: My only complaint is that I thought at a time when a vote of censure was being proposed on the Government it would not be going beyond the ordinary practices of con-

troversy to say that not a few of the difficulties in which we have been placed have arisen through the fault of our predecessors.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: I do not see the precise bearing of that interruption, since Mr. Edward Stanhope was a member of the Conservative party. With regard to cavalry as with regard to artillery, the first force was well supplied, but the forces of Lord Methuen and General Buller are very deficient in that respect. In that connection the First Lord also made an attack on the critics of the War Office. He said they had not seen, or if they had seen had not insisted on, a novel fact in the present war, namely, that for the first time in the history of the world they had an enemy entirely mounted. I have two or three remarks to make upon that statement. One is that it has happened before. One has to read Sir William Butler's book on the life of General Sir George Pomeroy Colley to recall the facts. Apart from that, the First Lord attacks the critics. The critics have failed to see, or if they have not failed they have not insisted, that the War Office should have seen to it. It is not the duty of the responsible Ministry for the moment, says the First Lord. The Defence Committee of the Cabinet, of which the right hon. Gentleman is a member, is a body which we admit has failed. I believe that the correspondence in which my hon. friend the Member for Belfast, Sir George Chesney, Mr. Spenser Wilkinson, and I took part had something to do with the formation of the Committee. The Committee was created by Lord Rosebery's Government, and was like any other Cabinet Committee. Under the present Government, its acts have been proclaimed to the world; but, although I may be looked upon as a critical sort of person, I distinctly state that it has failed, and the failure is due to what we call, in these slang days, a slackness on the part of those who attend to the work which devolves upon them. It has not been worked as an effective instrument might have been worked in the interests of the country. That Committee, or the Cabinet as a whole, ought to have foreseen such a contingency as the need for mounted men, which the

critics either did not or could not insist upon. The soldiers, whose opinions one would have thought worth having, did foresee it. I have not the same means of judging as the Cabinet have, nor have I the knowledge of what the best men in the army thought on this occasion; but I should have thought that a paper read by a very distinguished officer might have reached the Government. He is on active service now, so he cannot write to the papers on the subject. I mean Colonel Spence. He is at this moment Deputy Adjutant General at Malta. He was present at the Amberley manœuvres directed by Sir William Butler in 1896; and Colonel Spence was the man who designed those most elaborate and successful manœuvres, which were on a great scale. He was chief of the staff of Sir William Butler, and undoubtedly he possessed Sir William's confidence. Although differences have arisen between Sir Alfred Milner and Sir William Butler, the fact is that Sir William Butler's opinion was known to the Government, and the information we had was not made a matter of concealment when Sir Alfred was in this country some months ago. My information may be defective, but what I have heard is that Sir William Butler had said that 60,000 men would be required in Cape Colony, and 25,000 men in Natal. Those are the numbers which have reached me in private conversation, and which reached me at the time. I may say that Sir William Butler has never opened his mouth so far as I am concerned. The information reached me at the time these statements were made to Sir Alfred Milner, and since this matter has become acute, and since Sir William Butler has been withdrawn he has kept his mouth shut. In that lecture by Colonel Spence, which was delivered in July of last year—it was called "South Africa," and was a military lecture delivered in a military institution—he made use of these words, and it appears to have been common knowledge—

"The Boers are mounted infantry, well armed with weapons of precision, and are grand shots. They ride up to the point they wish to defend . . . then dismount, fight on foot with their horses near and ready for the next movement . . . They have the ubiquity of cavalry and the repelling power of infantry."

He goes on to point out the conditions necessary to meet a military power of that kind. Now what was the attitude of the Cabinet on this point? The Cabinet telegraphed to the Colonies refusing mounted men; and they gave their reasons in that telegram of October 3rd, namely, that "in view of the numbers already available" infantry were the most and "cavalry least serviceable." Now we well know, and it has been justly complained of, that the number of cavalry in South Africa with Lord Methuen and Sir Redvers Buller are clearly inadequate. And this on the top of our declaration that mounted men from the Colonies were not to be sent. Then followed that telegram on the 16th December: "Mounted men preferred." That is to say, after all this loss of life has been incurred, after all these reverses to our arms—call them checks if you will; I say they are reverses—they have discovered what competent soldiers have told them all along, that mounted men were essential for a service of this kind. I confess I cannot but think that if the value of the mounted men is as great as we have been told it is by the Government within the last few days, the arrival of mounted men used to the field and to shooting—the arrival of these men in due time, I say, might have turned the scale in many portions of the field of war. Now, Sir, just one other remark and I have done. For some years past there have been discussions as to Empire expansion which have divided some of us from others on military questions. There are some of us who are strong supporters of the Government in preparing for war in the present situation of the world, who are not in favour of what is called the expansion of the Empire. We have resisted it because we believed the military requirements of the Empire were greater—as it was put by Lord Charles Beresford, whom we see here no longer—than we were prepared to meet. And the Government now come down to the House and quietly tell us that that is so. They have put it in the Queen's Speech. We have it stated that although the money we have to spend in military preparations is more than that of any other Power in the world, we are going to be asked to spend more. I should hope that good may come out of evil, and that a result of this sad war may be the proper utilisation of our

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resources in preparing, in times of peace, all the military forces of what people call Greater Britain. I repeat that I hope good will come of it. But the fact remains that the money we spend on our land forces is enormous, and the use we have made of that money up to the present time, and in the conduct of this campaign, appears to me deplorable. In 1887 I ventured to assert that we were trained in a school of "luck and pluck." But that system has become more and more out of touch with the march of events. Then, the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has said—

"If there are faults they are faults of the head, not of the heart. The Government did not go into the war with a light heart."

In 1856, when Prussia had a just cause of quarrel with a Swiss canton, Moltke went to Switzerland and saw for himself the preparations that were being made. When he came back the Prussians did not fight. They concluded a Treaty in 1857 instead. I am not drawing a political analogy; but I venture to say that the Government went into this war without the preparation they should have made. Their neglect of that precaution has brought about the reverses we have met with, and the natural consequence is the failure of our arms I have described. As regards the Crimean War, which in some respects has been compared with this, one is reminded of the present Commander-in-Chief, who has written these momentous words: The history of the Crimean War shows

"Now an army may be destroyed by a Ministry through want of ordinary forethought."

I confess that I think there is only one point in which the two cases are exactly parallel—for there are many distinctions between them—and that is in the heroism of officers and men.

MR. WYNDHAM: The right hon. Baronet began his able speech by assuring us that the country takes an interest in this debate. I differ from him at the very outset. I am not at all certain that the country does take an interest in this debate as a whole. I am not at all sure that the country will take an interest in the whole of the right hon. Baronet's speech. It will take an interest in the latter part; it will read with absorbing interest everything he has said about guns, mounted troops, and the proportion of cavalry—in fact, whenever he

touched on questions of military defence he will be read with the attention and interest which his known knowledge of these matters commands and deserves. But I am not so sure that that interest will be commanded by the earlier part of his speech. I am not so sure that the country cares very much for this Amendment, which consists of two halves, the relevancy of which the one to the other is not easy to follow. The point of the first part of the right hon. Baronet's speech was, if I am not mistaken, that he wished to drive home the question of Government responsibility. Was it necessary to detain the House twenty-five or thirty minutes in making that point? We freely accept that responsibility. I have never spoken since the war began without openly stating that the Government, and the Government alone, were responsible for everything connected with the war. I went out of my way early in October, when attacks were made on Sir William Butler and the Intelligence Department, to say that, when once the country was at war, the Government and only the Government could be held responsible. If any other views are insidiously introduced for our acceptance—and there are some who try to introduce them—we shall be dealing a lamentable blow at the constitutional fabric of this country, and I will never be a party to endeavouring to take off one feather-weight of responsibility from the Cabinet of this country in connection with military administration. I stated that as strongly as I could in June, 1895, and I am prepared to repeat the words I used on that occasion. Then, the right hon. Baronet took the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs to task for having, in a speech he recently delivered, stated that the Government had acted in every particular upon "military advice." Why did my right hon. friend make that statement?—not in order to shift any responsibility from the Government, which, if a war is successful, gets undue praise, and, if a war is disastrous, gets undue blame, morally and eternally, but constitutionally, gets its deserts—my right hon. friend said that to remove a doubt which was breeding anxiety in the public mind. The public, who wish that our generals should have unfettered discretion in the field, had been misinformed and led to believe that our generals' decisions were being over-

ridden and guided by the Cabinet, and they were doubtful, therefore, as to what the future development of the war might be. Surely it was the right, almost the duty, of any member of the Government to remove that doubt. After the earlier part of the right hon. Baronet's speech, he said he would proceed to a concentration upon facts, and I then hoped he was going at once to arrive at those arguments which he afterwards put with so much force. But the first fact to which the right hon. Baronet invited our attention was not connected with military defence; it was simply connected more or less with the diplomatic arguments which have been involved. He told us it was a matter of common notoriety that there had been an alliance between the Orange Free State and the Transvaal Republic for many years; indeed, I think he said since within a few months of the Jameson raid.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: Since 1889.

MR. WYNDHAM: The right hon. Baronet is generally very accurate as to his facts, but I think he has not distinguished very clearly on this occasion that that alliance was explicitly and in terms a defensive alliance only, and placed no obligation upon a single man in the Orange Free State unless the frontier of one or other of the Dutch Republics had been crossed by a hostile force. But another alliance was made at a later date. On September 27 last year words were used by President Steyn which showed that that alliance had been superseded by another, which would admit of the inhabitants of the Free State taking offensive action with the inhabitants of the Transvaal. Therefore, the First Lord of the Treasury was not so very far out in the limit of time which he made use of in his speech at Dewsbury when he said that two months ago he should not have dreamt that the Orange Free State would have acted as it had. He was naming almost to a day the date when the Orange Free State undertook this additional obligation. The right hon. Baronet next said that this was not an occasion for attacking the War Office, and that hitherto he had not made a party speech when directing his knowledge and ability to questions of military defence. But he went on to say that on this occasion his feelings were so strong that he was bound to make a party

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speech, and as I understood, and as I infer, he was bound to vote for this party amendment. The feelings of the right hon. Baronet may be strong, but I know they are not stronger than the feelings of almost every inhabitant of this country, and I beg leave to tell him that because of the very strength of those feelings many men in this House and many millions outside believe that that strength of feeling ought to lead to an avoidance of party spirit rather than to a feeding of it. The latter half of the right hon. Baronet's speech was welcome to the majority of men in this House, not, perhaps, entirely for its trend as a criticism of the War Office, but because of the subject-matter which he elected to handle, and with the latter part of that speech I would couple the admirable speeches to which we listened yesterday from the Members for West Somersetshire and the Rye Division of Sussex. A few days ago I could have said with absolute confidence that we had met to hear speeches of that kind. They were the speeches the country was expecting. It is true in this House, as elsewhere, that the unexpected always happens. But eight or ten days ago I never anticipated that such an Amendment as this would be moved. I never for one moment believed that such an attack would be delivered from such a quarter at such a time. What is the time? We are in the midst of the most anxious stage of a war which is filling the breasts of all our countrymen with poignant emotion, and which is taxing even their splendid qualities of stoical endurance. That is the time. What is the quarter? This attack is delivered by right hon. Gentlemen on the Front Opposition Bench, who, next to the Government of the day, are under the most onerous obligations to the whole country to avoid any course which may embarrass our arms—any course which may add to the anxiety only too naturally felt by those who watch the efforts of our brave soldiers upon the field. And, Sir, without exception, all these right hon. Gentlemen, not even excepting the late Leader of the Opposition or the right hon. Member for the Montrose Burghs, have stated that they are in accord with us, at any rate as to the immediate necessity and immediate objects of the war. Now, what is the nature of the attack? The attack is not merely a

technical vote of censure put up as a peg upon which you may hang an interesting debate, but an explicit vote of censure drawn in such terms as to mean nothing unless it means that right hon. Gentlemen opposite are prepared now to unite and take over this heavy task from our hands with a greater hope of prosecuting it successfully, because they have now more knowledge and more foresight and more judgment than the members of the Government themselves. I will not insult them by believing that they have been guilty of so futile and, at this moment, so frivolous a course of action as to put forward this Amendment merely to record their opinion that they would have shown more knowledge and judgment and foresight.

AN HON. MEMBER OF THE OPPOSITION: They could not have less.

MR. WYNDHAM: It must mean that they think their superiority in these respects would counterbalance the obvious and admitted disadvantages of a Ministerial crisis and a general election half way through a war which is racking the whole Empire. Then, consider the different points of view of these right hon. Gentlemen who now think they may unite for such a difficult purpose. I am not going to touch on the diplomatic side of the Amendment. It does not interest me. But on the question of military preparation, which does interest me, we have had the same divergence of opinion. The hon. Member for Berwick has urged that our fault was in not sending out troops at a sufficiently early date. On the other hand, the Leader of the Opposition said in this House only the other night and, more explicitly, some months ago, that our fault was that all through last summer we were mixing up diplomacy with military preparations. That is a grave charge, because, if true, it would shatter the basis of the Government's defence of its action in the past. But the Leader of the Opposition has been completely misled. He has twice made this charge without any basis of fact whatever. I do not know how he came to make it. I was questioned last summer by the hon. Member for East Mayo on that very point, and I informed the House most explicitly that not a single man had been added to the establishment of the garrison in South Africa until late in the

month of September. The charge ought not to have been made, and I think it should be withdrawn. I regret the line the Opposition have taken, and to which we are invited by the terms of the Amendment. I do not wish to pursue it. I believe that all that can be said about defects in the past is but as dust in the balance in comparison with those things that have to be done, that must be done, to meet the demands of the future. In ordinary times, no doubt, it is the right and duty of the Opposition to oppose, to question, to criticise, to review, to condemn, if you like, a Government or a Government department, and that places on the department a corresponding obligation to defend itself. But this is not an ordinary time, and I hoped and honestly believed that we should have suspended our sham fights in face of the deadly reality; that our animosities would have been hushed in common sorrow for those who have fallen, in sympathy for those who are bereaved, and admiration for our gallant soldiers who daily and nightly are enduring hardships and incurring danger, in order to ensure the general safety of the State. But we have been deceived in that hope. My duty to the House, as I had conceived it, was not so much to defend the War Office as to explain what had been done, and why it had been done, and if such a course, tame in comparison with what has taken place within the last few days, has any interest in any quarter of the House I still propose to follow it. In considering what steps have been taken, the reasons for taking them, and the reasons for not taking some of them sooner, I agree we ought frankly and fearlessly to score up against the War Office or the Army any disappointment and reverse that can be traced to defect in administration in the one or the other; but I do not think it is wise to attribute to defects in the War Office or the Army consequences which have followed from our settled scheme of military defence, or consequences which have followed the diplomatic policy which the Government adopted—rightly adopted, as I think, in view of the peculiar relations between this country, the two Dutch Republics, and our colonies in South Africa. If we set down to the one or the other disappointments that spring from other causes, we shall cloud our judgment, which we

need to keep clear in order that we may consider proposals for the reform of our system of defence which are in the air, and some of which at no distant date it will be my duty to lay before the House. Let me take the first point. Let us consider what is the permanent system of military defence in this country. It is no use to say, "You have no troops left in this country," for that is not quite true; and it is no use charging the War Office with the fact that if you send an army to South Africa it no longer remains in England. We must face things as they are. It may be we shall have to make changes in our system of military defence, but let us understand the system. It has been said by some critics that our military defence is at a disadvantage as compared with our naval defence, because the Navy has always an objective to aim at. That is to say, it has been taken as a rule that our naval strength should be equal to the combined strength of any two Powers. We have had an objective in our minds in connection with military defence ever since Mr. Stanhope was Secretary of State for War in 1888. The Army of this country has been organised and maintained with a view to achieving three objects—to give the necessary draft reliefs to our army in India and for the maintenance of our colonial garrisons, to be equal to the embodiment of three army corps for home defence, and, as I have put it *a fortiori*, to be capable of embodying into two army corps a cavalry division and troops of the Line for communication for the purposes of a foreign expedition. I do not believe that the critics of this or any other Government have contemplated a higher objective than that. I do not think the right hon. Baronet who has spoken this evening does—I have read his book on the subject—though he puts in another point, which I think is covered by what I have said, that we might have, under certain conditions, to considerably augment our garrisons in India.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: I have also recommended a much larger force of artillery.

MR. WYNDHAM: I shall have something to say about guns later on. But nobody has urged that our military system ought to provide us troops in larger numbers than those which I

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have named; therefore, if you want to know where it has failed—for I admit there has been a defect, and I am not here to maintain that the War Office is impeccable—we must know what are the troops necessary for such an expedition. It has been computed at fifty-eight battalions of infantry, ten regiments of cavalry, and that you would need, if you compute the higher proportion of artillery recognised by experts last year, forty-two batteries of artillery. I do not think the right hon. Baronet would wish us to have more with such a force.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: No, not with such a force. I do not like to interrupt, but as the question is put to me, I may say I have advocated keeping up artillery in addition to the artillery for the regular forces; that is to say, to correspond with the strength of Regulars, Militia, and Volunteers.

MR. WYNDHAM: That is a question I hope to deal with at a future date; but I do not think the right hon. Baronet, and certainly no German authority, would recommend sending more than forty-two batteries with such a force. Well, we have sent almost the whole of that number out of this country. I draw a distinction between what is sent out from the country and what we have concentrated in South Africa. It would not be fair in this argument to quote all the troops we have in South Africa. Instead of fifty-eight battalions of infantry we have sent sixty. We have failed in cavalry, I admit; instead of ten we have sent nine regiments; but instead of forty-two batteries of artillery we have sent forty-six from this country, and I do not think the failure of one in ten ought to press hard against the system. There are concentrated in South Africa fifteen regiments of cavalry, and we are going to send three more. There will be seventy-six battalions of regular infantry, and in all fifty-four batteries of artillery. This could not have been done unless this Government, unless my noble friend Lord Lansdowne and the Commander-in-Chief had worked with unceasing energy since they took office in 1895 to make the home establishment rise to the objective which I have named. What is the work that has been done since 1895? We have raised and added six battalions of infantry to

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the home establishment. We have voted more, and shall now raise them. We have raised and added sixteen batteries of artillery to the establishment. The right hon. Baronet says he has urged us again and again to make a larger addition, but he knows the difficulties we have to encounter, and that what has been easy recently because of the patriotism of the country was not easy last year. The pace at which we sought to raise the batteries was estimated on the best advice we could get and according to our experience of recruiting in the country. We knew that it was impossible in ordinary times to raise more than five batteries of artillery in the year, and we raised them at that pace, and when the war came we had raised two of the five proposed for this year, and then when war came we raised the remaining three without the slightest difficulty. Such is the patriotism of the nation. The difficulty of every Government is that, though an Englishman will fight for his country with greater readiness than any other man, he is not so fond of soldiering as the people of other nations. If I am not wearying the House with details, I will ask Members to consider the increase in the effective strength of the Army since we accepted this mark to aim at in 1888. On October 1 in that year the effective strength—men actually in the Army and serving with the colours—was 210,717. On October 1 last, before we called out the Reserves, there were 235,924, an increase in our peace Army of 25,207. Now, it has been said—and I must call attention to this point—that this has been done by robbing the reserves and the militia, but that is not quite the case. The reserves in 1888 were 51,174, and on October 1 last they stood at 81,133, a further increase of 29,959 men. The militia, I regret to say, has fallen below the establishment, and I hope it may be possible to devise some means to remedy this. It has fallen in that period 10,250 men below the establishment. But even so there is a net gain of 15,000 to the peace establishment of the British Army, and 10,000 men are admittedly more efficient than they would have been in the militia, because after all a regular battalion is better than a militia battalion, largely because its officers have greater opportunities and longer training and service. Then as to arms. We have armed in this period the regulars and militia with the newest rifle—the Lee-Metford—

and we so armed the Volunteers—I do not wish to make a party point at all—between the years 1895-97 at a much more rapid rate than was anticipated by the leader of the Opposition, who in the celebrated cordite debate, when he was Secretary for War, anticipated that it would be necessary largely to increase the amount of cordite kept in store if in the course of some years Volunteers were armed with the Lee-Metford rifle. Well, we did it in the course of one year. I say that not to make a party point, but merely to show that this Government has not been, as some think, slack and idle in what is after all one of the first and most vital duties of a Government of this nation. The difficulty in this country is not by merely passing a vote to get men: you have to find the land on which to train them, and barracks in which to house them. All these problems present greater difficulties in this small country, where property is not only expensive, but where it is reluctantly surrendered, where you have to fight lawsuits and put compulsory powers in force, and where you are impeded at every turn by the very men—to whom be all honour and credit—who now in the moment of difficulty will write a cheque for £10,000 or £50,000. We have spent on training—that is to say, on putting barracks in the neighbourhood of places where men can be trained—£1,399,000; we have spent on concentration—that is to say, on building barracks where the different units of brigades and so forth can be placed—altogether £5,555,000; we have spent on increasing the comfort of the troops, by improving the amenities of these barracks, £6,338,000; and because we have done that we have made some progress with the hardest problem of all, namely, the problem of recruiting. The recruits who came into the Army in 1895, the first year of this Government, numbered 29,583, and the recruits last year were 42,700. On works and on guns we have spent, and partly contracted by loans—I put loans and Estimates together—£7,000,000; and if you take all the money which has been contracted for on loans since the days of Lord Palmerston you will find that this Government and its predecessors have contracted £16,000,000, out of £19,500,000. I think it is not fair to say that we were found, by what I admit to be a great Imperial emergency, wanting in having done what

was possible in this country at a time when no man's mind was turned towards war or the disastrous events which have fallen to our lot during the last three months. I will not say another word about what is called the permanent military policy of this country; I have shown its limitations, but I have tried also to show that, accepting those limitations, this Government has done its best to extend that military system during a period of profound crisis. It is necessary in order to meet some of the criticisms of the right hon. Baronet, and in order to explain what has taken place, to say one word upon diplomacy, because, although when diplomacy breaks down and war ensues the conduct of affairs can be put into the hands of generals, and their action can be released from all guidance and restriction, so long as diplomacy is in the field war-like preparations must have some relation to that diplomacy. I am not going through the history of the tangled skein of the diplomatic negotiations of last year. I am content to take one thing—the ultimatum. On September 8th we sent a despatch to the Transvaal Government which practically amounted to this, Will you or will you not allow us to examine your seven years franchise law? If you will allow it, and if that law is proved to be unsatisfactory and illusory, how can you recede from your offer of a five years franchise? Well, was that a moment for ostentatiously spending three or four millions of money on preparations which would have been known to the whole world within a few days? Could we honestly have taken such a course? Is it true that there was no chance for diplomacy at that moment? Why, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Montrose Burghs a week after that despatch said that in his judgment the Transvaal Government could not and would not recede from their five years offer.

MR. J. MORLEY (Montrose Burghs).—I think the hon. Gentleman has not quite accurately reported the despatch of 8th September. The effect of that despatch was to confine the Boers to their five years franchise.

MR. WYNDHAM: The right hon. Gentleman has left out the invitation at the beginning of that despatch to have an examination of the seven years law to see

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whether it was satisfactory. I will not go into that. I believe I have given it accurately; but, whether I have or not, it will not, I think, be denied that it would have been a doubtful policy, it would have been the very course of which we have been erroneously accused by the Leader of the Opposition, if we had spent £3,000,000 prior to that date on collecting mules and heaping up munitions and stores in South Africa. I wonder whether any hon. Gentleman who says, Why did not you collect mules in South Africa? can picture what 18,000 or 20,000 mules look like when they are all together. They are not what can be called "common objects of the seashore," they are conspicuous and would be bound to attract attention. I have seen myself the collective transport for a far smaller force than the one we contemplated, and I can assure hon. Members that it is not the kind of thing that anyone is likely to overlook. I believe that a good deal of this criticism of the Government for not collecting a vast amount of stores and a number of transport animals—the only things that could have been done at an earlier date, and which, if they had been done, could only have given us an extra four weeks in hand—is based upon a study of the problem which confronts Continental nations, but which does not confront ourselves. As between two sovereign States on the Continent of Europe, it is perfectly true that no statesmen would conduct a prolonged diplomatic correspondence of the character which took place between this country and the Transvaal last year, or any long and strained diplomatic correspondence, unless they had—as a matter of fact Continental nations always have—their armies on the frontier ready to be mobilised, with huge reserves of stores and transports available within from two to four days call. But that is not the problem which this Government has dealt with successfully for something like a hundred years in South Africa, and successfully for a far longer period in India. This country, which in these vast expanses is sovereign over certain portions of the territory, which holds other tracts in the state of feudatories, and over others, again, exercises a shadowy supremacy, is responsible for the general welfare of the whole of these great expanses and their happiness. How have we fulfilled that responsibility? How have we been

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able, with a few vicissitudes, some almost as alarming as this one, to do this? Partly by our arms, partly by the prestige of our arms, but, in my judgment, far more largely because we have not pursued methods which may be appropriate to the Continent, but which are not appropriate to such places as South Africa and India. Can anybody believe that the great feudatory rajahs of India would at this moment be offering us their horses and their men if they had not known that we never prepared a blow whilst we maintained a smiling face, if they had not known that we have never made ready to wipe out a State, however difficult it made our path, until we had given it warning after warning, and perhaps in the long run allowed it to find us in the very state, I admit of unpreparedness, in which we were found by this war with the Transvaal? That may provoke dissent, but I invite hon. Members to read the correspondence recently published in the life of Sir Robert Peel in connection with the Sikh War of 1845. They will find there a parallel so close to what has just happened as to be absolutely startling. Lord Ellenborough had been recalled. He wrote in a letter to the Viceroy-designate, Lord Hardinge, that an invasion by the Sikhs was inevitable. Lord Hardinge went out to India, and he wrote home taking an entirely different opinion. Matters became worse, and we made then, as we made now, a defensive preparation. Then, suddenly, came the invasion by the Sikhs with 65,000 men and 150 pieces of artillery. Did Lord Hardinge, whose memory I believe all men respect, and who showed such heroism and such statesmanship on that occasion, say then, "I have been wrong, you have been wrong, and we ought to have made ready a great offensive expedition preparatory to crossing the border?" No, he wrote these words—

"The Sikh aggression was made when we were prepared with defensive means. That we were not prepared, for want of transport, with offensive means is no fault of this Government: it would have justified hostilities and placed us in the wrong."

I need hardly say that I do not intend to ride off upon that argument and to avoid any attacks or criticism which can properly be brought to bear upon the adequacy and, above all, upon the timeliness of our preparations. I hope the House will understand that I do not.

object to criticism on these points; I welcome it, I do not consider it hostile, I think it helpful to the Government, because unless we search most deeply and curiously into all these military questions we cannot hope to turn to the best account the patriotic feeling which is aroused and our intention to better our defences in the future. What were the preparations which were made? The garrison of South Africa stood at seven battalions of infantry, two regiments of cavalry, and three batteries of artillery. For the defensive state we increased that garrison up to seventeen battalions of infantry, five regiments of cavalry, and nine batteries of artillery, or something approaching 25,000 men in all. I can only say that it was believed—I admit erroneously, and I regret it—that that force was sufficient for defensive action. The facts have proved the contrary—the hard logic of facts. We accept that, but, believing that that force was sufficient for defensive action, the Government prepared an expeditionary force. The Government knew it would take thirteen weeks from the date of the commencement of the preparations which take longest to the day of their completion. Those things were the change of draught to suit mules instead of horses, the purchase of mules in different parts of the world and their concentration in South Africa, and so forth. But there was no doubt about it, if we did wrong, we did it deliberately, from what I believe to have been a right motive—namely, to give diplomacy every chance. And we did not do it recklessly, because we believed the defensive action we took was sufficient to avoid any risk involved in that delay. Once we began to send that force we proceeded with great rapidity. The embarkation began on October 20th, and by the 31st we had embarked 27,000 men, 3,600 horses, and 42 guns. By December 4th we had in South Africa 47,000 men. It has been said that we have sent men out by dribbets, but that is not so. In every week a considerable number of men were landed in South Africa without a single pause or intermission. I will not stop to give the numbers now; if any Member wishes for a return I am ready to publish them. I may tell the House that you cannot embark beyond a certain number of men in any week in this country, because there are not the quays beside which you can put more than a

certain number of ships, and, even if you could, I invite hon. Members to give their attention to the problem of coaling all those ships at intermediate stations on the way out, and then you will find that the volume of the stream which you can turn upon any part of the world 7,000 miles away is determined by certain physical factors that no amount of goodwill can overcome. The fact that all the stores and all the transport for the whole force originally contemplated, its eight regiments of cavalry and its artillery, could not be ready until, say, December 20th, was no reason for not sending out the infantry at a far earlier date. We have been somewhat inconsistently attacked by some for not sending out the infantry in order to keep the peace in districts which might be suspected of disloyalty, and by others for sending out troops in wrong order—namely, infantry first, and cavalry last; but, as I have said, as the whole force could not be operative, had not its legs, and was not expected to have its legs, until December 20th, it was a very sound thing to send the infantry out as a stationary garrison during a time of so much danger and anxiety. That was the situation and that was the view which, rightly or wrongly, was taken of it by the Government. But on 30th October the whole problem was changed, and on 2nd November Sir R. Buller announced to the Government that he intended to proceed himself at once to the relief of Ladysmith. Now, Sir, that is the second of the two cardinal decisions upon which everything has hinged. The first, as I have already said, was the diplomatic decision not to make ostentatious preparations for aggressive action so long as diplomacy held out any hope; the second was the strategic decision of 2nd November, which consisted in this, that the transport for one organic force which was maturing and which would have matured by the third week of December was broken up and diverted into another country, you may say four days' steaming away, and some of the troops who were concentrated there were diverted in a similar manner. Do not suppose for a moment that I am criticising the decision of Sir R. Buller. Far from it. He was on the spot. He saw the facts as they were, and I have no doubt he will be able to give reasons for that action which will convince military students and the

country. I do not criticise his action. I think we have too much of this kind of criticism. People say that, instead of proceeding with a central advance, Sir R. Buller went to relieve Ladysmith, and we know what happened. Quite true. A good many things we will call disastrous if you like; things we shall never forget and shall ever regret to our dying day have happened. But we do not know, and none of us ever can or will know, what would have happened if another course had been pursued. There is a tendency to which we are all subject—I know I am—that when you have two choices and you choose one which turns out to be unfortunate and you are overwhelmed with disappointment, you assume that if you had taken the other decision all would have gone well. But it is very easy to conceive that if Sir R. Buller had not gone to the relief of Ladysmith, and if Sir G. White had not stayed in Ladysmith, we might have had another development of disaster upon another line. We might have had that universal rising of the Cape Dutch of which we have heard for months, but which, thank Heaven! has not occurred. That explanation—I will not call it “that defence”—also, in my opinion, accounts for the fact that Lord Methuen had not sufficient cavalry and artillery with him. Lord Methuen was hurried up after the reverse at Nicholson's Nek to the Orange River, and when we are accused of having been tardy, as far as I remember, if you deduct the time for the sea voyage, Lord Methuen, who left London, arrived on the frontier (that is to say, the Orange River) in fewer days than the German Army reached the French frontier in the Franco-German war. Naturally, the plan of campaign having been changed, he had not with him the cavalry which had been diverted for another purpose. When this happened, my noble friend the Secretary of State at once offered a Fifth Division to Sir R. Buller. It has been said that when somebody was asked for a battalion he always sent a brigade, and that has been the course pursued by Lord Lansdowne. On the morrow of Nicholson's Nek he at once despatched three battalions, although none were asked for. On the morrow of the decision of Sir R. Buller he at once offered him a Fifth Division, and in reply he was told that preparation was desirable, but that there was no immediate

need for its despatch. Then later on, it was asked for—on the 11th. On November 30th, and again on December 9th, he offered to send out a Sixth Division, and the reply was that it would be wanted at the end of January. Then again the situation changed, owing to reverses. On the 18th there was a reverse at Stormberg, and on the 11th Lord Methuen's attack at Magersfontein was defeated with heavy loss. On the 13th Sir R. Buller was about to make a frontal attack on the position at Colenso. The next day—the 14th—Lord Lansdowne ordered the Sixth Division to embark without any communication with South Africa, and they began to embark two days afterwards. At the same time he ordered the Seventh Division to be mobilised. Then on 15th December Sir R. Buller met with what I will not call a reverse, but a distinct check, at the battle of Colenso—strategically most critical, but as an affair of arms, glorious for our soldiers. The next day he asked for a Seventh Division, the preparation of which had already been ordered, and also for 8,000 mounted irregulars from this country. Lord Lansdowne replied that the Seventh Division would embark on the 4th of January, and it did begin to embark on the 4th of January. The next day we took the first steps to bring out the Imperial Yeomanry. At the same time the Volunteers were invited to come forward—as I should like to explain—in order to fill up the places in each battalion left vacant by the raising of one company of mounted infantry from each battalion. We also appealed to the patriotism of our Militia regiments. Twenty Militia regiments are now serving, or are about to proceed, out of this country, and fourteen of them are serving in South Africa.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): Give the proportions for the three portions of the United Kingdom.

MR. WYNDHAM: I have not the proportions with me.

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: The Irish are best.

MR. WYNDHAM: I do not think I should be entitled to make any further demand on the patience of the House. If the point is raised as to the efficiency

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of our field artillery, I shall be prepared to meet it.

AN HON. MEMBER: Are they quick-firers?

MR. WYNDHAM: The matter is too technical to be taken up at this moment. But as the right hon. Baronet has pressed me, not upon the efficiency of the guns, but on the numbers of the guns we have despatched, it would perhaps not be out of place to state exactly what guns we have sent out. We have sent and are sending 36 siege train guns, heavy guns, and we have there 38 naval guns, mobile heavy guns—that, is to say, 74 heavy guns of position. In addition we have 36 5in. howitzers which are moved about with the troops, and which throw a very heavy shell, with 50lb. of lyddite. So that, altogether, we have 110 guns capable of throwing a large shell with a high explosive, and some of them with a range of 10,000 yards. Then we have 54 guns of horse artillery and 234 guns of field artillery, or 288 field guns with the troops.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: That is including those which have not yet sailed?

MR. WYNDHAM: No doubt; I admitted that that was the case. In all, counting in the howitzers, there can accompany the troops in the field 324 guns. There are also two mountain batteries, or, in all, 410 guns in South Africa, without counting the guns which are to go out with the Volunteers and the guns from our colonies. If the right hon. Baronet likes to make a point of it, 18 of these guns are not there yet.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: A great deal more than that, surely. You are counting all those batteries—those scratch batteries—which sailed on the 21st January.

MR. WYNDHAM: I do not know what the right hon. baronet means by "scratch" batteries. Four batteries have recently been despatched, and I told him that some of the siege train guns were not yet in South Africa. The right hon. Baronet pressed me for answers upon the question of mounted troops. It is a question which I am very glad to explain, and I propose to explain it quite frankly to the House. It has been said that the

Government announced to the world their conviction that unmounted troops were the kind of troops which were most suited to South African warfare. The words "unmounted troops" were not used. The correct phrase was used by the right hon. Baronet this evening; but I do not insist upon that. Those who quote these words should consider when they were used, and to whom they were used. If they will consider that, they will find that they gave no indication that the Government held the opinion to which I have referred. It may be, and I think it is, that the Government did not send out originally a sufficient proportion of mounted troops; but they sent out a larger proportion than is usually contemplated, because they believed that mounted troops were specially suited to South African warfare. They sent out a cavalry division with one army corps, and they ordered one company of mounted infantry to be raised in connection with each battalion sent to South Africa. Therefore the necessity for mounted troops was present to their minds—I do not say sufficiently present to their minds; but when did they use these words, that infantry was most serviceable? On the 3rd of October, before the ultimatum had been sent and before the war had begun, and at a time when the Government and the general officer who was going out to command in South Africa, Sir Redvers Buller, were satisfied that the force of the army corps and the cavalry division and the troops on the lines of communication was an adequate force—that is to say, 50,000 men, in addition to the 25,000 in South Africa. Then came up the question of colonial contingents. Two colonies, and two only, before the 3rd of October, had made a definite offer through their representative Governments—Queensland and New Zealand. Far earlier—in July—they had offered, in the one case 250, and in the other 200, mounted infantry. Directly it was decided that the wish of the colonies should be gratified—a wish for which we thank them—and that their splendid patriotism should not be subjected to what would have been a slight, we at once accepted both these proposals; and the same day we accepted the volunteering of the 108 New South Wales Lancers who were in this country. Therefore the first thing done on the 3rd of October was to accept 558 mounted men

from these colonies. From the other colonies we had not received definite offers of specific bodies from the Governments, but we had received an expression of the wish that they might be allowed to take some part in this campaign. Public meetings were held and resolutions passed, but there was nothing definite. Naturally, time pressed at that moment. I went to Aldershot and asked Sir Redvers Buller whether he could give us some indication of the terms which should guide the colonies, so that each of them should be represented more or less in proportion to their population. Sir Redvers Buller said that it would be easier to give the colonies what they desired—that was, an immediate place at the front—if they were invited to contribute manageable units of 125 men each, for we did not wait for definite offers in some cases consisting of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. He felt that a sharp and short answer was the right way to meet the wishes of the colonies. That was our object, and it was achieved. That telegram was received with enthusiasm in every part of our colonial Empire. I want to narrow this thing down, because I should like the House to know the size of the matter about which so much has been made. Tasmania had offered infantry, but no cavalry, and that telegram was sent to South Australia, New South Wales, Victoria, and Canada, as a guiding line for them to follow. South Australia sent one infantry contingent of 125 men, and New South Wales, which had already contributed over 100, sent one contingent each of mounted and unmounted men, Victoria one of each, and Canada sent 1,000 infantry. So that the greatest possible number of mounted men accruing from that cable was 1,375, and if the Colonies had exercised the option given them, and had sent all mounted men, we should have had that number of mounted men in South Africa at an earlier date. That cable was sent when no one supposed for a moment that the force contemplated would prove insufficient for its purpose. This is not a defence, but it is an explanation, and as I am on the subject of mounted men, of which the right hon. Baronet made a great deal in his speech, and which, I believe, excites a great deal of attention, I may state that the first offer from the colonies was 1,616 unmounted and 841 mounted men. But these colonies have made further offers.

The colonial Legislatures have not changed their tone in consequence of the disappointments and disasters which have occurred to our arms. They were all ready to aid us with men in October last, before we had suffered any check or reverse, and were ready to go on doing so. In fact, they have set an example which might be followed nearer home. The second offer was 759 unmounted and 3,857 mounted men, so that in all we have accepted from our colonies 2,375 unmounted and 4,698 mounted men. I should now like to give the proportion of mounted and unmounted men at four important periods for the whole force in South Africa. In the original garrison in South Africa there were 7,600 unmounted and 2,000 mounted men—rather more than one in four were mounted. The totals on October 9, the day of the ultimatum, were 12,600 unmounted and 3,400 mounted—again rather more than one to four. The totals on January 1 were 83,600 unmounted and 19,800 mounted—a little less than one to four, but at that date we had just sent out a large infantry contingent; and the total complement that will shortly be there, not including the 8th Division or the 4th Cavalry Brigade, is 142,800 unmounted and 37,800 mounted men in South Africa, bringing the proportion again to something like one in four. The total of our troops in that country in the next fortnight or three weeks will be 180,600 men. I ought to suggest to the House that the Boers have the advantage of having no lines of communication, and if you deduct from the figures which I have given the troops necessary for our long lines of communications—which are necessarily infantry—the proportion of mounted to unmounted men in the field is a very much higher one than I have mentioned. I would also like to remind the House that I have counted all the artillery as being unmounted, so that I have not “cooked” the figures in order to present a fairer case. I do not know whether I ought to say a word about the Intelligence Department. I see that it excites some interest on the front bench opposite. For my part I see no reason for not giving a good deal of the information to the House which we have received from the Intelligence Department, and also giving the dates upon which it was received. The Intelligence Department printed for private and restricted circulation a book in 1898 on the

numbers in the Transvaal, and another edition of that book was printed in June, 1899; and the figures which they gave were these:—In the Transvaal, liable for service, there were 29,279; add to that 800 for artillery and 1,500 for police; total 31,579. In the Orange Free State, between the ages of 16 and 60, there were 22,314. They deducted a little there, because 16 is a very young age for war, and put 20,000; or together, in round figures, 51,000. Then they estimated the number of men likely to join the enemy from the colonies at 4,000, making a total of 55,000, and they estimated the number of foreigners likely to come into the country, or who, being in the country, were likely to join them, at 4,000, making a total of 59,000 as the maximum force with which it was possible for these two Republics to take the field. We were informed in 1898 that the Transvaal Republic had sixteen Creusot 15c. guns. That fact was well known to us and to our officers in the field. One of the officers, when he heard that "Long Tom" had appeared on the scene, said, "One of our old friends has already made his appearance." We believed that they had in June last twenty-one 37-millimetre automatic guns, and we believed they had nine 75-millimetre guns—these all rank as field guns—and four howitzer 4.7in. guns. We believed that in September about eleven more 75-millimetre guns were introduced, that the Orange Free State had two batteries, or twelve 75-millimetre guns, making in all seventy-three guns. They had about eighteen old guns of various descriptions in 1891, and since then they have captured nineteen British guns, and their artillery stands now at 110 guns. It may be that since June last, and probably it is so, a certain number of guns, perhaps not a very great number, have been introduced into that country. As to maps, I think the Intelligence Department has served us well. Again, I would invite the House to consider the size of the task which they hold ought to have been efficiently grappled with. It ought to have been done when it could, but the possible theatre of war in South Africa is seven times the size of England and Wales. It is mountainous, waterless in parts, and many tracts are uninhabited, and the cost and labour of making an accurate ordnance survey, so to speak, of so vast a tract of the earth's surface render it not a feasible

project. We should have needed a staff of officers travelling with large camps and supplies of necessaries over the Transvaal, which was not an operation that would have been tolerated by them, and could not have been undertaken by any staff, however numerous. But we had the Cape Survey, we had the colonial map of Natal, and in 1896 two officers were sent out to Natal to make a map one inch to the mile of the northern triangle of Natal. Our information was to the effect that the garrison of Natal, augmented to the degree contemplated and the degree absolutely adopted when the time came, would be able to hold an invasion back at some point further north than Ladysmith, and therefore, unfortunately, this map is of the country north of Ladysmith and omits the little part which has been of such absorbing interest for the last six months between Ladysmith and the Tugela. Another officer was sent out to make sketches and maps of all bridges and approaches, and these were printed a year and a half ago; also maps of possible lines of communication, and officers were sent out to make maps of all places of military interest. These maps had been liberally distributed to the troops to the number of 14,150 maps and 170,005 sheets. There is one other matter upon which there have been misconceptions which I should like to remove. It is the question of local forces in South Africa. I must ask hon. Members to carry two things in their minds which I think are fair provisos on which I may stipulate. The first is that the Ministers of Natal deprecated, and that the Ministers of Cape Colony absolutely declined to authorise, the raising of any Volunteers before the outbreak of war. In the case of self-governing colonies nothing would have been more imprudent, disastrous, or inconceivable than that the Government of this country should have exercised any pressure upon them. On 7th September Sir Alfred Milner recommended that the Imperial Light Horse should be raised. Authority for raising it was given the next day. On 28th September Sir Alfred Milner advised that the general officer commanding there—not the Ministers—should be authorised to raise Imperially 2,000 infantry for local defence, and in his despatches he has informed us that it was necessary until the large field force came out. They were not at that time

regarded, any more than the contingents from other colonies, as necessary helps to our arms. Similarly, a request was made for 1,000 infantry in Natal, and that was granted; but the question of mounted men did not arise until October 17th, when Sir George White asked that he might raise 1,000 mounted men. I will not deny that some delay ensued, and I will frankly tell the House what was the cause. In addition to the constitutional difficulties there was this difficulty—that the troops we had accepted from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the other colonies, were being paid at the Imperial rate of 1s. 3d. a day, and those troops which were suggested in South Africa were asking for 5s. a day. Now, that was a matter in which the Colonial Office naturally had to be consulted. It was not a matter which could be decided off-hand. The Treasury had to be consulted, but the total delay involved was one week, because Sir George White telegraphed on October 25th that he had begun to raise the 1,000 men. I do not think that a question of that kind, raising many curious precedents, should have been rushed through. This is the first time in which our colonies have come forward and helped us, and even if we had waited a week or two for men, who are now sorely needed, we were justified in not doing hastily, and perhaps in a bungling fashion, a piece of work which would be remembered long after these dark shadows have passed away and our reverses are forgotten. Subsequently to that Sir Redvers Buller informed us that he was raising as many mounted men as he could, and we have more than once telegraphed to South Africa enquiring whether we could assist in the rapidity of raising such a force by sending out more saddlery or other necessities that may be wanted. I do not think, therefore, that the case against the Government as to local troops is a very strong one. I have tried, as I promised, to give a full and true account of the steps—

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): I do not think that the hon. Gentleman has given us the total number of the local South African force.

MR. WYNDHAM: I should say it is increasing every day. It was 26,000 a fortnight ago.

Mr. Wyndham.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: In addition to the 180,000?

MR. WYNDHAM: No; 180,000 was the total figure. An hon. Member has reminded me to say something about the sighting of the Lee-Enfield rifle. Hon. Members who take an interest in such matters know that the bullet of every rifle has a drift to the right or left in accordance with the rifling of the barrel. That being the case, no rifle is even theoretically accurate except at one range. You have to correct the sighting of every rifle to do away with this drift along a curve. The Lee-Enfield rifle is theoretically correct at 500 yards; but it has been discovered that the correction made in order to do away with the effect of the drift was overdone, that the sight was shifted a very little way—three-hundredths of an inch—too much in order to correct this error in theoretical accuracy at 500 yards. The result is that the rifle does throw a little to the right, and at any shorter range than 500 yards that divergence is increased. But a theoretical error of that kind is absolutely swallowed up, if I may say so, in the idiosyncrasy of every rifle, of every man, and the atmosphere of any day. So true is that that nobody discovered this error until the other day, though many of the best targets were made with that rifle so sighted at Bisley. The fact being known, two courses were open to us—to say nothing about it, or openly to aim at theoretical accuracy. As the operation of shifting the sight could be performed by any armourer in the course of a few hours, we have recalled the Lee-Enfield rifle from the Yeomanry, refitted it, and given it back; and we have sent out the necessary back sights to make the correction in South Africa. I have endeavoured to give a full and fair account of the steps we have taken. I have done that not so much in order to exonerate the War Office as to place, as far as I could, this House in a better position to judge the further steps which we must make. Nothing stands between us and those further steps but this Amendment. The sooner it is disposed of the sooner we shall get to practical proposals. At the opening of my speech I spoke somewhat bitterly of this Amendment: and I now confess that it had been in my mind to conclude perhaps in a bitter spirit. Sir,

I do regret this Amendment. I regret it for the delay which it has brought into our proceedings. I regret it, although we may understand it here. I do not wish to press the matter too hotly; an amendment must be cleverly drawn to bring into one lobby a number of hon. Members who hold views diametrically opposed to each other on a question of life-and-death importance to many. We who are initiated in these manœuvres, which, though, perhaps, in ordinary times pardonable, are at this moment inopportune, may understand them. But no one else will. The taxpayer who is prepared to foot this Bill, whatever it may be, and who is perhaps even now thinking of taking his children back from school and of foregoing his autumn holiday, he will not understand it. Our critics abroad, who are not too indulgent, they will not understand it. Our fellow-subjects in Natal, who have perhaps seen their sons die on the battlefield, and their homesteads destroyed, they will not understand this Amendment and this debate. Our kinsmen in America, who are watching the vicissitudes of this war, they will not understand it. The Legislatures of every single colony in our Empire, which have shown such a whole-hearted and single-minded concentration upon the Imperial aspects, and upon none other, of our present difficulties will not understand it. Let us, let this honoured and ancient assembly, of which they are all offshoots and children, bear that in mind. It is usual, Sir, to conclude such a speech in defence, or, as I would prefer to say, in explanation of the conduct of the Government with an appeal to the House to reject the vote of censure which is proposed; but I am sure that in this case such an appeal is unnecessary. I shall have to make an appeal upon questions of practical importance and living moment. I shall have to ask this House for large financial facilities in order that this war may be prosecuted to the only conclusion which the country would tolerate. I shall have to ask the House for still further financial facilities in order that our system of military defence may be placed upon a sound and lasting basis. I do not ask the House to reject this vote of censure. No, Sir; this House, which is the fountain of our Imperial resources, and which is the ultimate guardian of the

nation's honour, will not commit itself to an action which, if perpetrated, would make the mother of Parliaments a laughing-stock to the world.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER (Belfast, West): Everyone must have been fascinated as much by the manner as by the matter of the speech of my hon. friend, the Under Secretary for War; but I wish that he had been more consistently encouraging, and had omitted that one note of pessimism with which his speech commenced, and which I must say I regret. The First Lord of the Treasury has, I think, also, perhaps, taken too unencouraging a tone in addressing us at this dark time. I cannot myself accept the view that there is any essential reason why these troubles should have overtaken us. I cannot accept the view that there is anything in our Constitution, or in the nature of our people, which makes it inevitable that we should have to submit to these humiliations, now or at any other time. I do not admit the relevancy of those references to the Sikh War and the events of many years ago. The times have changed, and we are now face to face with a state of scientific preparation such as the world has never seen, and unless we adapt our methods to the changed circumstances, we shall have to pay a penalty of humiliation and disaster which is terrible to contemplate. I wish the First Lord could have taken a more cheerful tone in the addresses he has given to the country, and abandoned the suggestion that we should accept as necessary and inevitable the circumstances which we deplore. I entirely agree with my hon. friend the Under Secretary for War, that up to the present period of the debate we might just as well have discussed the reason why Julius Cæsar invaded Britain, as this vote of censure. I do not believe the country cares one single jot for the matters discussed yesterday and to-day. The country does not care about how these difficulties have come upon us, but how they are to be dealt with. We are in a dangerous and difficult position, which any day may become a very serious position. What we want to know is, how we are going to emerge with honour and success from it. I do not agree that it was necessary or desirable to discuss the question which my right hon. friend, the Member for the Forest of Dean, illuminated with his usual

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perspicuity. I do not see that anything is to be gained for the public welfare by discussing War Office responsibility, or by asking us to enter into a discussion of questions of that kind at the present moment. I prefer to devote myself to another phase of this subject. We are face to face with realities; what the country is troubling itself about is what we are going to do now. The First Lord of the Treasury told us some time ago that he had come to the general conclusion that no one was actually responsible for the present state of affairs.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I did not say that.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I am sorry if I have misrepresented the right hon. Gentleman, but it was said by some person, a member of the Government, and I thought it was the right hon. Gentleman. I myself feel very strongly that it is absolutely true—and the greater the truth the greater the libel—that at the present moment no one is really responsible for what has happened. The complaint is that we have so organised our system that we are now face to face with a condition of things for which no one is really responsible. There is an academic phrase that every Member is responsible for what is done by the Cabinet as a whole. But we cannot now lay our finger upon the person or persons to whom we ought to go for an explanation. Whoever is responsible, we have now to contemplate the fact that the system has worked itself in such a way that at this moment we are without any organised army at all within the limits of the United Kingdom. I do not know whether the House realises to what extent that is true. I think there is no harm, and there may be some public advantage, in repeating what the exact facts are. The Under Secretary for War said that at the present moment the barracks of the country were full to overflowing. I think I shall be able to show that that is a misleading statement. It is, of course, true in fact, or it would not have been made; but it is misleading, and the impression the hon. Gentleman made was misleading. It is not fair to state to the country that we are so well provided with troops, that the barracks are at this moment full to overflowing. As soon as the troops under orders to go

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have departed we shall have only left six battalions of Infantry of the Line and three battalions of Guards, all under strength, and as far as the Line battalions are concerned, largely composed of men who are not fit to take part in active operations. We shall have nine cavalry regiments, some without horses, and all under strength. Beyond these we shall have nothing at all, nothing. I shall be told, of course, that we have the Volunteers and the Militia, and that already the Militia have been embodied, and that we can make use of the embodied Militia infantry and artillery. But that is a delusion, and I challenge the opinion of anyone acquainted with modern armies to contend for a moment that this mob of untrained or semi-trained men bears any resemblance whatever to an army. These troops are without training, without guns, without cavalry, without equipment, and without proper reserves of ammunition and stores. We are told that the Militia may be regarded as an effective contribution to the defensive force, but I would remind the House that these Militia battalions are being treated in a way most detrimental to their efficiency. A very considerable number, probably the most efficient, have already been sent out of the country, and with regard to the others let me give an example of what is happening. One Militia battalion now doing duty in the United Kingdom arrived at its destination 540 strong, but immediately on their arrival at the garrison 120 of the best men were drafted away to do duty as Militia Reserve with the Line battalion. Now that Militia battalion has added to it two companies of the Line regiment who were unfit for active service, and so great is the lack of officers that not a single officer of the Line battalion could be spared to take charge of these two companies, and they are left to the temporary superintendence of an officer who happens to be home on leave from India, and to the officers of the unembodied Militia battalions. I intend to avoid the glittering lure which has been trailed before me by the Under Secretary for War. I am not likely to abandon opinions formed after long study, but I shall certainly not give way to any criticism not absolutely necessary in illustration of what I want to bring before the House. My hon. friend says that we cannot have an army in South Africa and

an army in the United Kingdom at the same time. That sounds like a platitude or a truism ; but I say that until we can have an army both in South Africa and in the United Kingdom we can have no absolute guarantee for the safety of this country, except in the supremacy of our Navy. I believe that when the people of this country realise, as they must in the days immediately to come realise, that they have given up the whole of their defence, and jeopardised it across the sea, they will ask for very effective action to put themselves in a position of defence. I have been contending for years past that the system we have adopted has this fatal fault : that the very moment it comes into operation, and is called upon to do the thing for which it was created, it must instantly and necessarily fail. I have said, and I have never wearied of saying, that the first result of mobilisation would be that our whole available resources would be taken up in the first line. Well, the whole of our first line is in the field, and we have nothing behind it. We had a few months ago, before the war began, 183,000 of the Regular Army in this country, 106,000 on the active list, and 77,000 in the First Class Army Reserve. We have sent out between 70,000 and 80,000 to South Africa, and in order to produce that contingent we have all but swallowed up the First Class Reserve ; we have drawn on the Militia Reserve, and now we are without a single available organised unit in the United Kingdom. To show how difficult it is to make people understand the true meaning of our position—and that is not made more easy by the speeches made even by the best-intentioned members of our Government—I noticed the other day that the First Lord of the Admiralty, who I believe to be one of the best administrators of our Navy, the most fighting member of the Cabinet, and of whom I speak with profound respect, has so far misunderstood our position in this matter that he gave an explanation of our system greatly calculated to mislead. He asked a question how far those who criticised the Army system were justified ; that is, those who criticised the young soldiers, and he exclaimed : "Where are these young soldiers now ? See how magnificently they are fighting the battles of this country on the hills of Natal." Well, the only thing to be said is, that not

one of these young soldiers has been within 7,000 miles of South Africa. It would have been inconsistent with the system that they should have gone. It was because 30,000 young soldiers had been left behind that we have had to call out the First Class Reserve, to embody the Militia, and to call out the Militia Reserve, and to resort to what I have before now called the illicit process of taking from the Volunteers, who ought to be retained for home defence, to fill up the gaps in the mounted infantry at the front. We have got the whole organised army out of the country, and now the War Office is face to face with the problem of how to make an army to take its place. My hon. friend the Under Secretary for War did not say anything about the question of the absence of field guns. He spoke, although I did not quite follow him, as to the number of guns that have gone to South Africa ; but he did not dwell on the fact that by despatching these guns we had absolutely denuded this country of guns. We are now face to face with a situation which has been foreseen with absolute certainty any time during the last ten years. I want the House to realise that this is merely emergency action which is being taken now. I do not know whether the House realises that we have at the present moment in this country 56,000 artillery, all more or less accustomed to handling projectiles, who know what the sound of guns is like, and who are receiving capitation grant or pay as artillerymen. But from that enormous force we have not been able to constitute one single effective field battery. The Government should immediately commence to organise the Volunteer and Militia artillery as effective field artillery. It does not require any text book to prove that a mob of men unprovided with artillery are negligible participants in modern war. We are told that we are to have an announcement before long as to the intentions of the Government in regard to reorganisation at home. I only hope that the reorganisation will be very thorough indeed. I would make this observation in regard to it, that the country ought not to be too ready to accept the proposals which are made without some scrutiny, because these proposed changes will be merely a performance, under stress, and in the face of a great national danger, of a duty

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which, in the opinion of many persons, ought to have been performed long ago, but which we were told was unnecessary and superfluous. We were told that these preparations were superfluous, and never would be required, and when we review the situation now, we have a right to scrutinise with some care the proposals made, and see that they are not only sufficient, but that they correspond to some real vital principle of the nation's needs, something necessary not only for the present but for the time to come. Now, I hope my hon. friend will admit that I have not spoken an unfair word on the subjects which are very near to my heart, in regard to the Department over which he presides. I trust he will also accept my statement when I say I do not abate one jot of my views as to the methods by which that Department has thought fit to conduct the operations of this war, and has thought fit to organise the resources of this country for this or any other war. I know he will not think the worse of me if I reserve to myself the privilege at a later date of trying to establish, as I believe I can—having studied stage by stage the facts of this war—that the shortcomings of the War Office in the direction of this war have been grave, and are apparent. I should not like to sit down in this debate, or in any debate at such a time, without adding my word of protest in regard to the fact that we are discussing this Amendment at all. I am utterly unable to understand by any train of argument which commends itself to my mind as an intelligent Englishman, how hon. Members on the other side of the House can reconcile it with their idea of duty to take the course which has been adopted. I entirely concur with the hon. Member when he said that though we who know the tricks of the House of Commons may find temporary amusement and some solace in the idea that this Amendment is in conformity with precedent, and with very evil precedent; the choosing of this opportunity to force a Vote will be universally misunderstood outside the limits of this House. I can see no contra to the evil which must attend the prosecution of this Amendment to its legitimate conclusion. I can see nothing but disappointment of the hopes of our people outside our own islands and the just expectations of our people at home. The people of this country are making

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tremendous sacrifices, and, what is perhaps greater than all others, showing a forbearance, a reserve, and a resolution in the face of difficulties which is hard to display, but which is beyond all praise when it is displayed. The chief feature of the attack made within the last two days has been the repetition of the contemptible personalities which, masquerading under the guise of a matter of principle, end in accusations against one member of the Government, the Colonial Secretary. I may, in my time, have had the rough side of the Colonial Secretary's tongue, and I certainly have no right to champion him; but I do feel this—it is a matter of common knowledge—that if you go all over the British world you will find but one view, that there is a man in that great office who has at last succeeded in winning the confidence and securing the esteem of our only friends, the people of our great Colonies. And yet that is the one man who has been picked out as the object of these perpetual scurrilities and exhibitions of petty personal spite. It is a matter of report that during this debate a right hon. Member of the Party opposite proposes to make an attack in form upon the Colonial Secretary. I do not know whether that report is true or not, but I want to ask the House, and through the House the country, to look at the picture presented. On the one hand, we have throughout the length and breadth of the land wives giving their husbands, mothers giving their children, brothers giving their brothers, and fathers giving their sons, men and women giving up everything they care about, everything they love, everything they cherish most, for the service of their country. They are perfectly prepared that these relatives of theirs should die, if need be, rather than we should fail; and this feeling, admirable as it is, is explained not merely by the fact that we have met with checks and reverses in South Africa—that is a thing of the time only—but because our people have the sense to see that behind these temporary difficulties there are the great Powers of Europe, our jealous enemies, ready to take advantage of any failure, of any slip, indeed of anything which may precipitate that fall which they desire to see, and which they are so anxious and willing to hasten. It is at the time when we are laying on the altar everything that is

most precious to us, that this high priest shuffles out of his retreat swinging his miserable dead cat, and depositing on the national altar the offering of his little bit of carrion. I am speaking of the Member for West Monmouth, who we are told is about to seize this situation to renew the series of miserable attacks upon a particular member of the Government. Well, if I am addressing a few, I speak for many when I express the weariness and disgust felt by millions of people in this country for these reiterated attacks and trivialities which nobody cares about. I hope the House will be addressed, before the debate ends, by the First Lord himself, and by those who are responsible for administering the great power of this country, and addressed in words which will blow away that feeling of discontent which undoubtedly exists, and that feeling of despondency which, perhaps, to some extent he and other members of his Government have had some small part in creating, and will substitute for it a feeling of vigorous hopefulness which they will be only too ready to assume when the time comes.

MR. PHILIPPS (Pembroke): In one respect the House has been treated by the hon. Member who has just sat down to a defence of an alleged envenomed attack upon the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary, which has not yet been delivered. The hon. Member said you are going to hear, either to-night or to-morrow, a most envenomed attack made from the other side of the House. No one knew what he was alluding to, and it was only just previous to his sitting down that he alluded to the attack on the right hon. Member for West Birmingham by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouth. It must indeed be a dreadful attack if he has to defend it in advance, but the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouth can take care of himself and does not want to be defended by me or anybody else. It seems to me the most interesting part of the Amendment is that relating to the war rather than that which preceded it. With regard to that part of the Amendment the Leader of the House has said that the unanimity of the people is worth more to this country than an army corps. That is true, but there are many in the

country who think, I hope wrongly, that something is being concealed by the Colonial Office. It was alluded to by the hon. and learned Member for Dumfries the other night, and if the Government can, by putting the telegrams on the Table of the House, reassure the people that we have nothing to conceal, they will do more to make the country unanimous than in any other way, and so end this topic once and for all. It rests with the Government to end this discussion, and not this side of the House. With regard to the war, I do not want to criticise the generals. Only one bitter personal attack has been made on one of our generals, and that was a most scandalous one. We all know the difficulty of getting supplies to the front, and that the men who are fighting have only the bare necessities of life. We know that the transport must be under a great strain, and yet there are many people of social and political influence who seem to have gone out to South Africa to be mere spectators of the war. I hope the Government once and for all will say they do not want any persons sent to the front save their own soldiers and press correspondents. There are many who have gone to the front to look at the war as a mere spectacle. Something of the same kind occurred at the beginning of the fight at Ladysmith, and I hope the Government will put a stop to it. Now the Government say this Amendment is unreasonable, as it embodies two conflicting propositions, but in my opinion that is not so. We are not bound to go into the question of the justification of the war; what we press on the Government is, it was their duty to preserve peace or prepare for war. We think the Government have not made sufficient preparation, and it is because that is my opinion that I shall support this Amendment. It has been a matter of frequent comment that our preparations for the dispatch of troops to South Africa were not commenced as soon as they might have been. When the war broke out the Government assured us that no useful purpose would be served by dispatching troops earlier, because had we done so the Boers would have moved earlier. But it is now admitted that the Boers could not move before the grass had grown, and had we despatched troops earlier we should have had a great military advantage. Then it was said that the Government did

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not want to go to war until there was unanimity of opinion. That is all very well, but the people of this country look for a lead, and they do not want a Government to look for the opinion of "the man in the street." It is then said that the Government did not like to use warlike threats during peace negotiations. That is a good reason for not sending an army out sooner, but then the Government might have made preparations of a different kind. They might have got ships ready; our first contingents were sent out in slow ships because we had not got the fast ones, which we might have had, and when the Government did secure the ships they were not fitted for the carriage of horses. All these matters might have been arranged before without anybody being the wiser. But I am afraid that in all these matters the Government is influenced by the Treasury, and is afraid to spend public money; it is a case of economy which has proved to be false economy indeed. There is also a feeling in the country that our generals have been interfered with by political advice. In a recent speech we were told that was not so, that the generals were given a free hand to do as they liked. We know, however, from the despatch of Sir George White that that was not so. He was not, it is true, interfered with by the Government at home, but he was interfered with by Sir Walter Hely Hutchinson, the Civil Governor of Natal, who is a servant of the Colonial Office. The First Lord of the Treasury told us that the plan of campaign was to mass a large body of troops in Cape Colony and invade the Orange Free State; but a great mass of those troops were withdrawn from Cape Colony to Natal through the advice of the Civil Governor of Natal. I therefore ask whether there has not indeed been interference with the generals at the seat of war. Part of the army was drafted off to Natal for the relief of Ladysmith, and a considerable number were sent to the relief of Kimberley. Was that done by direct interference of the Colonial Office? We know the position of Kimberley. Mr. Cecil Rhodes is there. I am not going to say a word against him, because he is a man who has redeemed his faults by his bravery, not only in the Matabele War but at Kimberley. No doubt the relief of Kimberley is desirable, but it is not the ultimate aim of our operations. We know Mr. Rhodes has great influence

at the Colonial Office, and we know from that unfortunate correspondence that there is something which Mr. Rhodes knew which the Colonial Office did not desire to be disclosed. Has pressure been put by Mr. Rhodes on Sir Alfred Milner? I should like to know what passed between Mr. Rhodes and the Colonial Office before Kimberley was invested. We have been told that our system is a failure, and we have been told that at some time, when the war is over, the Government is to review and revise our system, and give us a perfect one. That does not seem to be practical. This Government has been in office nearly five years, and the Conservative party nearly eleven years, and whatever the system is this Government is responsible for it. The Under Secretary for War made a brilliant and eloquent defence, and a very good defence of his system, as good a defence as could have been made, but it did not cover the whole of the points. The right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean called attention to the fact that the First Lord of the Treasury had said a short time ago that the Government had sent to South Africa artillery for three army corps. It is now admitted that, even with the batteries sent out since, they are nothing like what they ought to be. They are newly-formed batteries, with untrained horses. Everybody knows it is hard enough to train a horse for harness work, but much more so to train him for the battlefield. Horses which are untrained can in no way be so useful as an old-established battery ought to be. It is the Tory party which is responsible for the reduction in the number of artillery batteries, and that party must bear the responsibility. I think everybody admits that if ever there was a time when it was necessary for the Volunteers to practise shooting it is at present, and this is the very time at which their reserve of ammunition is withdrawn. In the training of the Yeomanry it is admitted that it has been difficult to get even a sufficient supply of ammunition to enable them to practise shooting. The Under Secretary of State for War has made a most optimistic defence of the position of the Government, and anybody listening to him would almost believe that all our operations had been crowned with brilliant success, and that if they had not been successful it was owing in no way to the fault of the Government. But the hon. Member's

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noble Leader is not such an optimist. Lord Salisbury did not take that view, for he said our misfortunes were due to three causes. One of them was the British Constitution, which we have always with us. In my opinion it would be just as practical to blame the weather. Another cause was promotion by seniority. That may be a bad thing, but why did the Government not alter it years ago? Lastly, the noble Marquess attached the blame to the absence of secret service money, and said we did not have the advantage of secret service money which the leading Powers of Europe possessed, and which was even possessed by the Boers. He also said that he did not wish in any way to blame the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he used these words—

“The Chancellor of the Exchequer has acted with great judgment and consideration, but I say this—that our Treasury has gradually acquired the power of governing every part of the administration, and by means of the exercise of the power of the purse claims a voice in all the decisions of all the administrative authority.”

This is what Lord Salisbury said about the smallness of the secret service money. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not tell the same tale, for he said—

“After what has been said in various places, and in view of the interpretation that might be placed upon that statement, it is necessary for me to say that, from the very beginning of this matter, neither the Treasury nor the Chancellor of the Exchequer has, in any way, stinted either the preparations or expenditure which was thought necessary by the Cabinet with regard to this war.”

Lord Salisbury says the Treasury did stint the secret service money, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer says he did not. I take it that he could not. If a member of the Cabinet refused any demand made by the Cabinet, he would have to resign. Therefore, it goes without saying that he cannot have refused the demand of the Cabinet. Probably the real explanation of the situation is that the Chancellor of the Exchequer all the while was using his influence to prevent the expenditure of secret service money, and succeeded in over-persuading his colleagues. There must be some foundation for these contradictory statements. Lord Salisbury took no optimistic view of this matter upon other points, but

I do not wish to go into them now. I only want to say that as regards secret service money this House has never refused the Government anything, and if the Government came now and stated that they wanted more secret service money the House would vote them any sum they might require.

MR. VICARY GIBBS (Herts, St. Albans): Of course they would now.

MR. PHILIPPS: It would be most useful to do it now, for our generals are hampered by having long lines of communication to keep open and railways to defend in countries where the people are not favourable to us, and that is where a great part of our army is locked up. Would it not be possible by freely expending secret service money to put the Boers in the same position? The Government have stated what they believe the forces of the Boers to be, and what they estimate the Boer forces must be which are locked up in defending the frontiers of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. I am going to make this suggestion—would it not be possible by offering rewards in Cape Town to get men who would take the risk?—even one individual might strike a blow at the Boer communications by making an attack upon the enemy's lines. The Transvaal must be full of men who are not Boers and who like money, and in Natal there must be thousands of men who know the Transvaal and the Orange Free State quite as well as the Boers. Is it not possible that if the Government offered £50,000 they might find someone to destroy a bridge behind the Boer armies? Even to have a culvert on a railway destroyed for two days might be of vital assistance to our generals at the front. I wish the Government would ask for more secret service money, for I am sure the House of Commons would gladly vote it. [AN HON. MEMBER: I am not so sure about it.] The hon. Member says he is not so sure about it, but if the majority of this House refused it, the responsibility would be with them. I think it is time something was done to deal with this question, for Lord Salisbury, speaking in the House of Lords—

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member must not refer to a speech made in the House of Lords.

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MR. PHILIPPS : I will only say that other members of the Government have not all taken the same optimistic view of our foreign relations as has been taken by the right hon. Gentlemen sitting on the Government benches in this House. And last of all I will say that, for myself, I am not going to vote on this Amendment in any party spirit. When this House met last autumn I made up my mind that, as far as I could, while this war lasted I would either vote with the Government or abstain from voting altogether. That is what I intended to do this session, but I have now changed my mind, and I am going to vote against the Government on this Amendment, and whenever I have a chance. I am not doing this in any party spirit, because it is perfectly obvious from the position of this House that no Liberal Government could be formed to take office with any consensus of opinion in this House behind it. Any Government formed now would have to be formed simply to carry on the war. If the Government were beaten on this Amendment what would happen? There are three possible alternatives. There might be a Liberal Government; there might be a coalition Government; or there might be another Conservative Government. I believe that either on this or the other side of the House you could form a much stronger Government than the one we have in power to-day, and it is because I believe that you cannot do a better service to our soldiers at the front than to give them a strong Cabinet at home, that I am going to vote against a Government which has been guilty of weakness and vacillation such as has rarely been seen before. That is why I am going to vote for this Amendment—because I believe it is the best and the most patriotic course to adopt.

*MR. VICARY GIBBS : I think the country has been looking forward with the greatest anxiety to the meeting of Parliament, not so much because they wanted to hear what we had to say, but because they were very much afraid that our indiscretions might be injurious to the public service and the welfare of the country. I cannot help thinking, after listening to the speech of the hon. Member who has just sat down, that in some respects those fears are well founded. I am sure the hon. Gentleman is inspired

by patriotic motives, but he takes a very strange road to carry out those convictions. Let us consider for a moment what advantage could possibly accrue to this country from raising at this juncture all those unpleasant discussions about the Hawksley letters and telegrams. Does he suppose that would do any good? Does he suppose that the making of a grave and most injurious insinuation, founded on what really seems to me no basis at all, will do any good? I refer to his suggestion that the military operations on the western frontier of the Orange Free State and in the north of Cape Colony have been arranged to suit the personal safety of Mr. Rhodes.

MR. PHILIPPS : I did not say it was to suit Mr. Rhodes's personal safety, for he is one of the bravest men alive.

*MR. VICARY GIBBS : That certainly appeared to be the meaning, if there was any meaning at all, contained in the insinuation of the hon. Member. He said he wished to have an answer to that question, but the only member of the Government who honours him or me by his presence does not seem to take any notice of it. The hon. Member wanted to know what telegrams had passed between Kimberley and the Colonial Office concerning the military operations for the relief of Kimberley, and he hinted that the importance of relieving Kimberley was increased because Mr. Rhodes happened to be there.

MR. PHILIPPS : I did not say that.

*MR. VICARY GIBBS : I will not dwell upon that point further, although I do not think the statement of the hon. Member was a wise one. I will leave that question altogether and turn to what really does concern the country. I think the country and the House as a whole is disgusted with this continuous pot and kettle business which is going on between the two front benches. That is not what the country wants to hear, and the people are rather inclined to say, "A plague o' both your houses." It is no satisfaction to hear that we had a worse Government in 1881 if we have a bad Government now. For any Member sitting on this side of the House to vote in favour of this Amendment it would be necessary to believe not only that the

Government had committed certain errors and blunders, but he would have to go much further, for he would have to believe that there were men sitting on the benches opposite more capable of carrying on the Government of the country and pulling the cart out of the rut, and helping England when England needs help sorely. He would have to believe that such men existed, that they were united, if not on general principles at least as to the conduct of this war, as to its propriety, its necessity, and as to its continuance. But what are the facts? Why, we have the character of Mr. Facing Both Ways in "The Pilgrim's Progress." We have the Leader of the Opposition, and I pity him, and he is a subject for pity, for he has had to try and shepherd into the same fold the hon. Member for Northampton and the right hon. Member for Wolverhampton; and a more difficult and impossible task could not exist. This clever Amendment has been so prepared and designed that it is considered capable of drawing into the same net men who have precisely the same feelings about this war as we have, only they sit on the other side of the House. They are men who differ absolutely as to the justice and propriety of the war. We saw the noble Lord who moved this Amendment get up and support it, because he considered the war was unjust and unnecessary. A few minutes after we heard the hon. and learned Member for South Shields, and he supported the same Amendment because the war was just and inevitable. Are those the people that we are to hand over the government of this country to? I daresay hon. Members on the other side say it is quite sufficient because I sit on this side of the House that I should support the Government. We have heard a great many people giving an account of their own patriotism—and very interesting accounts they are. I will give an account of mine. I came down to this House with no great tenderness for individuals, and with no great tenderness for my party or the members of the Government, and what will astonish hon. Members much more, I came down with a great indifference to my own political career. And yet I was perfectly prepared to vote and speak with one simple object—that of benefitting my country. How can I benefit the country best? By

simply showing the mischief which this debate does. What do we see in the French papers to-day? They say that, as enemies of England, they rejoice at this debate, and one cynical Frenchman says: "It is just what we should do ourselves." I understand and recognise the propriety of Members such as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Montrose or the right hon. Member for Bodmin, who look upon this war as rotten in its inception, foolish in its execution, and equally discreditable and dangerous to the country. They would fight tooth and nail to stop this war and to turn out the Government who are responsible for it. I recognise their position, although I do not agree with them, and I can sympathise with the Leader of the Opposition, who has to try and ride two horses at once. I cannot, however, understand the patriotism of such men as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton, who have upheld the justice of the war in the country, and yet support this Amendment here. What do they hope to get by success or failure? Do they hope to turn the Government out? They have said outside that that is the last thing they desire to do, and they are very wise. If they fail, what else are they doing but simply washing dirty linen in public and helping to embarrass and hinder the Government? We think it would be somewhat difficult to find the same amount of credit, ability, and reputation as that which is possessed by the gentlemen who are good enough to lead us at this moment. Leaving for a moment that part of the subject I should like to say, if the House will bear with me, a few words about the speech made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Forest of Dean. Is it not somewhat unworthy of Parliamentary practice to take up some little florid rhetorical utterance made under exceptional circumstances, and to read into it a solemn statement of Government knowledge or Government policy? And yet that is what we have heard done in this House. The First Lord of the Treasury spoke of there being no more chance of the Orange Free State joining in a war against us than there was of Switzerland. To treat such a phrase as proof that the Government was totally ignorant of the actual condition in South Africa is absurd; but the First Lord of the Treasury says he does not think about his speeches. I only

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wish that his modesty did not lead him to underrate the importance of every word he utters so long as he occupies the administrative position which he does. When he sees his words distorted and misrepresented in the way we have seen them, he must feel how vitally important it is that he should choose his words in such a way as it is not necessary for humbler persons to do. Of course the question of Cabinet responsibility is very rightly urged by the right hon. Baronet opposite, but is it not carrying it to the point of becoming ludicrous to blame them because this or that bridge has not been destroyed in the north of Natal? The Cabinet are responsible for the generals who have been appointed, but to discredit them to the country because a culvert was not blown up is ridiculous and unreasonable. Let me take another point. Although the right hon. Baronet expressed his determination not to criticise the generals in the field, he went to a considerable length in that direction, and he went on to say that it was monstrous folly to occupy a position like Ladysmith, which had hills all round it, which he called an absolutely indefensible hole. On these matters the right hon. Baronet is a very clever man, but I would remind him that Ladysmith is still being defended and has proved to be defensible, though it may not have been the best position from a military point of view. He has also blamed the Government for putting vast amounts of stores there. All I have to say is, thank God they did. As far as I can see the only danger of Ladysmith falling is that their ammunition or rations will not hold out. When General White had a check he was severely criticised, but since then I think he has satisfied us all that he is an extremely able man, and we congratulate him upon the skill with which he has held that position. If it was true that Ladysmith was indefensible we should certainly have had another Yorktown there before this. I should like to say a word or two about the speech of the Under Secretary for War. I call it a fine speech, and I consider that it elevated the debate. I consider that when his speech is read in the country it will do something to restore confidence to "the man in the street," about whom we have heard so much. What has "the man in the street" been doing? While one has been giving his money another has torn

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himself away from those who are so dear to him and gone to the front. While this has been going on certain politicians have been considering whether they could score off their political opponents on account of this war. Over and over again I have seen this in places where I never expected to see it, and where I blushed to see it. There is an old Greek proverb which sets forth that even a fool can give you useful advice, and perhaps some much more distinguished men than myself may listen to me in this matter. I am sure it will do more credit to this House, and to themselves, and their country, if those Members will unite at such a juncture as this and consider how we can improve our position in the future, and set right our false system, instead of going about saying that the Tory party is to be blamed for this and the Radical party for something else. I think we might drop all this until we are out of danger. Common-sense and reason dictates that we should do this, however quarrelsome we may be, whenever we find ourselves in absolute danger of disgrace and humiliation to our Empire; because everyone must know that there is a great responsibility in letting loose the dogs of war, for God alone knows where they will stop, and if England once gets on her back you will always find there is someone ready to jump on her. We know perfectly well that England has not got too many friends abroad, and her power and position has led to intense jealousy. In the face of all these considerations let us show a united front. I was very grateful to my hon. friend, the Under Secretary for War, for doing something to raise the tone of the debate. There was one point, however, in which he started a perfectly new defence of the Government, and he almost seemed to raise the point so high as to say that there was a sort of moral duty upon this country to be unprepared for the quarrels in which she engages. A more startling moral proposition I never heard enunciated. He quoted in support of this a speech of Lord Hardinge, and he said that if we had taken the necessary steps we should have justified our enemies and placed ourselves in the wrong. How about our faithful colonies, and those friends of ours in Natal whom everybody prizes? Was it our moral duty to leave them in a condition of unpreparedness to resist invasion? The hon. Member opposite referred to the

secret service, and said that even now more money might be profitably employed in the secret service of the Government. If it is required, for goodness' sake let them come and ask for it, and I am perfectly certain they will get it with very little opposition. They may be desirous of coming to us with such a proposition, but so long as this debate is continued no practical advantage can come to this country, and no practical proposals can be considered for remedying the defects in our system. When I think of the patience which the House has already shown me, I have come to the conclusion that the sooner I bring my own share in the debate to an end the better.

*MR. MENDL (Plymouth): The hon. Member who has just sat down has dwelt during a great portion of his remarks upon the necessity of bringing this debate to a conclusion on the grounds of patriotism. In that he has followed one or two of his own leaders—the Under Secretary for War to-night and the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs last night—who appear to think that any discussion or criticism of the conduct or of the preparations for the war or the South African policy of the Government is something of the nature of the crime of high treason on the part of the Opposition. I venture to protest against that doctrine with all my heart. It seems to me a most dangerous doctrine, and it is a very peculiar kind of patriotism which leads hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite to ask us to make sacrifices while they propose to make no similar sacrifices themselves. I have not noticed in this House or in the country that the party opposite have failed to take credit for this war in their appeal to the patriotism of the people of this country. They have appealed to the people to support the present Government on party issues and have invited them to oppose the party on this side of the House. That seems to me to be a very peculiar and dangerous kind of doctrine. It was in the first place repudiated by the Leader of the House on Tuesday when he replied to my right hon. friend the Leader of the Opposition on the Address, and was also expressly

repudiated both by the Colonial Secretary and the Leader of the House during the late autumn session of Parliament. I remember a very striking passage in which it was said that the issues were no longer political but military, and that the Government invited criticism. If that is so it seems strange that they should protest and assert that the motives of the Opposition are unpatriotic in raising a debate on these questions. My object in rising is very much the same as that of the hon. Member for South Shields, who made a very brilliant speech the other night in this House. I am going to vote for this Amendment upon somewhat special grounds, and I prefer to do so not by a silent vote, and to explain my grounds for doing so. I entertain no shadow of a doubt as to the justice of the cause in which we are engaged with the Boer Republics. I need scarcely say that my belief is in no way affected by the success or reverses of the military operations which are necessary in order to carry that cause to a successful conclusion. As regards the declared policy of Her Majesty's Government during the spring and summer of last year, I supported that policy, and I still support it. That policy professed to secure proper treatment for the British subjects in the Transvaal, and I assert that it would have been a grave dereliction of duty if the Government had not pressed for that proper treatment to be secured. In the opinion of those best qualified to know, who have lived in that country and who have friends there, it is an almost unanimous opinion that the Transvaal was the only country where it was found to be a disadvantage to be an Englishman, and wherever British subjects receive treatment such as they received in the Transvaal, it is the duty of the Government of this country to interfere on their behalf, and this more especially in a country like the Transvaal, which is a comparatively new and recent state surrounded by a large number of British colonies. I say it was the duty of the Government to interfere both in the interests of these British colonies and in the general interests of the British Empire. I was glad the other day to hear my hon. and learned friend the Member for South Shields refer to the capitalists' argument in regard to this war. The argument that this is a capitalists' war, and that it is their cause we are fighting for, and therefore a sordid and mean cause,

is an argument which I believe to be absolutely untrue. It is quite true of this war, as of every other war, that you cannot disentangle the interests of financiers from it. It was the case in the French, the Crimean, and the Egyptian wars, and I have no doubt that it is to that extent the case in this as well. Possibly some capitalists may have profited by this war. But there are many others who have suffered great losses, and the shrinkage in property must already have amounted to a very great sum indeed. The extent to which the capitalists have supported the Government policy, and preferred to risk the loss or depreciation of their property rather than submit to a continuance of the Government of the Transvaal, is one of the strongest indictments against the Transvaal Government that it is possible to find. What do these men risk? They risk the loss of their property and the stoppage of their businesses. And why have they done this? I do not suppose it is so much for their own interests and safety, because very few of these capitalists live in the Transvaal at all. But they employ English, Scotch, and Welsh miners who have gone out from this country for the purpose of seeking their fortunes in the Transvaal. These men have had to live there under conditions which they have found to be intolerable to any spirited or proud race, and therefore the capitalists were bound to come into line with the Uitlanders in the Transvaal. We have been told that a desire to grab the gold is at the bottom of this war. I should like to know in what way this war will give gold to this country. The large majority of the gold mines in the Transvaal are already owned by English companies, and they will be owned by the same people after the war is over. Those who say that this country is seeking territory for the purpose of acquiring goldfields show a great ignorance of the way in which we govern our colonies. What do we get out of other colonies in this respect? We should get just as much under the old system as we shall get under the British flag. Since the month of March, 1899, when the Government received and acted on the Uitlanders' petition, in broad principle their policy has been a right one, and it deserved and received the support both of this House and of the country. I might have

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found some difficulty in voting for this Amendment if it had been confined to impugning the justice of that policy since March, but it is not so confined, and simply indicts the Government for the want of foresight, knowledge, and judgment displayed since 1895, and I think since that time until March, 1899 they have displayed a want of judgment, foresight, and knowledge. It is this negligence between 1895 and 1899 which justifies me in voting for this Amendment. I think the Government have displayed a great deal too much of the quality of patience, which my right hon. friend the Member for Montrose advocates in dealing with this great evil. The plea as to this urged by the Leader of the House was the Jameson raid of 1895. Of course, everybody condemns that raid as a criminal blunder and a piece of mad and fatuous folly. It is, however, necessary to remember that the misgovernment of the Transvaal was not the result of that raid, but was anterior to it, and was going on during the administration of the late Government. The reform movement in the Transvaal was going on long before it was guided into the wrong and injudicious channel which culminated in the Jameson raid. The First Lord of the Treasury says that raid tied the hands of the Government, but why? If the Government were neither individually nor collectively guilty of complicity in that raid, and I believe that to be the case; if they were innocent why should the complicity of the Chartered Company—which had no connection with the Government except so far as it received powers of government for certain parts of South Africa—have prevented the Government from insisting upon the rights of this country and the rights of our subjects in the Transvaal? Immediately after the raid the Colonial Secretary had President Kruger in the hollow of his hand, for he was asked to exercise his influence to get Johannesburg to disarm. But why were no conditions imposed? Why did the Colonial Secretary not express his willingness to do that upon conditions properly guaranteed to the effect that the misgovernment of the Transvaal should be remedied, and that the reforms which were necessary should be carried out? The right hon. Gentleman framed a moderate and reasonable scheme, but President Kruger refused

it, and thereupon the matter was dropped. Then the Government entered upon a long course of that panacea which has been recommended by the right hon. Member for Montrose, that is the policy of patience. They tried it so far as we were concerned, but simultaneously with it there was a constant arming of the Boers which has led to most of the present trouble, and the result of which we are experiencing to-day. Hon. Members on the other side say that this began before the raid and others say it began after, but whichever is true it is quite obvious that between January, 1896, and the ultimatum by the Transvaal and the Orange Free State last October there was an enormous accession to the military strength of the Boers, and, consequently, we now have to face one of the most formidable military operations ever undertaken by this country. We have already sent over 160,000 men, and we have not yet reached the object we have in view, and the Government have looked on and allowed all this to continue on account of the Chartered Company's complicity in the raid. That is no justification for it, and it is one reason why I shall vote for this Amendment, because it seems to me that the ordinary British citizen and "the man in the street" would say that we have to look to the Government of this country to protect us and our Empire, and the fact that they have not done so is not in the least justified because a trading company was guilty of a conspiracy at the time of the Jameson raid. So far as the preparations for war are concerned, I cannot imagine anybody asserting the converse of this proposition, and declaring that the Government have acted with knowledge, foresight, and judgment. We have heard of the military preparations and of the under-estimating of the number of troops required, the numbers and nature of our enemy, and their means of carrying on warfare. I believe that if it were not for the fact that the Amendment which is before the House involves the question of confidence in the Ministry, and if we could have the division by ballot a very large majority of the Members of this House would vote for it upon the grounds I have stated. In answer to this case, the Government put up two contentions, both of which seem to be absolutely self-contradictory. In the first place, they say that

they thought war was unlikely, because the probability was that the Transvaal would give way at last. If this were the view generally taken, surely the business of a wise and prudent Government is to run no risks at all, and to provide even against the possibility of war, and the contingency that hostilities would result from the negotiations as they went on. But the fact remains that what the Government have done in this case has been that they allowed their diplomacy to outstrip their military preparations, and the excuse which the Under Secretary for War has given is extraordinary. He said that the reason the Government did not make more military preparations during the negotiations was because they did not want to hamper the diplomacy and, possibly, thereby precipitate hostilities. I do not think there is much justification for that hypothesis, because it is well known that the Boers were only waiting for the grass to grow in order that they might be able to operate with their mounted infantry on the plains of Natal. If Her Majesty's Government had sent out the troops in July there would have been much less risk of a declaration of war at all. The alternative contention put forward by the Government has now practically been given up—I allude to the suggestion that the Government did not know the Boer strength and the consequent reflection involved upon the War Office and the Intelligence Department, and Mr. Conyngham Greene. I do not think that was a contention which could possibly have held water for a moment in view of the facts. So far as regards the question of the administration of the War Office I am bound to say that I think the Government have a great deal to explain which they have not attempted to deal with, and which it is highly desirable not in the interests of party but in the interests of the people of this country that they should satisfactorily answer. After all, in these matters the man in the street represents very much the average opinion; most of us are ignoramuses on questions of military administration. [AN HON. MEMBER: No, no.] I speak with the assurance of ignorance myself, but I have not been above sitting at the feet of authority. I have sat out the Army Estimates every session since I have been a Member of this House, and I am bound to say that the impression produced on

my mind by what I have heard on previous occasions from military experts in this House has not been removed by the admirable speech of the hon. Member the Under Secretary of State for War. But I attach a great deal more importance to the future than to the past. I attach more importance to the results which may follow this war than I do to re-creminations as to what has gone before. I hope that we shall have a silver lining to the dark cloud which has been hanging over us, if as the result of this war we get the people of this country and this House to recognise the deficiencies under which we are apparently labouring, and see that the proper remedy is applied to them. I have only to say that I am certain that the overwhelming majority of this House, and indeed of this country, are ready to support this war to the only conclusion to which, in my judgment, it ought to be pushed, the only one consistent with the national character of the British people. There will be nothing begrudged in the expenditure of money, and those fighting for us will not grudge the expenditure of blood for the purpose of carrying out the calls which their country makes upon them. But I think it is all important that we should see when this lamentable war has been carried to a conclusion that there shall be no possibility of the same mischief arising again and the same remedy having to be applied a second time.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.): I should like to say a few words on this subject before the debate is brought to a close, inasmuch as I happen to have been, during September, October, and November last, in the particular part of the world in which the events have happened which we are now discussing. In passing during those critical months through the districts of Cape Colony and the Orange Free State it was my pleasure to see a great number of persons. Although I should be very sorry to claim any expert knowledge of South Africa, I think, after having spent that very critical period amongst those persons, and having heard an immense variety of opinion there, I perhaps may be allowed to say a few words on this particular occasion. I candidly acknowledge that there is much that one might criticise concerning what has taken place if this was an occasion for a party

battle, but I cannot help thinking that not only this country but all the colonies of South Africa—I will go further and say all the colonies of this great Empire—are looking for something much higher than the question of party battle. There is one thing we all want, and that is, to bring this war to a satisfactory termination. We want to bring it to such a satisfactory termination as will add dignity and power to this country and do justice to all parties in South Africa. That, in my opinion, can only be done by placing the whole of the country from the Zambesi to Cape Town under the British flag. What we should do here, and what the country is demanding is that we should consider how we can help to carry this out, and I am sorry to see that re-creminations have been raked up, and that various questions have been raised as to the merits of one side and the other, when all we ought to consider and think about is how to strengthen the Government in power to enable them to carry out this work to a successful conclusion. When the proper time comes there are many things that most of us will wish to inquire into. I fully agree that there are many things—possibly some unpleasant things—which we shall have to inquire about. I think it will be acknowledged that I have never been a very subservient member of this particular party, but I have always said most emphatically what I think and what I feel. I know this has not always been considered fashionable, and certainly it has not been very profitable. But there is a time for all things, and the present time and the present purpose demand something much higher than these party re-creminations. I think we should all combine with the Government with one end in view, and be alive to the enormous importance of the present position, because, as I have said, this is not merely a contest with regard to South Africa or the Transvaal; it is a contest fraught with issues that affect the whole position of our great Empire. The view I took in August and the view I take now, judging by the experiences of my visit to the Cape and what has happened since, is that these reverses or checks to our progress in the campaign will leave no permanent impression on the minds of the colonists unless the Government fails in its task and its duty to the nation. Now, we all know that our Army is an army capable

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of everything that a man can reasonably expect it to do; and it is to this House that the Army looks for sympathy and support. They are looking to us from all parts of South Africa in the expectation and hope that we will do our utmost to safeguard their interests. They desire that nothing should be left undone to strengthen their position, and nothing forgotten which will tend to save life. I would ask, Sir—and it is a fair question to ask at this critical period—are we quite certain that the Government are wholly alive to the gravity of the present position? I am bound to say that until I heard the speech of the Under Secretary of State for War I saw no indications that they were; but I must frankly say now, after the speech of this young member of the Government, that my fears have been dispelled. I should like to say a few words on one or two points raised in the speeches of several Members. One point that has been referred to more than once is as to the advance that was made on Dundee and Glencoe, and why Lady-smith has been made the Aldershot of Natal. Now, Sir, this is a very important question. I happened to be in Natal during the dreadful fortnight which preceded the landing of our troops from India. I do not want to exaggerate, but hon. Members sitting comfortably here can have no idea of the anxious feeling and tension that prevailed up to the Sunday; and after the troops came in people said to me: "To-day we can breathe again. Last Sunday we hardly dared to do so." I had come down from Johannesburg, and I had seen the Boer forces accumulating in thousands on the border, and there was nothing to stop them from raiding right down to Durban save the handful of troops we had up to that anxious fortnight. I think nobody will dispute that although the defence of Northern Natal may have been a military mistake, Sir George White, who accepted the responsibility of it, must be regarded as the hero of the campaign. While in Natal I saw a good deal of the Governor and of the Prime Minister, as well as of General Penn Symons, and I can easily understand why Sir George White surrendered his military judgment in order to place himself in the position in which he now finds himself in Ladysmith. He has 10,000 men there, and I still believe he will be relieved. He has exhibited a policy and behaved in a way which is a credit to the

long line of honourable and gallant men whom he has followed; and I do sincerely trust that in criticising that military mistake we shall weigh well all the circumstances, and these cannot be adequately realised by any but those actually on the spot. Of course, it all comes back to the question—that very serious question which will have to be considered later—why Natal was not put into a state of preparedness when we knew that the Transvaal was arming to the teeth, and when we knew that their whole object was to take Natal. Yesterday I heard the speech of the hon. and learned Member for Dumfries, in which he said he considered that the grievances of the Uitlanders were practically nothing. It is very easy to consider persons' grievances as unimportant if you do not happen to suffer from them yourself. In this country it is a common spectacle to see Members of Parliament airing the grievances of some clerk or other who is not receiving the salary he ought to have; every little difficulty of his position is loudly proclaimed in this House. We consider it a monstrous injustice if the man's labour is not properly remunerated. I say that it is strange that we should sit here and calmly belittle the grievances of our fellow subjects in a far-distant country. I was in Johannesburg for four weeks, and I have no hesitation in agreeing with the hon. Member for South Shields as to the grievances under which the Uitlanders are labouring. I would like the hon. and learned Member for Dumfries, and the right hon. Member for Bodmin who sits here—I don't know why—to live in Johannesburg for twelve months; they would come back holding very different views, and would then know how to vote. The question of the war being one waged on behalf of the capitalists is, in my judgment, too absurd to be gone into. I cannot understand it. I am not a capitalist myself; but I think even a capitalist ought to be treated fairly and rightly. I took a great deal of trouble when in Johannesburg to find out some of the conditions and difficulties under which the capitalist lives. As the hon. Member has just stated, the capitalist is losing enormously by this war. There is no doubt about it; and when we hear that the men who have gone out to work in the mines are only "the scum of the earth," I say, emphatically, it is not true.

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I went down the mines myself, and I can safely assert that the great bulk of the miners are as creditable a set of workmen as you will find anywhere. They are men of intelligence, their labour is strictly technical, and they have as much right to be protected as anyone. Moreover, it is said that these men are money-grubbers. How does that declaration agree with the fact that many of these men now form the best of our colonial troops? The work done by the Imperial Light Horse and Thorneycroft's Horse has been most excellent. They are soldiers of whom we need never be ashamed. Well, I have also heard of the difficulties raised by the Jameson raid. I do not wish for a moment to defend the Jameson raid and the part played in it by Mr. Rhodes. That is undoubtedly the weak spot in the whole South African case. But it must not be forgotten what led to this raid. I remember that when the Greeks talked about raiding Crete it was not considered a very great crime. And I also remember a certain telegram that was sent which did not show that raiding was always an iniquity. As to the raid being put forward as an excuse for the arming of the Transvaal, I may say that I was much interested in what I heard on the subject when I was there. I must candidly say that there was no concealment about the arming. It was common talk. I saw some of the men come in and walk off again armed with their guns; and although many thought then that war might be averted, the natural feeling was that war had been talked of for a long time. The point has been raised and referred to many times, whether the war was inevitable. Of course this also is quite an academic question. It does not matter much whether it was inevitable or not so far as getting done with it as soon as possible is concerned. But the subject should be carefully considered when the war is practically over—what were the circumstances which led up to it? First of all, there is the great question of race hatred and the corruption of the Boer Government. In this connection I think it is really remarkable, as instancing the state of affairs that has existed in the Transvaal, that a large number of the wives and families of Boers resident there, as well as in the Orange Free State, have absolutely been sent down to Capetown in order to be in

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safe keeping during the war. Now we can see the abominable condition of things the country is in when the Boers have to send their own wives and families down to British territory to be protected from their own kindred, whose character is to kill and destroy. One other question to consider is as to the future of these nations. It is too early to talk of the future; but we must be careful to protect the colonists, and to make it clear that we are determined that this state of things shall never happen again. In dealing with South Africa we have never permanently known our own mind. We have been continually changing our policy, first holding the country and then giving it back, and the loyal inhabitants have suffered in consequence. We must be absolutely supreme over the whole of these Republics, as we shall have no abiding peace until the Boer rule is absolutely gone. To refer for one moment to the Amendment proper. I think there are many of us who will agree with me that successive Governments have neglected their duty in regard to the preparations we should have made in South Africa. The present Government will agree now that not enough has been done to prepare for this serious war—not only by themselves, but by their predecessors. We have not done what we might have done since 1881. But that is no reason for adopting this Amendment, for that would certainly mean a change of Government. And whom should we put in instead? We should have to put those in position and power who have been worse than this Government have been, and that would be a leap from the frying-pan into the fire. Some of our opponents seem to think that we are fond of war; but there is not an hon. Member on either side of the House who does not hope that this war should be brought to an end. There are some of us who have our sons engaged in it, whose lives are in imminent danger; and we all feel, with the hon. and learned Member for South Shields, that this is a just war, despite its pains and penalties. We must not shrink from our duties, any more than our ancestors shrank from the duties that were placed upon them, and we must not falter in our determination to bring the struggle to a successful issue. Having done that, the future of South Africa will be a great one. By temporising now, we

are only putting off the evil day, and I trust, therefore, that, in the interests of the country, as well as in the interests of the soldiers whose lives are at stake, the Government will do their utmost, in every way, to strengthen their hands, and not be wrapped up in the carping criticisms that we hear in certain quarters. Patriotism, I believe, will rise supreme over party feeling, and although I am sorry that we have not taken the advice proffered of ending the debate at once—I candidly say I should have been only too glad not to have spoken at all—the time has come when the only criticism on the Government, while the war lasts, should be such criticism as will tend to rouse them to prosecute it with their whole energy.

SIR EDWARD GREY (Northumberland, Berwick) : Some hon. Members and some organs of public opinion outside have sought to produce the impression that it would have been impossible for this debate to be initiated or to be continued if those who took part in it appreciated the seriousness of the situation in which the country is placed. I do not follow that reasoning. It is the seriousness of the situation which has produced this debate. I certainly—and I doubt whether any hon. Members of longer experience than mine can do so—cannot remember any time at which anyone who took part in debate in the House took part in it under a sense of such strict obligation to open his whole thought on the matter of the war. One of the advantages of the Amendment is that it makes that easy. But it is not easy to speak with the perfect freedom with which we ought to speak in such a serious matter without running the risks of alienating some friends and of offending more than usual the susceptibilities of some opponents. The first thing I wish to say to the House is one which I think will meet with general acceptance. I recognise that the speech of the Under Secretary for War is one which has given great support to the Government. I recognise that he made some points against this Amendment with great force, though I think his skill contributed greater force to those points than they were entitled to if considered only by the impartial mind; but I wish to express my gratitude to him, because he has perceptibly raised my own spirits.

It is true that it was mainly a departmental speech; it dealt in detail with important matters, but they were mainly departmental matters. It could not range over some of the wider issues of this question; it could not take the place of the responsible statement made by a Cabinet Minister on the whole situation; but it has done something to lift the gloom. It is the first thing that has happened since the Leader of the House spoke at Manchester in any way to dispel the gloom which has fallen on the country ever since. For that we are grateful. I will not enter into detail on the hon. Member's speech. I said that I was conscious of the seriousness of the situation. Let me clear one matter out of the way at the beginning. There is one thing, and one thing only, in this situation on which I look with a thoroughly light heart, and that is the differences of opinion which may exist among the Opposition. There are differences of opinion. We are all agreed that there has been great mismanagement on the part of the Government. But we recognise that we have differences of opinion with regard to the merits of the war; and this Amendment was not intended to cover all those differences of opinion or to conceal them. I freely admit that I am unable to bestride the chasm that separates my hon. and learned friend the Member for South Shields and my hon. and learned friend the Member for the Dumfries Burghs. I do not know whether to rejoice most that I am most closely associated with the sentiments of the hon. and learned Member for South Shields, or to regret that I am so far separated from the hon. and learned Member for Dumfries. But the hon. and learned Member for Dumfries rendered one very valuable service by his speech. I have said that this Amendment was not brought forward for purely party purposes. I think that everyone who listened to the hon. and learned Member for Dumfries and heard his emphatic denunciation of the committee appointed to inquire into the raid and all its proceedings, and who remembered how that committee was composed, will be the first to realise that it was not for party purposes that this debate was initiated. The Amendment is undoubtedly a vote of want of confidence. Does anyone, examining his own mind strictly on

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this matter, deny that the reputation of the Government for foresight, grasp, and efficiency, has been greatly impaired by the events of the last few months? It has been impaired; and it has to be redeemed. This Amendment is the expression of our sense of the tremendous extent to which our confidence has been impaired; but it leaves to us the earnest and sincere hope that that reputation may yet be redeemed. [HON. MEMBERS: Oh!] I hear the First Lord of the Admiralty throw some doubt on the sincerity of that hope.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (MR. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): I said that the Amendment would not leave you with the hope you express if you were to carry it.

SIR EDWARD GREY: Yes, Sir, but a Government whose reputation has once been impaired must be prepared to stand criticism, and its first opportunity of doing something to redeem its reputation is to meet that criticism in a better spirit than has yet been shown. That opportunity, at any rate, this Amendment provides. But first let me say to the House that I wish to justify myself for having expressed an earnest hope that that reputation would be redeemed. We cannot withhold our censure for what has passed, but we are prepared to give the Government our help in the future. [HON. MEMBERS: Oh!] I wish to be honest with the House, and to let the House and the Government know exactly for what we blame them, and exactly what the value of our support in the future is likely to be. This Amendment, though it is a vote of want of confidence, does not mean any desire to reverse the policy of the Government, or to weaken the prosecution of the war. We are prepared to help to prosecute the war to the end. The First Lord of the Treasury has sought to depreciate the value of the help which we might give by insinuating—for that is the proper word to use—that that help would be very limited; that it would stop at a certain point; that it would stop when the Boers were expelled from British territory. There is no warrant for that assumption. It was a construction of his own upon

the words used. [HON. MEMBERS: No, no.] I am willing to refer him to other words, if he pleases, not uttered from this bench, but by a most important Member of the party on this side of the House. The hon. and learned Member for West Fife, speaking on no light and trivial occasion from a party point of view—at a meeting of the National Liberal Federation—described in glowing language his sense of the issue that was at stake. He said that in this war the fate of the whole Empire was at stake; and that we must press on until the British flag was flying at Johannesburg and Pretoria. Well, Sir, I think that is a statement as far-reaching as the right hon. Gentleman could wish for.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I entirely agree. If that statement represents the policy of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition I have no criticism whatever to offer upon it.

SIR EDWARD GREY: I have given the right hon. Gentleman some instances of the value of the support likely to come from this side of the House. I have not yet given my own definition of the objects to be attained by the war. The primary object of this war—or of the policy which has ended in this war—was not to drive the Boers from British territory, because they were not on British territory at that time. The primary object was not to plant the British flag at Johannesburg or Pretoria. There are those who think these two things must be the results of the war; but they were not the primary objects of the war. Then what were the objects of the war? The objects which I wish to see attained, and in attaining which I pledge myself to give my utmost support to the Government, are mainly two. Others may arise afterwards, but there are only two which it is necessary for us to bear in mind at the present moment. The first is equal rights between white men in South Africa. By that I mean that never again, as far as it is humanly possible to prevent it, shall a situation arise in any part of the British sphere in South Africa in which a modern industrial community shall be placed by any possibility under the heel of an antiquated minority domi-

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nated by prejudice and governed by corruption. Let us make that impossible; let us ensure that into whatever districts South Africa may be divided, whatever arbitrary divisions there may be, in no circumstances whatever shall the government be out of sympathy with the majority of the white inhabitants. The second object is this—that never again in South Africa shall it be possible for an arsenal to be formed, and an accumulation of military material to be made, under any control except British control. Those are the objects in view; that is the end to be attained. To that end the Government will have our support.

HON. MEMBERS: Oh!

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: For whom do you speak?

SIR EDWARD GREY: I have quoted instances of the support likely to be given to the Government, but if the right hon. Gentleman chooses to challenge me, of course I speak only for myself. I am perfectly certain, however, that on this side of the House the large amount of support given to those objects is such that it justifies us in saying to the world at large that, in prosecuting those two objects, the support of the House and the support of the country will be given to the Government. Well, Sir, one thing more about the Amendment. The question of the merits of the war has been discussed on this Amendment. Of course that question comes well within the four corners of the Amendment, but it is not a necessary part of the Amendment. The hon. and learned Member for Dumfries made a speech yesterday so clear, so earnest, and so emphatic that he has laid upon others the necessity of being equally clear, earnest, and emphatic. I do not wish to extend the scope of the debate by arguing this question; and therefore I will ask the House to allow me simply to state my own view, and to leave argument on this point to another time. I have argued it elsewhere, and I am prepared to do so again; but there are more important matters now before us than the merits of the origin of the war. I have stated

elsewhere, but I will state again, that in my opinion we are in the right in this war. It is a just war. It is a war which has been forced upon this country. I never will subscribe for one moment to what is so freely stated out of doors that in this contest the Boer Government, that oligarchy with its picturesque but antiquated prejudices, but whose agents of Government were corrupt—that that Government still stands for freedom and liberty in South Africa. That is intolerable, and I shall never subscribe to that, and I am willing to say I throw no odium on the Government for having provoked an unjust war—I do not believe that they have provoked the war—and I am willing to cheer them in their task. The arguments which I have used elsewhere I need not repeat. I pass now to the heart of the Amendment. Well, it is said that this Amendment, proposed at this early period of the session, will open the floodgates of public criticism; and it is remarkable that those who are most given to criticise the Government are those who are most given to indulging in this reproach; it is they who tell us that this Amendment opens the floodgates of criticism. Well, the organs to which I refer are not entitled to a monopoly of criticism of the Government, and it hardly rests with them to say that this Amendment opens the floodgates. I must appeal to the whole House at large whether in this matter, supposing no Amendment had been moved from the front bench at all, it would have been possible for the Government to begin the session without a large discussion. I hope that this Amendment will serve the purpose of clearing the air, and that it will at least supply ample opportunity to all sides of the House for expressing their views so that the House may, after, as I have said, the air has been cleared, go on to business. But consider the position those of us who are anxious to support the Government in the way I have stated in the future would have been in—consider the position we should have been in, having supported the Government, if we had withheld our criticism, if we had kept it in reserve with the intention of bringing it out at the most inconvenient time we could find afterwards. I think it is better, much better, that the criticism which we have to make should be made now. We can, therefore, having made our criticism now, give our support to the

Government in carrying on this war with less apprehension of being misunderstood than if we withheld it until the period I have suggested. Will this discussion do any harm, any real harm—is it doing any real harm—to the interests of the country? The Under Secretary for War told us in the course of his speech that it would delay the statement which he was prepared to make to the House as regards the future. I was delighted to hear him allude to the future. The Under Secretary told us that he is to make this important statement, and I am glad, and I am sure the House is glad, that that statement is to be left in such skilful hands—in hands so congenial to the House. Is the Under Secretary prepared to make that statement now? When the Secretary of State was asked in another place whether he was prepared to make a statement of the kind referred to by the Under Secretary he replied that he was not in a position to name a day for the debate.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The House was empty.

MR. WYNDHAM: It is not usual to make such a statement in another place.

SIR EDWARD GREY: The Secretary of State did not say that. But there is a more important question than that. The question is, Is this discussion delaying any work that is to be done?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No.

SIR EDWARD GREY: If that be so, then I think that does clear us from the most serious charge. Our action is not delaying the work, and the Leader of the House assures us of that. The public interest, therefore, will not suffer, though the interest of the debate may suffer. As to the debate, that is a matter which rests in the hands of the House itself as a whole. Having cleared up that point, let me tell the Under Secretary for War, who expressed surprise in regard to this Amendment, that in my opinion those who are responsible for the very large amount of support which the Amendment has received are his own colleagues. Had the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of

the Treasury, or any Minister of that rank, dealt with the situation before the session began in the spirit in which it has been dealt with to-night by the Under Secretary it would have taken away from many of us the impulse and the necessity to say some of the things which we have had to say in the course of this debate. But the speech which the First Lord of the Treasury made at Manchester was one which caused, not, I think, to me alone, the greatest pain that any public utterance has caused for some considerable time. What was the situation?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR made a remark which was inaudible.

SIR EDWARD GREY: Yes, and the impression that speech made, general as the impression was, still remains, because we have had nothing better than that speech from any Cabinet Minister since. What was the situation? The situation in which the right hon. Gentleman spoke was this. The country had been disappointed, perhaps dismayed—well, perhaps dismayed is too strong a word—but the country was deeply pained by the misfortunes which had taken place. It had been disappointed beyond all measure by the course of events in South Africa. The country was anxious about the course of events and about the fate of certain positions then in danger. The country in this critical time was looking to the first speech of a responsible Minister—it was looking with anxiety for a serious review of the war and the position in which the country was placed. It was looking for a serious statement as to what the means that were to be taken for the future were likely to be. If a statement had been made, if there had been an acknowledgment that mistakes had been committed, that the members of the Government, who are more conscious of these mistakes, and understand them better than anybody else, were prepared to draw from the past the lessons of experience necessary to redeem the future, anxiety would have been somewhat relieved. But instead of that the right hon. Gentleman in his speech did not deal with the situation from that point of view—he did not review it as a whole. He made a speech

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which had an air of pleasantry and fatalism about it, and inspired general distrust. It is not an unfair summary of that speech to say that it amounted to this—that nothing that happened could have been foreseen, or else the Government would have foreseen it. The Government took refuge behind all sorts of defences—behind public opinion, behind “the man in the street,” behind the Opposition. They have now taken refuge behind the Treasury and behind the British Constitution. Sir, we do not want a shower of excuses of the kind. The right hon. Gentleman began his speech by saying that the Government had nothing to apologise for—that was the last thing the country expected—and this was followed by one reason after another for not having foreseen events. The facts could not be denied, and these reasons were simply excuses. I remember one passage in the right hon. Gentleman's speech in which he dwelt with great emphasis upon the difficulty of sending out troops earlier to South Africa, and he said this was not done because it was feared they would not have the support of public opinion.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No. If I remember that speech rightly—and I won't repeat the whole argument—what I said was this. I had believed that war was improbable, and that, under these circumstances, it would have been most unreasonable to destroy the chances of diplomacy by sending troops prematurely to South Africa. I hope the hon. Gentleman, who says he has read my speech so many times, will in that case quote it accurately.

SIR EDWARD GREY: The impression I gained from the speech was certainly that. If I can find the quotation afterwards I will give it to the right hon. Gentleman, but I am sure I am in the recollection of the whole country that statements have been made on behalf of the Government that they were unable to go in advance of public opinion.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Quote them from my speech.

SIR EDWARD GREY: Here is the quotation—

“Supposing”—said the right hon. Gentleman—“we had come to Parliament in the middle of August and said, ‘We want you to vote us immense supplementary estimates for the provision of immediate transport to South Africa, we want you to call out the Reserves, and we want you to embody the Militia,’ what would have been the reply—not of the Opposition alone, not of the men who merely exist—politically exist, I mean—to take advantage, some argumentative or controversial advantage, of the Government that happens to be in power—what would have been said by the great mass of moderate opinion, both on the other side and on our own side of the House, if we had made such a proposition as that? I think I have enough knowledge of the House of Commons to tell you what would have been said. They would have said, in the first place, ‘The proposals you make to us are inconvenient and very costly.’”

Surely, Sir, that is public opinion.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Gentleman has missed out the important passage. If he will read the preceding part he will see that that is hypothetical. I have not got the speech here, nor have I looked at it since it was delivered, but I feel sure that he will find that that is hypothetical. What I said was that we did not believe that war was likely or probable, but that if we had held a different opinion from the one we did hold, we should have been met with those statements.

SIR EDWARD GREY: The right hon. Gentleman has excited my sympathy; he has not read the report of his own speeches. I maintain that the hypothesis is exactly what I had put. It is that if you had taken a certain course, public opinion would have said to you that it is inconvenient—

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I hope the hon. Gentleman will not think I am unduly interrupting him. I certainly do not mean to do so. But he is repeating a criticism—I will not say a foolish criticism, but one which I think has been illegitimately passed upon me—namely, the assumption that I stated as a fact what I stated as a hypothesis. It was a hypothesis.

SIR EDWARD GREY: Very well.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Then do not state it as a fact. Do not say that we

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were influenced by fear of public opinion, or of the House of Commons, when, as a matter of fact, we were not influenced by it.

SIR EDWARD GREY : Well, all I can say is that it is a great pity that the right hon. Gentleman did not take the course which he says was a hypothetical course. The right hon. Gentleman certainly did shelter himself behind the man in the street. He said he had no more opportunity of knowing the intentions of the Transvaal than the man in the street.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR : As regards going to war, yes.

SIR EDWARD GREY : Yes. It used to be, I think, one of the great merits of the old diplomacy that it prided itself on knowing, or on an intelligent anticipation of, the intentions of those with whom it was dealing. Now, in this matter the Government were the trustees for the nation, and it is not for them as trustees to say that those whose interests they held in trust knew no better than themselves. I will not labour those two points, but I do resent the British Constitution being brought into the matter. The British Constitution would lend itself to excusing anything which could be desired. It is easy to prove on paper that the British Constitution makes anything impossible and is absolutely unworkable. But the British Constitution is the most pliable and the most efficient institution in the hands of a powerful Government. With the British Constitution a powerful Government, with such a majority as the right hon. Gentleman has had, could have done anything, and our complaint against them—a complaint I have brought, not merely in respect to this matter, but others also—is that they have not ventured to use their large majority as they might have done. They have hoarded it ; they have endeavoured to preserve it rather than to make the use of it which circumstances demanded. And that has brought us to this point. If we are in the right in this war, how does it come about that the country is in such trouble? [HON. MEMBERS : Oh !] Holding as I do that we are in the right, I am entitled to ask, Why are we in such trouble? There was not foresight in the

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negotiations. I should like the right hon. Gentleman to explain how it was that he came in his speech at Manchester to say that there was in his mind a probability that the negotiations in which they were engaged might tide over war for a year. Supporting the Government with regard to these negotiations, I never for a moment imagined that all last summer, when we were discussing this question, any one in the Cabinet, in their minds, thought perhaps that a year stood between them and war. That, Sir, is the greatest condemnation which could have been made by any Minister of his own policy. If the nature of them was so delicate and narrow as that the negotiations would only stave off war for a year, why were the negotiations entered upon with so little preparation? The right hon. Gentleman does not dispute that construction of his speech. I have the quotation here.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR : I do not remember it, but I should like very much to hear it.

SIR EDWARD GREY : This is it—

“I do not say that you might not find here and there some prophet of evil who told us that, as soon as the grass grew, the Boers and their horses would be in the field. But if you considered, as we had to consider, the balance of competent opinion upon South African questions, while few men were rash enough to hazard the prophecy that South African questions would ultimately culminate in war, for the present, at all events, the probability was that we should obtain such rights for the Uitlanders in the Transvaal as should tide over the present year, the present difficulty, till perhaps a period arrived when, either by accident or design, it might suit the Boer leaders to precipitate the struggle from which they hoped, but vainly hoped, to reap so much for their national advantage.”

MR. A. J. BALFOUR : And you call that tiding it over for a single year.

SIR EDWARD GREY : What I said was that the right hon. Gentleman had stated that there was a probability that it might be tided over for the present year.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR : The hon. Gentleman has given my quotation. I have nothing more to say. I accept it.

SIR EDWARD GREY: It is the only conclusion, I think, to draw from that quotation, that possibly the negotiations might stave off war for a year. [HON. MEMBERS: No.] If there is any meaning in words at all it must mean that some preparation should have been made. [HON. MEMBERS: No.] The one thing that could excuse want of preparation is want of knowledge of the Boer army. I was delighted to hear from the Under Secretary for War this evening his complete exoneration of the Intelligence Department. Too long that department has lain under an unjust suspicion, for it now appears that the information it gave as regards the men and the guns of the Boers was accurate and complete. The question we have to ask is, Why did not the Government profit more by that intelligence? And again, How is it that the Government are so divided as to the intelligence which was given? Hon. Members seem surprised that we on this side of the House should be united on this Amendment. It is far more strange that the Cabinet cannot be united as to what they were really told by the Intelligence Department as to the armaments of the Boers. To come now to the military question. We have been told that the generals have been given a free hand. I accept that statement as true. But I should like to know from what time it dates. When were the generals given a free hand? What, for instance, diverted General Buller from the original plan? We have been told "the unhappy entanglement of Ladysmith." Ladysmith, indeed, has been more than an unhappy entanglement—it has been the pivot of disaster. Speaking as a layman, it seems obvious to me that the great ally to have on your side in war is time; and the most formidable opponent to have against you is time. We assumed that in this war time would have been on our side. But the unhappy entanglement of Ladysmith has put time against us, and has brought us disaster. Where, then, is the responsibility to lie for that unhappy entanglement? The military criticism, made by a great military authority—else I would not quote it—is that—

"The disposition of the frontier garrisons had been carelessly made in South Africa. This disposition should have facilitated the

concentration and distribution of the Army Corps at whatever basis and upon whatever line of advance the general in chief might choose—in other words, that the disposition of the frontier garrisons should have conformed to the needs of the Army Corps, but what actually happened is that the Army Corps had to conform to the needs of the frontier garrisons."

What I should like to know is, was that disposition of the frontier garrisons in accord with the instructions of the military authorities at home? Was there any difference between the colonial authorities and the military authorities at home on that question? The responsibility in this matter is most serious, and what I ask is, was this disposition of the frontier garrisons made with the entire consent of the military authorities at home?

MR. WYNDHAM: Yes.

SIR EDWARD GREY: Then I am prepared to say the best was done under the existing circumstances.

MR. WYNDHAM: I do not wish to interrupt the hon. Baronet, but I think he is inferring from our assent more than should be properly inferred from it with regard to the military authorities at home. I ought to tell him and the House that the defence of Glencoe and Dundee was done on the initiative and under the control of the late General Symons. I only wish to correct the hon. Baronet if he draws the inference that that was done on the direction of the military authorities at home.

SIR EDWARD GREY: That is important. In the case of a great campaign the most natural supposition would be that the disposition of the frontier garrisons would not have been made by those on the spot without the sanction of those at home, upon whom rests the responsibility for the arrangements. Yes, that is not unnatural in these days of the telegraph. I gather that the military authorities at home were not consulted with regard to Glencoe and Dundee.

MR. WYNDHAM: They were not consulted. We first learned of the defence of Glencoe and Dundee from the newspaper accounts.

SIR EDWARD GREY: I will leave the matter to be discussed by expert military authorities. But it seems to me that in the organising of a great campaign the people on whom rests the responsibility for carrying out the campaign should have exercised the closest scrutiny on the disposition of the frontier garrisons.

MR. WYNDHAM: How is it possible to supervise an action you did not anticipate?

SIR EDWARD GREY: Surely the campaign ought to have been more carefully planned. Ought the disposition of the troops at the opening of the campaign to have been in such a way that the authorities at home could not anticipate an important move? But it is impossible to clear up the matter this evening.

MR. WYNDHAM: I dislike very much interrupting the hon. Baronet, but I think he will see that the military authorities at home may have their own idea as to what the disposition of the troops should be, and may see that that disposition is made. But if the officer in command on the spot, on his own authority, alters that disposition, I think they would be held to be right in being chary in interfering with his subsequent movements.

SIR EDWARD GREY: Certainly, when the war has begun, but not before the war has broken out. That is the point in the disposition of the frontier garrisons. Now, I want to pass from the military point to a criticism which I think is very relevant and which I think justifies the position we take. What is the great mistake which has been made? It is a cheap reproach to bring against the Opposition that they are wise after the event. Really, what we want to be sure about is that the Government themselves are wise after the event. It seems to me that even if it comes after the event it is still worth some attention. What is the great mistake which has been made throughout this South African question? It has been this. There were two factors of great importance in the situation in South Africa during the last few years. One was

the grievances of the Uitlanders, and the second was the growth of the military power of the Transvaal. Of those two factors the growth of the military power of the Transvaal was the more important, but the Government concentrated their attention on the grievances of the Uitlanders. They ought to have taken up the question of the growth of the military power. They began their negotiations about the Uitlanders. It would have been serious to have such military force accumulating in any hands but our own, or in the hands of others, however friendly they were. But to have them in the hands of people who were known to be ill-disposed to us, who had given us evidence of their ill-will on many occasions, was a great mistake. Why was no protest entered against the armaments? The right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury has told us that the hands of the Government were tied by the raid. We never realised till the last few weeks the full misery of the raid. We never realised how much the hands of the Government were tied till we had speeches made telling us what a large share the ill-reputation incurred by the raid has had in preventing necessary action in South Africa. But the question which lies with all of us is this: If the consequences of the raid were so evil, why did not the Government do more at the time to clear us from those evils? Why the delay in the inquiry? Why the repression and the keeping back of certain things when the inquiry was completed? I admit entirely the argument which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouth used at the time which weighed with the Committee, but I see now the pity that the thing was not cleared up at the time it was brought before the Committee. What we fixed on were mere dregs, but they have made it possible for everyone of suspicion, for everyone inside this country or outside of it who is ill-disposed to the Government or those connected with the raid, to stir up those dregs and excite suspicion. And when the Committee was over we felt the pity of the speech which was made in debate, the speech of the Colonial Secretary, with too strict and narrow a definition of the rules of honour—too narrow a definition unfortunately at any time, but doubly unfortunate at that time—because every word which was used to lighten, to miti-

gate the censure which was being passed on the authors of the raid, every word which was used to rehabilitate the authors of the raid, only made heavier the load which the Government was carrying and which was paralysing their action. Well, if they could not for shame of the raid enter a protest against the arming of the Transvaal, I ask why did they not put the British possessions in South Africa in a state of defence? If they could not for shame say to the Transvaal Government, "You must cease your armaments," why did they not put the British possessions in a state of defence? That brings me back to the statement of the First Lord of the Treasury as to the difficulty there would be in sending troops earlier. I admit that difficulty after negotiations, but why was it not done before negotiations began? Would there have been a difficulty about public opinion? ["Yes."] No, not if the Government had stated the facts of the case. Yes, Sir, public opinion in so many of these matters is waiting for the Government to lead, but it now turns out that the Government have been waiting to be led. When the negotiations were once commenced it was difficult to send troops, and the hon. Member the Under-Secretary for War himself told us how they felt hampered at the War Office when negotiations were proceeding in sending out troops. I remember him telling the House in October, in excellent language, that the Government forbore to threaten while they were committed to persuade. If the Government had come down to the House in July and announced that they were going to send out troops at once, I admit that there would have been a charge against them that they were imperilling a peaceful issue, that the issue between a five and a seven years franchise was not worth fighting about. That was a false issue, but the Government had started the negotiations, and though I admit to the full the difficulty the negotiations made in putting our possessions in a state of defence, the difficulty was one of the Government's own making. The mistake was that they took up the grievances of the Uitlanders, knowing that there was risk in the negotiations, when they ought before they entered on those negotiations to have put our possessions in a state of defence. Now, Sir, in conclusion, I have made my criticisms. I regret very much that the

right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury should have thought that I have placed an unfair construction on his words, but I cannot understand his language in any other sense than that I have endeavoured to convey. Whether this criticism of the action of the Government will do harm or good, and I think it will do more good than harm, it was impossible to pass over what has happened without survey. For the future, what is before us? The prosecution of the war with vigour, power, and success? Yes, but more than that, the taking of such measures as may protect the country against complications that may arise, and which, if they do arise, shall find this country in a stronger position. In all that I will give my help to the Government, in spite of the criticisms I have passed upon them, and which I was bound in honour to pass. In spite of that, I should like for the future to give to the Government in this question not only my help but my confidence. I should be delighted to reserve all differences of opinion in the future for home affairs; but we can have no confidence in the Government while the spirit of their speeches is such as that I have criticised this evening. The right hon. Gentleman's own comments on the criticism passed upon him was that it was party criticism. It is not party criticism. Read the organs of public opinion.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I never said it was party criticism; I said it was unfair.

SIR EDWARD GREY: The criticism was not purely party criticism. I am quite willing to accept the right hon. Gentleman's own construction of what his meaning was. It was not party criticism. It was something much more serious. It was a cry of distress from the whole nation. There is no disquiet to be found in the spirit of the nation at this moment. It is full of power, it is energetic. The whole nation is moved, but the question which makes the country anxious is what power there is in the Government. Individual ability in the Cabinet is not denied, but there must be some mind which co-ordinates, which guides and controls the individual ability and subordinates it to the policy of the whole. We have not seen the work of that mind

in the action of the Cabinet. We have not felt the confidence which the country would feel in a Cabinet controlled by one guiding mind inspiring the whole. I cannot control the past. I look to the future. I express my sense of obligation for the speech of the Under Secretary for War to-night, and I do implore members of the Government like the First Lord of the Treasury and others who may speak in this debate to give us something better than we have yet had, something to show that they are more worthy trustees of the interests of the country. If they will appeal to the House in that spirit I believe they will meet with ample support, because I believe that in the House, as a whole, that patriotism with which the whole country is stirred is shared to the full.

MR. SPEAKER was about to put the Question, when

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made and Question proposed,
"That the debate be now adjourned."
--(Mr. Labouchere.)

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: This is rather unusual. We have had a most interesting and important debate. It was an open secret, if it is to be described as a secret at all, that the Government have desired throughout that this debate should be curtailed to the narrowest limits. That has been the desire of the Government; I gave notice of it last night and I gave notice of it to-night in answer to a question. As the House is aware, the authorised ambassadors of the two front benches could not come to an agreement that the division should take place before Tuesday, and I think that it is very deplorable and unfortunate. I should have thought, under the circumstances, that that fact carried with it the obligation that some course should be taken with regard to the progress of the debate by the party which desires this postponement. In any case, I think some gentleman ought to get up and continue the debate.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN:
According to the invariable conduct and
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courtesy of debate, when, in a debate of this kind, an hon. Member has spoken on one side, we look to the other side to follow. There is no lack of hon. Members on the other side who have shown a desire to take part in the debate, and the only conclusion I can come to is that those hon. Members who were going to make such long speeches thought that thirty minutes before the adjournment would not be sufficient to enable them to develop their theories on this subject. I venture to say that the desire of the Government that this debate should be closed as soon as possible is very natural, because the debate is directed against the Government. At the same time it is usual in a debate of this kind that the supporters of the Government should take their fair share in it, if, indeed, they have anything to say in support of the Government.

SIR FORTESCUE FLANNERY (Yorkshire, Shipley): The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition is, in my opinion—

MR. STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton): I rise to order. What is the Question before the House?

*MR. SPEAKER: The Question is that the House do now adjourn.

SIR FORTESCUE FLANNERY: In that case I will reserve what I have to say.

MR. STUART: Mr. Speaker, we are perfectly justified in pressing this motion for the adjournment on this ground. After the speech of the hon. Baronet, the Member for Berwick, a most remarkable speech which has been listened to with great interest and followed closely by all Members of the House, we sat still. A remarkable indictment has been brought against the Government, and we have waited in the full expectation that some member of the Cabinet was about to rise and explain the position they held in answer to that speech. I hope my hon. friend will press for the adjournment of the House so that we can get an answer to that speech.

Question put.

The House divided -- Ayes, 135; Noes, 155. (Division List No. 2.)

AYES.

Abraham, Wm. (Cork, N.E.)
 Ashton, Thomas Gair
 Asquith, Rt. Hn. Herbert Hen.
 Austin, M. (Limerick, W.)
 Bainbridge, Emerson
 Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
 Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
 Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
 Billson, Alfred
 Birrell, Augustine
 Blake, Edward
 Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
 Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
 Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
 Burns, John
 Burt, Thomas
 Buxton, Sydney Charles
 Caldwell, James
 Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
 Carmichael, Sir T. D. Gibson-
 Causton, Richard Knight
 Channing, Francis Allston
 Colville, John
 Commins, Andrew
 Crean, Eugene
 Daly, James
 Dalziel, James Henry
 Dilke, Right Hon. Sir Charles
 Dillon, John
 Doogan, P. C.
 Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
 Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
 Farquharson, Dr. Robert
 Fenwick, Charles
 Fergusson, R. C. Munro (Leith)
 Ffrench, Peter
 Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmund
 Flavin, Michael Joseph
 Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
 Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
 Gibney, James
 Goddard, Daniel Ford
 Grey, Sir Edward (Berwick)
 Griffith, Ellis J.
 Gurdon, Sir Wm. Brampton
 Haldane, Richard Burdon

Hammond, John (Carlow)
 Harrington, Timothy
 Harwood, George
 Hayden, John Patrick
 Hayne, Rt. Hon. Chas. Seale-
 Hazell, Walter
 Healy, Maurice (Cork)
 Healy, Thomas J. (Wexford)
 Hedderwick, Thomas Chas. H.
 Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Chas. H.
 Holland, William Henry
 Horniman, Frederick John
 Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
 Hutton, Alfred E. (Morley)
 Johnson-Ferguson, Jabez Edw.
 Jones, David Brynmor (Swansea)
 Jones, Wm. (Carnarvonshire)
 Jordan, Jeremiah
 Kay-Shuttleworth, Rt. Hn. Sir U.
 Kearley, Hudson E.
 Kinloch, Sir John Geo. Smyth
 Kitson, Sir James
 Labouchere, Henry
 Langley, Batty
 Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cumb'land)
 Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington)
 Leng, Sir John
 Lewis, John Herbert
 Lloyd-George, David
 Lough, Thomas
 Lyell, Sir Leonard
 MacAleese, Daniel
 MacDonnell Dr. M.A. (Queens C)
 MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
 McCrae, George
 McGhee, Richard
 McKenna, Reginald
 Mandeville, J. Francis
 Mendl, Sigismund Ferdinand
 Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
 Morton, E. J. C. (Devonport)
 Murnaghan, George
 Nussey, Thomas Willans
 O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
 O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary)
 O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)

Oldroyd, Mark
 O'Malley, William
 Palmer, Sir C. M. (Durham)
 Palmer, George W. (Reading)
 Paulton, James Mellor
 Pease, Alfred E. (Cleveland)
 Pease, Joseph A. (Northumb.)
 Perks, Robert William
 Philipps, John Wynford
 Pickersgill, Edward Hare
 Pilkington, Sir Geo. A. (Lancs SW)
 Pinkerton, John
 Provand, Andrew Dryburgh
 Redmond, William (Clare)
 Richardson, J. (Durham, S.E.)
 Rickett, J. Compton
 Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
 Runciman, Walter
 Schwann, Charles E.
 Scott, Chas. Prestwich (Leigh)
 Shee, James John
 Sinclair, Capt. J. (Forfarshire)
 Soames, Arthur Wellesley
 Spicer, Albert
 Stevenson, Francis S.
 Strachey, Edward
 Stuart, James (Shoreditch)
 Sullivan, Donal (Westmeath)
 Sullivan, T. D. (Donegal, W.)
 Tennant, Harold John
 Thomas, Alfred (Glamorgan, E.)
 Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr)
 Trevelyan, Charles Philips
 Tully, Jasper
 Walton, John L. (Leeds, S.)
 Wason, Eugene
 Whiteley, George (Stockport)
 Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
 Wilson, Frederick W. (Norfolk)
 Wilson, Henry J. (York, W.R.)
 Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
 Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
 Yoxall, James Henry
 TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
 Mr. Herbert Gladstone and
 Mr. M'Arthur.

NOES.

Anson, Sir William Reynell
 Archdale, Edward Mervyn
 Arrol, Sir William
 Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
 Bailey, James (Waltham)
 Balfour, Rt. Hn. A.J. (Manch'r)
 Banbury, Frederick George
 Bartley, George C. T.
 Bathurst, Hn. Allen Benjamin
 Bethell, Commander
 Bhowaggee, Sir M. M.
 Blundell, Colonel Henry
 Bond, Edward
 Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn)
 Brodric, Rt. Hon. St. John
 Brookfield, A. Montagu
 Bullard, Sir Harry

Butcher, John George
 Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
 Cavendish, V.C.W. (Derbysh.)
 Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
 Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. (Birm.)
 Chamberlain, J. A. (Worc'r)
 Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
 Clarke, Sir Edward (Plym'th)
 Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
 Cook, Fred. Lucas (Lambeth)
 Cooke, C. W. Radcliffe (Heref'd)
 Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
 Cripps, Charles Alfred
 Curzon, Viscount
 Dalkeith, Earl of
 Dalrymple, Sir Charles
 Denny, Colonel

Dickinson, Robert Edmond
 Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
 Doxford, Sir William Theodore
 Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
 Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph D.
 Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn E.
 Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manc'r)
 Field, Admiral (Eastbourne)
 Finch, George H.
 Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
 Fisher, William Hayes
 Fison, Frederick William
 FitzWygram, General Sir F.
 Flannery, Sir Fortescue
 Flower, Ernest
 Forster, Henry William
 Foster, Colonel (Lancaster)

Foster, Harry S. (Suffolk)
 Galloway, William Johnson
 Gedge, Sydney
 Gibbons, J. Lloyd
 Gibbs, Hn. A. G. H. (City of Lon)
 Gibbs, Hon. Vicary (St. Albans)
 Giles, Charles Tyrrell
 Goldsworthy, Major-General
 Gordon, Hon. John Edward
 Gorst, Rt. Hn. Sir J. Eldon
 Goschen, Rt. Hn. G. J. (St. Geo.'s)
 Goulding, Edw. Alfred
 Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
 Gretton, John
 Greville, Hon. Ronald
 Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord G.
 Hardy, Laurence
 Heath, James
 Helder, Augustus
 Henderson, Alexander
 Hermon-Hodge, R. Trotter
 Hoare, Edw. Brodie (Hampstd.)
 Hobhouse, Henry
 Jeffreys, Arthur Frederick
 Johnston, William (Belfast)
 Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
 Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir J. H.
 Kenyon, James
 Kimber, Henry
 Lawrence, Sir E. Durning (Corn)
 Lawrence, Wm. F. (Liverpool)
 Lawson, John Grant (Yorks.)
 Lea, Sir T. (Londonderry)
 Lecky, Rt. Hn. William Edw. H.
 Leigh-Bennett, Henry Currie
 Lowles, John
 Lucas-Shadwell, William

Lyttelton, Hon. Alfred
 Macartney, W. G. Ellison
 MacIver, David (Liverpool)
 Maclean, James Mackenzie
 M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
 M'Killop, James
 Malcolm, Ian
 Martin, Richard Biddulph
 Middlemore, J. Throgmorton
 Milbank, Sir Powlett Chas. J.
 Milward, Colonel Victor
 Monckton, Edward Philip
 Montagu, Hon. J. S. (Hants.)
 Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
 Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
 More, Robt. Jasper (Shropshire)
 Morton, A. H. A. (Deptford)
 Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
 Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
 Nicol, Donald Ninian
 Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
 Parkes, Ebenezer
 Penn, John
 Phillpotts, Captain Arthur
 Pierpoint, Robert
 Pilkington, R. (Lancs. Newton)
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick
 Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
 Pretymann, Ernest George
 Purvis, Robert
 Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
 Renshaw, Charles Bine
 Richardson, Sir T. (Hartlep'l)
 Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
 Round, James
 Russell, Gen. F. S. (Cheltenham)
 Russell, T. W. (Tyne)

Rutherford, John
 Ryder, John Herbert Dudley
 Saunderson, Rt. Hon. Col. E. J.
 Scoble, Sir Andrew Richard
 Seely, Charles Hilton
 Sharpe, William Edward T.
 Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
 Smith, A. H. (Christchurch)
 Smith, J. Parker (Lanarksh.)
 Stewart, Sir M. J. M'Taggart
 Stirling-Maxwell, Sir J. M.
 Strauss, Arthur
 Strutt, Hon. Chas. Hedley
 Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Ox. Univ.)
 Thorburn, Sir Walter
 Tomlinson, Wm. E. Murray
 Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
 Wanklyn, James Leslie
 Warr, Augustus Frederick
 Webster, Sir Richard E.
 Welby, Lieut.-Col. A. C. E.
 Wentworth, Bruce C. Vernon-
 Wharton, Rt. Hon. J. Lloyd
 Whiteley, H. (Ashton-under-L.)
 Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
 Wilson, John Falkirk
 Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath)
 Wylie, Alexander
 Wyndham, George
 Yerburgh, Robert Armstrong

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
 Sir William Walrond and
 Mr. Anstruther.

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added."

SIR FORTESCUE FLANNERY: I am very glad that this debate has now been raised beyond the level of a mere party discussion. During last session the silence which was observed on these benches was due to the self-denial and self-repression of private Members. We desired that the purpose for which the House was called together should be accomplished in the shortest possible time, and that supplies of men and material should be voted as quickly as possible. There were no doubt exceptions to that rule. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bodmin had not then been disavowed as he has been since by his constituents in this matter. He had not then been acting as chairman of a meeting in London at which cheers were given for President Kruger, as he was last night. There were other exceptions also in the ranks of the supporters of the Ministry, but in the main private Members desired to do what

was necessary in silence, in order to avoid wasting valuable time. In the present session valuable time has been wasted during the last two days. The question has been debated from the standpoint of party recrimination, and has not been raised to the level which under the circumstances it should attain. What is the position of the country at the present time? Ten thousand of our countrymen are beleaguered in Ladysmith, being possibly on the verge of starvation and surrender; the valour of 30,000 of the flower of our troops has not succeeded in rescuing them, and their fate—and they deserve well of the country—is trembling in the balance. Our troops are not only checked at Colenso but also at a place about fifteen miles from Kimberley. Parliament has been summoned earlier than usual in order to meet that situation; and what has Parliament been doing, until by the speeches of the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean, and the Under Secretary of State for War, the matter has been lifted to the level it fairly deserves? Has Parliament taken

patriotic counsel, has it sought to do something towards the avoidance of national disaster, has it been considering the immediate strengthening of our Army in the field, or the supply of further guns and transport for the quick termination of the war? No, Sir, Parliament has been engaged, on the initiative of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, in miserable party animosity and party disputation as to who was to blame for the war, and who should have sent out larger reinforcements at an earlier date. I should not be surprised if that impartial personage described by the Leader of the Opposition as "the ordinary Englishman," and by the Leader of the House as "the man in the street," were disgusted with the conduct of Parliamentarians at the present time, and was to say with Shakespeare: "A plague on both your Houses!" The motion of the noble Lord the Member for the Cricklade division was blessed with the preliminary benediction of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, but he did not give any promise of moral or material support in the prosecution of the war, his speech being a mere bid for popular favour—resting, as I allege, upon a reversal of his own words in this House and of words which he addressed to the country. Not one word of advice fell from the ex-Minister for War in his opening speech, nor a promise of assistance—nothing but an attempt to make political capital out of a situation full of national danger, and possibly of national disaster. Nero fiddled while Rome burned, and somehow one is reminded of it by the attitude of the Opposition in face of this national crisis. But Nero at least knew his own mind, and I am not so sure that I can say as much for the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition. On 21st April last he protested in this House against the increase of our troops in Natal.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: On the contrary. The only time I made a speech about troops in Natal was on a question which involved the permanent retention of a large body of troops in that colony, and on that occasion I said that I was not one to put difficulties in the way of the removal of troops by responsible Ministers, who were the sole masters of the disposal of Her Majesty's forces.

SIR FORTESCUE FLANNERY: May I remind the right hon. Gentleman that when the Colonial Secretary stated that the troops in Natal for defensive purposes were to be increased from 3,000 to 9,000 he protested against that increase. In July last the right hon. Gentleman used these words—

"From the beginning of this story to the end of it I can see nothing whatever which furnishes a cause for armed intervention."

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I have several times within the last two days stated that the words I used were in connection with the whole of the negotiations with reference to the Uitlanders' grievances, the franchise, and so forth, and I stated that there was nothing that could constitute a *casus belli* in them. There may have been other reasons of which I was ignorant.

SIR FORTESCUE FLANNERY: And yet the right hon. Gentleman complains of greater preparations not having been made. That appears to the mind of the ordinary Member to be an inconsistency. I quote further. At Maidstone on October 6th the right hon. Gentleman used these words—

"I can discern nothing to justify either war-like action or even military preparations."

Was that part of the foresight in which hon. Gentlemen opposite accuse the Government of having been deficient? Four days before war broke out and the Queen's dominions were invaded, the right hon. Gentleman said that he then saw no reason why there should be military preparations.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The whole burden of our complaint is that the Government had knowledge on the subject which was not open to us. We did not know of the Boer preparations or the danger of the position.

SIR FORTESCUE FLANNERY: I do not deny that the right hon. Gentleman was not in a position to obtain information possessed by the Government, but even so late as last Tuesday the right hon.

Third Day.

Gentleman said he saw no reason for military preparations at the time.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN :
On any ground that we knew.

SIR FORTESCUE FLANNERY : I honestly and sincerely think that the right hon. Gentleman, when he stated four days before war broke out that he then saw no reason for military preparations was showing the same want of foresight—even allowing for the difference of knowledge between a man in office and a man out of office—as that of which he is now accusing the Government. The right hon. Gentleman in his speech last Tuesday accused the Government of having sent dribblets of troops into Natal. I presume by that, that he thinks the troops should have been sent in large numbers; but if they were sent in large numbers it is a truism to say that that would have destroyed the very last chance of a peaceful settlement. But if these troops had not been sent what would have happened? Why, Sir, the Boer plan of campaign, which was to sweep over the whole colony of Natal and to take possession of Durban, would undoubtedly have succeeded, and then we should have been faced with an almost impossible task, because anyone who knows Durban knows that it is full of impregnable positions commanding the entrance to the harbour, and that it would have been almost impossible even for the British Navy to capture it if it fell into the hands of the enemy. That was prevented by sending to Natal the dribblets of troops of which the right hon. Gentleman complains. I hold no brief for the War Office. It is a tradition—a wise and chivalrous tradition, no doubt—that Ministers should protect Government officials in the departments for which they are responsible. I am under no such obligation. Speaking, however, in the absence of

those responsible for the War Office—although the First Lord of the Treasury by gesture assumes the responsibility for the moment—I have some delicacy in apportioning blame for some of the details in which the military preparations were lacking. I desire to do justice to the War Office, as I am sure every hon. Member of the House does. I think there is infinite credit to be given to the War Office for having despatched over 100,000 troops a distance of over 6,000 miles with such remarkable smoothness and almost unbroken success. The mobilisation of the Reserve and the embodiment of the Militia seem to me to indicate the most careful preparation and forethought, and notwithstanding allegations emanating from hon. Gentlemen opposite, the supplies of ammunition and clothing are in marked contrast to the state of things during the Crimean War. But the root of all our disappointment has been, I venture to say, lack of complete intelligence. We were told in the excellent speech delivered by the Under Secretary of State for War that the number of the Boers had been estimated at something like 59,000. I ask where is the proof that that estimate is correct? There was published not many weeks ago a letter which purported to have been written by General Joubert to a correspondent on the Continent. In that letter General Joubert stated that he recognised at least two British Agents, and that he showed them only that part of the armament possessed by his Government which was old and obsolete, and that he hid carefully from them the new guns.

It being midnight the debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed to-morrow.

Adjourned at one minute after
Twelve of the clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, February 2nd, 1900.

ROLL OF THE LORDS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had prepared and laid it on the Table. The same was ordered to be printed. (No. 3.)

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

SUPERANNUATION.

Treasury Minutes declaring that the under-mentioned persons were appointed to the offices set against their names without a Civil Service certificate through inadvertence on the part of the heads of their departments, namely :—

- I. John Brooks, engineman, Post Office, London, Post Office Department, 30th April, 1859.
- II. Joseph Hill, shell moulder, Royal Laboratory, War Office Department, 26th May, 1859.
- III. Marianna Prince, postmistress, Bridport, Post Office Department, 11th January, 1865.
- IV. Bryan McDonald, rural postman, Carrick-on-Suir, Post Office Department, 23rd April, 1875.
- V. William Cleaver, postman, Bath, Post Office Department, 24th July, 1876.
- VI. George William Seaborne, postmaster, Shoreham, Post Office Department, 18th December, 1877.
- VII. James Simpson, postmaster, Alnwick, Post Office Department, 25th June, 1873.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES (INDUSTRIAL AND PROVIDENT SOCIETIES AND TRADE UNIONS).

Reports of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies for 1899.

LOAN SOCIETIES.

Abstract of accounts of loan societies in England and Wales to 31st December, 1898, furnished to the Central Office for the Registry of Friendly Societies.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

VOL. LXXVIII. [FOURTH SERIES.]

LAND CHARGES BILL [H.L.].

A Bill to amend the law relating to charges on land to matters connected therewith—Was presented by the Lord Chancellor; read 1st; and to be printed. (No. 4.)

STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.

Appointed: The Lords following, with the Chairman of Committees, were named of the Committee :—

- D. Bedford.
- D. Marlborough.
- D. Northumberland.
- M. Lansdowne.
- E. Derby.
- E. Denbigh.
- E. Chesterfield.
- E. Jersey.
- E. Lauderdale.
- E. Waldegrave.
- E. Cadogan.
- E. Belmore.
- E. Harrowby.
- E. Amherst.
- E. Camperdown.
- E. de Montalt.
- E. Carrington.
- E. Crewe.
- V. Sidmouth.
- V. Knutsford.
- L. Hopetoun. (*E. Hopetoun.*)
(*L. Chamberlain.*)
- L. Clinton.
- L. Zouche of Haryngworth.
- L. Balfour.
- L. Boyle. (*E. Cork and Orrery.*)
- L. Ribblesdale.
- L. Churchill.
- L. Colchester.
- L. Wigan. (*E. Crawford.*)
- L. Poltimore.
- L. Kintore. (*E. Kintore.*)
- L. Belper.
- L. Brougham and Vaux.
- L. Fermanagh. (*E. Erne.*)
- L. Sudley. (*E. Arran.*)
- L. de Vesci. (*V. de Vesci.*)
- L. Herries.
- L. Monkswell.
- L. Colville of Culross.
- L. Welby.

All Petitions relating to Standing Orders which shall be presented during the present Session referred to the Committee unless otherwise ordered.

P

An Asterisk (*) at the commencement of a Speech indicates revision by the Member.

STANDING COMMITTEE.

Ordered, That a Standing Committee be appointed for the consideration of such Public Bills as may be committed to it by the House.

COMMITTEE OF SELECTION FOR THE STANDING COMMITTEE.

Appointed: The Lords following, with the Chairman of Committees, were named of the Committee :—

E. Cowper.
E. Stanhope.
E. Waldegrave.
L. Balfour.
L. Boyle. (*E. Cork and Orrery*).
L. Ribblesdale.
L. Kintore. (*E. Kintore*).
L. Colville of Culross.

HOUSE OF LORDS OFFICES.

Select Committee appointed: The Lords following, with the Lord Chancellor, the Lord President, the Lord Privy Seal, and the Chairman of Committees, were named of the Committee :—

D. Richmond.
D. Northumberland.
M. Salisbury.
M. Ripon.
M. Breadalbane.
E. Chesterfield.
E. Waldegrave.
E. Mount Edgumbe.
E. Belmore.
E. Harrowby.
E. Cawdor.
E. Camperdown.
E. Kimberley.
E. de Montalt.
E. Cranbrook.
E. Ancaster.
V. Peel.
V. Knutsford.
L. Hopetoun. (*E. Hopetoun*).
(*L. Chamberlain*).
L. Balfour.
L. Boyle. (*E. Cork and Orrery*).
L. Ribblesdale.
L. Churchill.
L. Colchester.
L. Rosebery. (*E. Rosebery*).
L. Belper.
L. Rowton.
L. Tweedmouth.
L. Colville of Culross.
L. Macnaghten.
L. Welby.

The Committee to meet on Friday next, at half past three o'clock.

COMMITTEE OF SELECTION.

The Lords following, viz. :—

E. Chesterfield,
E. Waldegrave,
L. Ribblesdale,
L. Colville of Culross,

with the Chairman of Committees, were appointed a Committee to select and propose to the House the names of the Five Lords to form a Select Committee for the consideration of each opposed Private Bill.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR — SURVEYS AND MAPS.

LORD SALTOUN: My Lords, I rise to ask the Secretary of State for War whether, when the war broke out, the officers of the Field Force had maps of the Transvaal and Orange Free State served out to them; also, as the war has been so far carried on in our own territory of Cape Colony and Natal, whether maps of these Colonies have been served out, or are now being served out, to them by the Government. The other day, during the debate on the Address in reply to Her Majesty's Gracious Speech, the Minister for War stated, in answer, I think, to Lord Rosebery, that the Government were so prepared that they had sent a large force of 120,000 men, fully equipped, out to the Cape in the course of a few weeks. I regard this as a most notable performance, and the thanks of the country are due to the Government for it. But there is one piece of equipment which is most essential to our troops when operating in what may be called a hostile country—namely, the maps of that country. Since I placed my question on the Paper of your lordships' House I have read a most excellent speech by the Under Secretary for War, in which he gave an explanation to a certain extent of the surveys which had taken place and the maps which had already been distributed. But, my Lords, he did not go further back in his statement on this subject than 1896, in which year two officers, he stated, went out to survey certain tracts of the country. He also pointed out the enormous size of the country which had to be surveyed, and the great difficulties in the way. But what I wish to call attention to is this, that 1896 was not the beginning of the period when we should have begun to

look towards the crisis in which we now find ourselves. It is not only from the date of the Jameson raid, but from the date of the most disastrous and ignominious treaty made after Majuba Hill that we ought to have begun to prepare for this war. Everyone in this country—every “man in the street”—must have known that at some future time war was bound to break out between us and the Boers, and I think it was the duty of the Government of that day, and of future Governments, to have provided not only maps of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, but also maps of Cape Colony and Natal. I would remind your lordships of the terrible lesson which the French received in the Franco-German War. They had excellent maps of the whole of Germany, but, when the war was carried into French territory, the French troops failed ignominiously because they had no maps of their own country to work upon. Ladysmith, as is well known, I believe, to everyone in your lordships’ House, is called the Aldershot of Natal, and it is, in my judgment, quite inexplicable, in view of the importance of Ladysmith to us as a great storehouse of food and munitions of war, that there was no map extant showing the correct position of Spion Kop. I do not wish to ask any question which would in any way interfere with the interests of the country or with the Government at this critical moment, but I think it is most essential that the information for which I ask should be known to the public. My attention was called to this subject owing to the very severe criticisms which had been made by General Buller on the scouting of various officers in various parts of Cape Colony and Natal. If these officers had had good maps of the country in which the war is being carried on, I feel certain that they would have been able to carry out their work with greater advantage and much more easily. The Under Secretary for War stated that they had the Cape survey and the Colonial map of Natal. If the Colonial map of Natal does not even state accurately where Spion Kop is, what can you expect from the Colonial map of Cape Colony? I think they must both be very poor, and not such maps as our officers ought to rely upon in this war. I now venture to put my question to the noble Marquess, and in doing so I would like to add that it is not only the command-

ing officers to whom I allude, but all officers from the chiefs down to the youngest subaltern.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (The Marquess of LANSDOWNE): My Lords, I do not think that your lordships will differ from the noble Lord in the importance which he attaches to the possession of accurate maps by any force operating in the field. I gather that he complains of the War Department because it did not address itself some years ago to the task of obtaining accurate maps of the different parts of South Africa. In these matters we are very apt to be wise after the event, and it is possible that, in the years to which he referred, more might have been done in the way of surveying important regions. But I have no doubt that it occurred to many people in those days that the duty of making topographical surveys of the British colony concerned primarily the colony itself rather than the Imperial Government; but, at any rate, of late years I do not think we are open to the reproach of having neglected this duty. The noble Lord asks me whether, when the war broke out, the officers of the Field Force had maps of the Transvaal and Orange Free State issued to them. The answer to that is that maps of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State were issued to officers when the war broke out. These maps formed part of the Intelligence branch maps, and are on the scale of four miles to the inch. The noble Lord next asks me whether lately maps of Cape Colony and Natal had been served out, or are now being served out to the troops by the Government. As to that, I have to say that the General Officer in command in South Africa has been instructed to issue to the troops maps of Cape Colony and the neighbouring territories. This map is on the scale of 12½ miles to the inch, and it is published at Cape Town. With regard to Natal, we have supplied from here a very large quantity of sheets of the survey which has recently been made by our own officers of the northern portion of Natal. The noble Lord is quite correct when he says that that map does not include the whole of the country around Ladysmith. The survey comes as far south as, and a little further south than Ladysmith, but it does not take in the valley of the Tugela at that point which we are now watching with

so much interest. This, no doubt, is to be regretted, but the answer to the criticism is that as much of the survey was completed as it was possible to complete in the time at our disposal. Besides that map a large number of copies of Russell's map of Natal on the scale of five miles to the inch have been issued. I may say, in reference to the noble Lord's observation that the position of Spion Kop is inaccurately shown on some of these maps, that so far as I am able to ascertain Spion Kop is a very common name for an eminence in the whole of that part of South Africa, and there appear to be a considerable number of Spion Kops located on different parts of the map. Besides the maps to which I have referred, we have issued a number of copies of Bartholomew's well-known small-scale map of South Africa, a great number of special maps and plans of reconnaissances of various points of military importance. I may say, in reference to the general tenor of the noble Lord's remarks, that the area of the region which may be, I think, properly described as the theatre of war is something like 400,000 square miles, and it would have been beyond the power of our officers to survey anything like the whole of that region within the time at their disposal.

House adjourned at a quarter before
Five of the clock, to Monday
next, a quarter before Eleven
of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, 2nd February, 1900.

PETITIONS.

GOVERNMENT PROPERTY (EXEMPTION FROM RATES).

Petition from Lambeth for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

INEBRIATES ACTS, 1879 TO 1899.

Petition from Moston for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

RATING OF WOODLANDS.

Petition from Hartlepool for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL.

Petitions in favour from Trimley, Brandeston, and Knoddishall; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

LAND TRANSFER ACT, 1897.

Paper [presented 1st February] to be printed. [No. 29.]

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copy presented,—of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series. No. 2377 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

PAPERS LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

1. Friendly Societies, Workmen's Compensation Schemes, Industrial and Provident Societies, and Trade Unions.—Reports of the Chief Registrar for the year ending 31st December, 1899 [by Act]; to be printed. [No. 30.]

2. Loan Societies. — Abstract of Accounts of Loan Societies in England and Wales to 31st December, 1898, furnished to the Central Office for the Registry of Friendly Societies [by Act].

ADJOURNMENT.

Resolved, That this House, at its rising this day, do adjourn till Monday next.—(*Sir William Walrond.*)

NEW BILLS.

BOILERS REGISTRATION AND INSPECTION.

Bill to provide for the Registration and Inspection of Boilers, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Fenwick, Mr. John Wilson (Durham), Mr. Woods, Mr. William Allan, Mr. J. Samuel, Mr. Joseph Walton, and Mr. Provand.

BOILERS REGISTRATION AND INSPECTION BILL.

"To provide for the Registration and Inspection of Boilers," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 7th March, and to be printed. [Bill 1.]

SUNDAY CLOSING (MONMOUTH-SHIRE).

Bill to extend to and include Monmouthshire in the Sunday Closing (Wales) Act, 1881, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Spicer, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. M'Kenna, Mr. Lloyd-George, and Mr. Herbert Roberts.

SUNDAY CLOSING (MONMOUTHSHIRE) BILL.

"To extend to and include Monmouthshire in the Sunday Closing (Wales) Act, 1881," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 14th March, and to be printed. [Bill 2.]

MERCHANT SHIPPING (LIABILITY OF SHIPOWNERS).

Bill to amend the Merchant Shipping Act with respect to the Liability of Shipowners, ordered to be brought in by Sir Donald Currie, Mr. Charles M'Arthur, Sir Francis Evans, Mr. Warr, Sir Charles Cayzer, Colonel Denny, Sir John Leng, and Mr. W. F. Lawrence.

MERCHANT SHIPPING (LIABILITY OF SHIPOWNERS) BILL.

"To amend the Merchant Shipping Act with respect to the Liability of Shipowners," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 21st March, and to be printed. [Bill 3.]

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT (1897) AMENDMENT.

Bill to amend the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897, ordered to be brought in by Colonel Chaloner, Mr. Goulding, Lord Willoughby de Eresby, Mr. H. S. Foster, Mr. Strutt, Mr. Giles, Mr. Carlile, and Sir Cameron Gull.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT (1897) AMENDMENT BILL.

"To amend the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 4th April, and to be printed. [Bill 4.]

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT.

Bill to amend the Law relating to Corporal Punishment, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Wharton, Sir John Dorington, Mr. Halsey, Sir Mark Stewart,

Mr. Jeffreys, and Sir John William Maclure.

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT BILL.

"To amend the Law relating to Corporal Punishment," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 28th March, and to be printed. [Bill 5.]

MINES (EIGHT HOURS).

Bill to restrict the hours of labour in Mines to Eight Hours a day from bank to bank, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Herbert Lewis, Mr. William Abraham, Mr. Thomas Bayley, Mr. Birrell, Sir Walter Foster, Mr. Jacoby, Colonel Mellor, Mr. Pickard, Mr. Ernest Spencer, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Woods, and Mr. Yoxall.

MINES (EIGHT HOURS) BILL.

"To restrict the hours of labour in Mines to Eight Hours a day from bank to bank," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 28th February, and to be printed. [Bill 6.]

BEER RETAILERS' AND SPIRIT GROCERS' LICENCES (IRELAND).

Bill to amend the laws relating to Beer Retailers' and Spirit Grocers' Licences in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. J. H. M. Campbell, Mr. Samuel Young, Mr. Clancy, Mr. T. M. Healy, and Mr. William Moore.

BEER RETAILERS' AND SPIRIT GROCERS' LICENCES (IRELAND) BILL.

"To amend the laws relating to Beer Retailers' and Spirit Grocers' Licences in Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 11th April, and to be printed. [Bill 7.]

MIDWIVES.

Bill to secure the better training of Midwives, and to regulate their practice, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Tatton Egerton, Sir William Hart Dyke, Mr. Schwann, Mr. Hazell, Mr. Heywood Johnstone, Mr. Bonsor, Mr. Flower, and Mr. Tennant.

MIDWIVES BILL.

"To secure the better training of midwives, and to regulate their practice,"

presented, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 28th February, and to be printed. [Bill 8.]

**WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT
(1897) AMENDMENT (No. 2).**

Bill to amend the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Giles, Mr. Goulding, Colonel Chaloner, Lord Willoughby de Eresby, Mr. Harry Foster, Mr. Strutt, Sir Cameron Gull, and Mr. Carlile.

**WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT
(1897) AMENDMENT (No. 2) BILL.**

"To amend the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897," presented, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 25th April, and to be printed. [Bill 9.]

REGISTRATION OF FIRMS.

Bill for the Registration of Firms, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Emmott, Mr. Monk, Mr. Oldroyd, Sir James Rankin, and Mr. Philip Stanhope.

REGISTRATION OF FIRMS BILL.

"For the Registration of Firms," presented, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 2nd May, and to be printed. [Bill 10.]

EVICTED TENANTS (IRELAND).

Bill for the restoration to their holdings of certain Evicted Tenants in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Crean, Mr. Dillon, Mr. John Redmond, Mr. T. M. Healy, and Mr. Patrick Aloysius M'Hugh.

EVICTED TENANTS (IRELAND) BILL.

"For the restoration to their holdings of certain Evicted Tenants in Ireland," presented, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 21st February, and to be printed. [Bill 11.]

**SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON
SUNDAY.**

Bill to prohibit the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Robert Cameron, Mr. Charles Wilson, Mr. Perks, Sir Edward Gourley, Mr. Pickard, Mr. Compton Rickett, Mr.

Firbank, Sir Frederick Mappin, Mr. John Wilson (Mid Durham), Mr. Fenwick, Mr. Woods, and Mr. Bainbridge.

**SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON
SUNDAY BILL.**

"To prohibit the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday," presented, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 11th April, and to be printed. [Bill 12.]

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (SCOTLAND).

Bill to make further provision for Local Government in Counties in Scotland ; and for other purposes, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Nicol, Mr. Hozier, Captain Sinclair, Sir Mark Stewart, Mr. Colville, and Sir Thomas Gibson-Carmichael.

**LOCAL GOVERNMENT (SCOTLAND)
BILL.**

"To make further provision for Local Government in Counties in Scotland ; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 14th March, and to be printed. [Bill 13.]

**WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT
(1897) EXTENSION.**

Bill to extend the benefits of the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897, to agricultural labourers, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Harry Foster, Mr. Goulding, Mr. Strutt, Lord Willoughby de Eresby, Colonel Chaloner, Sir Cameron Gull, Mr. Carlile, and Mr. Giles.

**WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT
(1897) EXTENSION BILL.**

"To extend the benefits of the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897, to agricultural labourers," presented, and read the first time ; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 21st March, and to be printed. [Bill 14.]

**OUTDOOR RELIEF (FRIENDLY
SOCIETIES).**

Bill to amend the Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies) Act, 1894, and to relieve members of Friendly Societies of certain disqualifications arising from the receipt of temporary outdoor relief, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Gallo-way, Mr. Birrell, Mr. Arthur Morton, and Mr. Holland.

OUTDOOR RELIEF (FRIENDLY SOCIETIES) BILL.

"To amend the Outdoor Relief (Friendly Societies) Act, 1894, and to relieve members of Friendly Societies of certain disqualifications arising from the receipt of temporary outdoor relief," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 7th March, and to be printed. [Bill 15.]

COUNTY AND BOROUGH FRANCHISE ASSIMILATION (LONDON).

Bill to assimilate the County Council and Borough Council Franchise in London, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Loder, Mr. Whitmore, Mr. Goulding, Mr. Boulnois, Mr. W. F. D. Smith, Mr. John Burns, Captain Jessel, and Sir George Fardell.

COUNTY AND BOROUGH FRANCHISE ASSIMILATION (LONDON) BILL.

"To assimilate the County Council and Borough Council Franchise in London," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 9th May, and to be printed. [Bill 16.]

CHEAP TRAINS.

Bill to amend the Cheap Trains Act, 1883, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Schwann, Mr. Lough, Mr. Woods, Mr. William Whiteley, Mr. John Burns, and Sir Frederick Dixon-Hartland.

CHEAP TRAINS BILL.

"To amend the Cheap Trains Act 1883," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 16th May, and to be printed. [Bill 17.]

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) ACT (1898) AMENDMENT.

Bill to amend the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Tulley, Sir Thomas Esmonde, Mr. Clancy, Mr. Dillon, Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Patrick Aloysius M'Hugh, Mr. Daly, and Mr. Patrick O'Brien.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) ACT (1898) AMENDMENT BILL.

"To amend the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 14th February, and to be printed. [Bill 18.]

LONDON MUNICIPALITIES (WOMEN'S DISABILITIES REMOVAL).

Bill to amend the London Government Act, 1899, in respect of the eligibility of women as Councillors and Aldermen, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Lough, Mr. Courtney, Mr. Birrell, Mr. John Burns, Mr. William Johnston, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Yoxall, and Mr. William Jones.

LONDON MUNICIPALITIES (WOMEN'S DISABILITIES REMOVAL) BILL.

"To amend the London Government Act, 1899, in respect of the eligibility of women as Councillors and Aldermen," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 23rd May, and to be printed. [Bill 19.]

COAL MINES REGULATION ACT'S AMENDMENT.

Bill to amend the Coal Mines Regulation Acts, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Barlow, Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. William Abraham, Mr. Thomas Bayley, Sir Walter Foster, Mr. Hatch, Mr. Jacoby, Mr. M'Kenna, Mr. Pickard, Mr. Randell, Mr. Woods, and Mr. Yoxall.

COAL MINES REGULATION ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

"To amend the Coal Mines Regulation Acts," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 28th March, and to be printed. [Bill 20.]

STREET NOISES.

Bill to control and regulate Street Noises, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Jacoby, Mr. Radcliffe Cook, General Goldsworthy, Mr. Boulnois, Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. Duncombe, Sir George Fardell, Mr. Arnold-Forster, Colonel Sandys, and Mr. J. W. Sidebotham.

STREET NOISES BILL.

"To control and regulate Street Noises," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 30th May, and to be printed. [Bill 21.]

PUBLIC HOUSES (SCOTLAND) LATER OPENING.

Bill to amend the Licensing (Scotland) Act, 1853, ordered to be brought in by Colonel Denny, Mr. Hedderwick, Sir William Arrol, Mr. Colville, and Mr. M'Killop.

PUBLIC HOUSES (SCOTLAND) LATER OPENING BILL.

"To amend the Licensing (Scotland) Act, 1853," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 14th March, and to be printed. [Bill 22.]

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

Bill to confer Pensions upon Aged Persons, ordered to be brought in by Sir Fortescue Flannery, Sir James Rankin, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Flower, Mr. Bousfield, Colonel Denny, Mr. Carlile, and Mr. Rothschild.

OLD AGE PENSIONS BILL.

"To confer Pensions upon Aged Persons," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 7th March, and to be printed. [Bill 23.]

FIRE BRIGADES.

Bill to promote the efficiency of Fire Brigades and for other purposes connected therewith, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Pym, Captain Bowles, Mr. Malcolm, Mr. Cameron, and Sir George Fardell.

FIRE BRIGADES BILL.

"To promote the efficiency of Fire Brigades and for other purposes connected therewith," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 16th May, and to be printed. [Bill 24.]

QUARRIES.

Bill to apply the provisions of the law relating to the weighing of minerals contracted to be gotten in coal and ironstone mines to certain Quarries, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Alfred Pease, Mr. John Wilson, Mr. Atherley-Jones, Mr. Fenwick, Mr. Joseph Pease, and Mr. Richardson.

QUARRIES BILL.

"To apply the provisions of the law relating to the weighing of minerals contracted to be gotten in coal and ironstone mines to certain Quarries," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 7th March, and to be printed. [Bill 25.]

CHURCH DISCIPLINE.

Bill for the better enforcement of Discipline in the Church of England,

ordered to be brought in by Mr. David MacIver, Mr. Charles M'Arthur, Mr. Houston, and Mr. Mellor.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE BILL.

"For the better enforcement of Discipline in the Church of England," presented and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 23rd May, and to be printed. [Bill 26.]

IMBECILES (TRAINING INSTITUTIONS).

Bill to exempt from poor and other local rates all registered Institutions for the care, training, and education of Idiots and Imbeciles, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Tomlinson, Mr. Round, Sir John Maclure, Sir Frederick Mappin, Mr. Allison, Sir William Houldsworth, Colonel Lockwood, Mr. Talbot, and Colonel Foster.

IMBECILES (TRAINING INSTITUTIONS) BILL.

"To exempt from poor and other local rates all registered Institutions for the care, training, and education of Idiots and Imbeciles," presented and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 2nd May, and to be printed. [Bill 27.]

BEER RETAILERS' AND SPIRIT GROCERS' LICENCES (IRELAND) (No. 2).

Bill to amend the laws relating to Beer Retailers' and Spirit Grocers' Licences in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. William Moore, Mr. J. H. Campbell, Sir James Haslett, and Mr. William Johnston.

BEER RETAILERS' AND SPIRIT GROCERS' LICENCES (IRELAND) (No. 2) BILL.

"To amend the laws relating to Beer Retailers' and Spirit Grocers' Licences in Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 7th March, and to be printed. [Bill 28.]

TENANTS IN TOWNS IMPROVEMENT (IRELAND).

Bill for improving the condition of Tenants in Towns in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. MacAleese, Mr. T. D. Sullivan, Mr. Jordan, Mr. Patrick O'Brien, Mr. Hammond, Mr. Maurice Healy, Dr. Commins, and Mr. Field.

TENANTS IN TOWNS IMPROVEMENT (IRELAND) BILL.

"For improving the condition of Tenants in Towns in Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 4th April, and to be printed. [Bill 29.]

ROMAN CATHOLIC DISABILITIES REMOVAL.

Bill for the removal of certain Disabilities affecting Roman Catholics in Great Britain and Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Flavin, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Dillon, Captain Donelan, Mr. John Redmond, Mr. Blake, Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Jordan, Mr. Patrick O'Brien, Mr. MacNeill, Sir Thomas Esmonde, and Mr. Harrington.

ROMAN CATHOLIC DISABILITIES REMOVAL BILL.

"For the removal of certain Disabilities affecting Roman Catholics in Great Britain and Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 14th March, and to be printed. [Bill 30.]

COLONIAL MARRIAGES (DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER).

Bill to amend the law as to marriage contracted in the Colonies with a deceased wife's sister, ordered to be brought in by Captain Jessel, Mr. Rothschild, General Laurie, Sir William Dunn, Mr. David MacIver, Mr. William McArthur, Sir Lewis M'Iver, Mr. Mellor, and Mr. Spicer.

COLONIAL MARRIAGES (DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER) BILL.

"To amend the law as to marriage contracted in the Colonies with a deceased wife's sister," presented and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 21st February, and to be printed. [Bill 31.]

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT (1887) REPEAL.

Bill to repeal the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, 1887, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Pinkerton, Captain Donelan, Mr. Hammond, Mr. Harrington, and Mr. Patrick O'Brien.

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT (1887) REPEAL BILL.

"To repeal the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, 1887," presented

and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 25th April, and to be printed. [Bill 32.]

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS TO CHILDREN.

Bill to prevent the sale of intoxicating liquors to children ordered to be brought in by Sir Joseph Leese, Mr. Joseph A. Pease, Mr. Paulton, Mr. Scott, Sir James Woodhouse, Sir Mark Stewart, and Mr. William Johnston.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS TO CHILDREN BILL.

"To prevent the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors to Children," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 16th May, and to be printed. [Bill 33.]

OUT-DOOR RELIEF (FRIENDLY SOCIETIES) (No. 2).

Bill to amend the Out-door Relief (Friendly Societies) Act, 1894, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Strachey, Sir Albert Rollit, Sir Samuel Hoare, Mr. Yoxall, Mr. Grant Lawson, Mr. Holland, and Mr. Thomas Bayley.

OUT-DOOR RELIEF (FRIENDLY SOCIETIES) (No. 2) BILL.

"To amend the Out-door Relief (Friendly Societies) Act, 1894," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Tuesday, 13th February, and to be printed. [Bill 34.]

PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE (EXTENSION TO WOMEN).

Bill for extending the Parliamentary Franchise to Women, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Faithfull Begg, Mr. Firbank, Mr. Atherley-Jones, Sir John William Maclure, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. William Johnston, Mr. Jebb, Mr. Courtney, Mr. M'Laren, Colonel Cotton-Jodrell, Captain Young, and Mr. Douglas.

PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE (EXTENSION TO WOMEN) BILL.

"For extending the Parliamentary Franchise to Women," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 4th April, and to be printed. [Bill 35.]

TOWN COUNCILS (SCOTLAND).

Bill to consolidate and amend the Law relating to the election and proceedings

of Town Councils in Scotland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Asher, Sir Herbert Maxwell, Mr. Thomas Shaw, Dr. Clark, Mr. Parker Smith, Mr. Cross, Mr. Gordon, and Mr. Dewar.

TOWN COUNCILS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

"To consolidate and amend the Law relating to the election and proceedings of Town Councils in Scotland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 21st March, and to be printed. [Bill 36.]

MANHOOD SUFFRAGE (IRELAND).

Bill to establish Manhood Suffrage in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Field, Mr. Dillon, Mr. T. M. Healy, and Mr. Clancy.

MANHOOD SUFFRAGE (IRELAND) BILL.

"To establish Manhood Suffrage in Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 28th February, and to be printed. [Bill 37.]

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS TO CHILDREN (No. 2).

Bill to amend and extend the Law relating to the prohibition of the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors to Children; and for other purposes connected therewith, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Souttar, Sir Robert Reid, Sir James Haslett, Sir Thomas Gibson-Carmichael, Mr. Herbert Pease, Mr. Whittaker, Mr. Herbert Roberts, Mr. Provand, and Mr. Douglas.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS TO CHILDREN (No. 2) BILL.

"To amend and extend the law relating to the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors to children; and for other purposes connected therewith," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Friday, 9th February, and to be printed. [Bill 38.]

ACCESS TO MOUNTAINS (SCOTLAND).

Bill to secure access for the public to mountains and moorlands in Scotland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bryce, Dr. Farquharson, Mr. Asher, Mr. Thomas Shaw, Sir John Kinloch, and Sir Cameron Gull.

ACCESS TO MOUNTAINS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

"To secure access for the public to mountains and moorlands in Scotland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 16th May, and to be printed. [Bill 39.]

COAL MINES REGULATION.

Bill to amend the Coal Mines Regulation Acts, ordered to be brought in by Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. William Abraham, Mr. William Allen, Mr. Thomas Bayley, Sir Walter Foster, Mr. Hatch, Mr. Jacoby, Mr. M'Kenna, Mr. Pickard, Mr. Randell, Mr. Woods, and Mr. Yoxall.

COAL MINES REGULATION BILL.

"To amend the Coal Mines Regulation Acts." Presented and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 28th February, and to be printed. [Bill 40.]

WATERMEN'S CERTIFICATES.

Bill to amend the Law relating to Watermen's Certificates, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Steadman, Mr. Austin, Mr. Lough, Mr. John Burns, and Dr. Robert Ambrose.

WATERMEN'S CERTIFICATES BILL.

"To amend the Law relating to Watermen's Certificates." Presented and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 4th April, and to be printed. [Bill 41.]

OCCUPYING TENANTS' ENFRANCHISEMENT.

Bill to enable Occupying Tenants of houses and places of business to purchase the fee simple of their holdings, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bartley and General Goldsworthy.

OCCUPYING TENANTS' ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL.

"To enable Occupying Tenants of houses and places of business to purchase the fee simple of their holdings." Presented and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Tuesday, 13th February, and to be printed. [Bill 42.]

WASTE LANDS AFFORESTATION (IRELAND).

Bill for the re-afforestation of waste lands in Ireland, ordered to be brought

in by Mr. Engledew, Sir Thomas Esmonde, Mr. Hammond, Mr. Maurice Healy, and Captain Donelan.

WASTE LANDS AFFORESTATION (IRELAND) BILL.

"For the re-afforestation of Waste Lands in Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 9th May, and to be printed. [Bill 43.]

LEASEHOLD ENFRANCHISEMENT (ENGLAND AND WALES).

Bill to enable leaseholders to become freeholders, ordered to be brought in by General Laurie, Sir John Llewelyn, Sir John Jenkins, Mr. Kenyon, Mr. Lafone, Mr. Cohen, Sir Albert Rollit, and Sir George Fardell.

LEASEHOLD ENFRANCHISEMENT (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.

"To enable leaseholders to become freeholders," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 21st February, and to be printed. [Bill 44.]

WATER SUPPLY. .

Bill to amend the law respecting the supply of water by companies and other bodies and persons, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Cornwallis, Colonel Warde, and Mr. Griffith-Boscawen.

WATER SUPPLY BILL.

"To amend the law respecting the supply of water by companies and other bodies and persons," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 14th March, and to be printed. [Bill 45.]

BOROUGH FUNDS.

Bill to amend the Borough Funds Act, 1872, and the Borough Funds (Ireland) Act, 1888, ordered to be brought in by Sir Albert Rollit and Sir James Woodhouse.

BOROUGH FUNDS BILL.

"To amend the Borough Funds Act, 1872, and the Borough Funds (Ireland) Act, 1888," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 46.]

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT (1897) AMENDMENT (No. 3).

Bill to amend the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Woods, Mr. John Burns, Mr. Pickard, and Mr. Steadman.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT (1897) AMENDMENT (No. 3) BILL.

"To amend the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1897," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 4th April, and to be printed. [Bill 47.]

PUBLIC HEALTH ACTS AMENDMENT.

Bill to amend the Public Health Acts, ordered to be brought in by Sir Alfred Hickman, Mr. Ernest Spencer, Mr. Heath, and Mr. Galloway.

PUBLIC HEALTH ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

"To amend the Public Health Acts," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 30th May, and to be printed. [Bill 48.]

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS (IRELAND).

Bill to amend the Law relating to the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors in Ireland on Saturdays and Sundays, and for other purposes connected therewith, ordered to be brought in by Sir Thomas Lea, Mr. Justin Mc'Carthy, Colonel Saunderson, Mr. Maurice Healy, Mr. William Johnston, Mr. Jordan, Mr. Rentoul, Mr. Ffrench, Mr. Arnold-Forster, and Mr. Pinkerton.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS (IRELAND) BILL.

"To amend the Law relating to the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors in Ireland on Saturdays and Sundays, and for other purposes connected therewith," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 23rd May, and to be printed. [Bill 49.]

COMPENSATION FOR DAMAGE TO CROPS.

Bill to secure Compensation for Damage to Crops by fires caused by sparks from railway engines, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Jeffreys, Mr. Cripps, Mr. Channing, Mr. James Lowther, Captain Pretyma, Mr. Grant Lawson, Mr. Strachey, and Major Rasch.

COMPENSATION FOR DAMAGE TO CROPS BILL.

"To secure Compensation for Damage to Crops by fires caused by sparks from railway engines," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 21st March, and to be printed. [Bill 51.]

LIQUOR TRAFFIC LOCAL VETO.

Bill to enable localities by a direct veto to prevent the issue of licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors, ordered to be brought in by Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. Henry Wilson, Mr. Burt, Mr. Whitaker, Mr. Cameron, Mr. Jonathan Samuel, Mr. John Wilson (Durham), Mr. Jacoby, and Mr. Pickersgill.

LIQUOR TRAFFIC LOCAL VETO BILL.

"To enable localities by a direct veto to prevent the issue of licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 11th April, and to be printed. [Bill 50.]

COUNTY COUNCILLORS (QUALIFICATION OF WOMEN) (SCOTLAND).

Bill to enable Women to be elected and act as County Councillors in Scotland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Douglas, Mr. Faithfull Begg, Mr. Munro Ferguson, Dr. Farquharson, Mr. Haldane, Mr. M'Crae, Captain Sinclair, and Mr. Wason.

COUNTY COUNCILLORS (QUALIFICATION OF WOMEN) (SCOTLAND) BILL.

"To enable women to be elected and act as County Councillors in Scotland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 14th March, and to be printed. [Bill 52.]

SUNDAY CLOSING (WALES) ACT (1881) AMENDMENT.

Bill to amend the Sunday Closing (Wales) Act, 1881, and to make further provision respecting the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors in Wales, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Herbert Roberts, Mr. Alfred Thomas, Mr. Lloyd-George, Mr. William Jones, and Mr. Humphreys-Owen.

SUNDAY CLOSING (WALES) ACT (1881) AMENDMENT BILL.

"To amend the Sunday Closing (Wales) Act, 1881, and to make further provision

respecting the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors in Wales," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 9th May, and to be printed. [Bill 53.]

LANDS VALUATION (SCOTLAND) ACT (1854) AMENDMENT.

Bill to amend the Lands Valuation (Scotland) Act, 1854, ordered to be brought in by Mr. M'Crae, Mr. Bryce, Mr. Hedderwick, Mr. Colville, and Mr. Wason.

LANDS VALUATION (SCOTLAND) ACT (1854) AMENDMENT BILL.

"To amend the Lands Valuation (Scotland) Act, 1854," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 21st March, and to be printed. [Bill 54.]

INTOXICATING LIQUORS (LOCAL VETO) (IRELAND).

Bill to enable the local government electors of any locality to veto the issue of licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors in Ireland, ordered to be brought in by Mr. William Johnston, Mr. Jordan, and Mr. Pinkerton.

INTOXICATING LIQUORS (LOCAL VETO) (IRELAND) BILL.

"To enable the local government electors of any locality to veto the issue of licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors in Ireland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 7th March, and to be printed. [Bill 55.]

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES DISQUALIFICATION REMOVAL.

Bill to relieve members of Friendly Societies of certain Disqualifications arising from the receipt of temporary outdoor relief, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Strachey, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Nussey, Mr. Barlow, and Mr. Warner.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES DISQUALIFICATION REMOVAL BILL.

"To relieve members of Friendly Societies of certain Disqualifications arising from the receipt of temporary outdoor relief," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Tuesday, 13th February, and to be printed. [Bill 56.]

TRUSTEE SAVINGS BANKS.

Bill to amend the Trustee Savings Banks Acts, ordered to be brought in by Sir Albert Rollit.

SHOPS.

Bill to amend the Law relating to Shops, ordered to be brought in by Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. John Burns, Dr. Clark, Mr. Clough, Mr. Duckworth, Mr. Field, Mr. Flower, Mr. Kemp, Mr. Steadman, and Mr. Tennant.

SHOPS BILL.

"To amend the Law relating to Shops," presented and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Tuesday, 13th February, and to be printed. [Bill 57.]

FRANCHISE AND REMOVAL OF WOMEN'S DISABILITIES.

Bill to establish a single Franchise at all Elections, and thereby to abolish University Representation, and to remove the Disabilities of Women, ordered to be brought in by Sir Charles Dilke, Mr. John Burns, Dr. Clark, Mr. Atherley-Jones, Mr. Logan, Mr. Maddison, and Captain Norton.

FRANCHISE AND REMOVAL OF WOMEN'S DISABILITIES BILL.

"To establish a single Franchise at all Elections, and thereby to abolish University Representation, and to remove the Disabilities of Women," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 4th April, and to be printed. [Bill 58.]

COMPANIES ACTS AMENDMENT.

Bill to amend the Companies Acts, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Faithfull Begg, Mr. Lawson Walton, Mr. Gordon, Mr. Hedderwick, and Mr. Marks.

COMPANIES ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

"To amend the Companies Acts," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 4th April, and to be printed. [Bill 59.]

DISTRESS ABOLITION AND SUBSTITUTION.

Bill to provide for the abolition of the right of distress by a landlord against a tenant, and to substitute for it a better and simpler system for the recovery of possession of lands, tenements, and here-

ditaments when rent is in arrear, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bartley and Mr. William Johnston.

DISTRESS ABOLITION AND SUBSTITUTION BILL.

"To provide for the abolition of the right of distress by a landlord against a tenant, and to substitute for it a better and simpler system for the recovery of possession of lands, tenements, and hereditaments when rent is in arrear," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 28th March, and to be printed. [Bill 60.]

OLD AGE PROVIDENT PENSIONS.

Bill to provide Pensions in Old Age to the Provident Poor, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bartley and Mr. Maclean.

OLD AGE PROVIDENT PENSIONS BILL.

"To provide Pensions in Old Age to the Provident Poor," presented and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 21st March, and to be printed. [Bill 61.]

OUTDOOR PROVIDENT RELIEF.

Bill to amend the Law relating to Outdoor relief in sickness and widowhood to the Provident Poor, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bartley and Mr. Maclean.

OUTDOOR PROVIDENT RELIEF BILL.

"To amend the Law relating to Outdoor Relief in sickness and widowhood to the Provident Poor," presented and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 21st March, and to be printed. [Bill 62.]

QUESTIONS.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—THE HAGUE CONFERENCE AND ARBITRATION.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Government will consider the advisability of acting on its own suggestion made at the Hague Conference, and agree to resort to arbitration with a view to bring the war in South Africa to a speedy and satisfactory end.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): The proposal made by the British Pleni-

potentiary at The Hague for the establishment of a permanent court of arbitration does not appear to Her Majesty's Government to be applicable in the present circumstances.

SIR WILLIAM BUTLER'S DESPATCHES.

MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether General Sir William Butler made to the War or to the Colonial Office any statement or communication as to the amount and character of the forces the Boers could put into the field in the event of war, or as to the extent and character of their armaments, or as to the special military difficulties to be overcome, and the best disposition of the British forces, or other steps advisable to meet those difficulties; and whether such statement or communication will be presented to Parliament.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: There is nothing, I believe, in any of Sir W. Butler's despatches to the War Office dealing with the amount and character of the forces that the Boers could put into the field in the event of war, or as to the extent and character of their armaments. There were some observations in the despatches of June last as to the distribution of the small British force then in the colony, and in those suggestions there were probably references to the special military situation of the district; but, so far as I know, there is nothing in those despatches relative to the controversies which have divided us in our recent debates upon military matters.

MR. CHANNING: Were the suggestions made in the document referred to adopted or rejected by the Committee of Defence?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I will look into that matter, but I should think that probably they were adopted.

MR. W. REDMOND (Clare, E.): As there is so much interest in this matter, could the right hon. Gentleman see his way to have Sir W. Butler's despatches placed in full on the Table of the House?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No, Sir; I answered a question of exactly the same purport yesterday in the negative.

CANADA'S OFFERS OF TROOPS.

MR. HEDDERWICK (Wick Burghs): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether his attention has been called to a recent statement attributed to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Prime Minister of Canada, to the effect that several months ago Canada offered to furnish this country with a second contingent of troops, and that Her Majesty's Government declined the offer, and in declining it informed the Canadian authorities that should they require more Canadian troops they would want infantry and not cavalry; and whether this statement accurately or substantially represents what occurred; and, if so, upon what grounds the Government founded their reply to the Canadian offer.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Her Majesty's Government declined the offer of a second Canadian contingent under present circumstances on November 6th last. In doing so no such statement as the hon. Member suggests was made. At an earlier date—namely, October 2nd—as fully explained by my hon. friend the Under Secretary for War last night, the War Office expressed a preference for colonial infantry as compared with colonial cavalry.

THE JAMESON RAID.—THE RHODES-HAWKSLEY CORRESPONDENCE.

MR. S. T. EVANS (Glamorgan, Mid): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been called to a letter, written on the 20th February, 1897, by the solicitor to the British South Africa Company to Earl Grey (a director of the Company and the Administrator of Rhodesia) in which the former states that the cables of the last half of 1895, or rather the negotiations of that period, would probably have to come out, and that if they did the Secretary of State for the Colonies would have no one but himself to blame; and whether he will state to the House what the cables and negotiations referred to were, or whether he will lay them upon the Table of the House.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham, W.): The reply to the first question is in the affirmative. My atten-

tion has been called to the letter referred to. I have not had time to verify the correctness of the description given by the hon. Member, but I will take it for granted it is correct. In answer to the second question, it is not easy for me to explain communications which passed between two third parties in the year 1897, and of which I had no knowledge at the time. But I assume that the cables referred to, or some of them, were those which Mr. Hawksley declined to produce. If so, they formed part of a batch which was sent to me in 1896 for confidential perusal and return, and which were accordingly returned almost immediately with a letter stating that I had no personal objection to their publication. I believe that the majority of this batch of telegrams was subsequently produced by the cable company acting under the orders of the South Africa Committee. As I have had none of them in my possession since 1896 I am unable to lay them on the Table.

MR. S. T. EVANS: Will the right hon. Gentleman say whether or not he kept copies?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: No, Sir, certainly not; I should have thought that not quite honourable.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): Were they shown to the Attorney-General?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I do not know.

MR. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs): Who is it that objects to the publication?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! That does not arise out of the question.

MR. CONYNTHAM GREENE AND THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies, why, when Mr. Conyngham Greene, C.B., visited the Colonial Office on the 6th November, was the late Agent of the British Government at Pretoria not accorded an interview with the Colonial Secretary; when Mr. Rhodes visited the Colonial Office on the 6th February, 1896, immediately after the

Jameson raid, was he received by the Colonial Secretary in a private interview which lasted for two hours, and at which no official except Lord Selborne was present; and what is the reason that a courtesy given to Mr. Rhodes after the raid was denied to Mr. Conyngham Greene.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The first statement is based on inaccurate information. I did not see Mr. Conyngham Greene on the 6th November, because I had arranged to see him on the 10th November, a day which was more convenient to both of us. I have had the fullest conversations with him since his return. The answer is in the affirmative, except that I think the interview was much shorter than two hours. It is not usual for the officials of the Colonial Office to be present at private interviews.

INTERVENTION OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether Her Majesty's Government have any information relative to any communications which have recently passed between the Government of the Netherlands and any other foreign Powers with reference to the hostilities now proceeding in South Africa, or to the mutual relations of European Powers in respect thereto.

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (MR. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): The answer is no, Sir.

CONTRABAND OF WAR—THE RIGHT OF SEARCH.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether Her Majesty's Government have observed the statement made by Count von Bülow in the German Reichstag, on 19th January, to the effect that Her Majesty's Government had issued instructions to British cruisers not to stop or search for contraband of war any vessels either at Aden or at any point equally or further distant from the seat of war; that Her Majesty's Government had further issued instructions that German mail steamers are not to be stopped and searched on mere suspicion:

and that Her Majesty's Government had declared its assent to the institution of a court of arbitration for dealing with claims for compensation arising out of the exercise of the right of visit and search; whether this statement accurately represents the engagements taken by Her Majesty's Government; and if so, whether he can state the considerations which have induced Her Majesty's Government to waive in these respects the exercise of the maritime rights of this country; whether he can state on what ground it is intended to withdraw from the prize courts, and to submit to arbitration the assessment of costs and damages to be paid by captains in respect of capture without adequate cause; and whether he will lay any Papers with reference to this matter upon the Table of the House.

*MR. BRODRICK: Her Majesty's Government have undertaken not to search vessels for contraband of war at the distance named in the question, because there is nothing to prevent contraband being shipped at intervening ports after such search, and the cargo destined for intervening ports interferes with effective search. Mail steamers having important public interests to serve will not be arrested unless there are grounds beyond mere suspicion for believing there is contraband on board. The assessment of compensation in connection with the seizure of vessels cannot be withdrawn from the prize court except on application by the parties and consent of the court. Her Majesty's Government have not surrendered any right, but in view of the representations of the German Government and the assurances given by the Mail Steamer Company that they had given strict orders that contraband should not be carried, Her Majesty's Government have undertaken, pending further arrangement, not to arrest such vessels except on the gravest suspicion. I propose to lay Papers on the subject shortly.

THE DEFENCE OF NATAL.

MR. LLOYD MORGAN (Carmarthen-shire, W.): On behalf of the hon. Member for the Gainsborough Division of Lincolnshire, I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War by whose advice Lady-smith and Dundee were chosen as the

best sites for the defence of Natal; and whether these sites were selected with the approval of the military advisers of the Government.

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (MR. WYNDHAM, Dover): The correspondence published by the Colonial Office shows the ground which led the late General Sir W. Penn Symons to decide to occupy Dundee. It is impossible in the limits of an answer to a question to state the events which resulted in Sir G. White's investment in Ladysmith.

GUNS OF POSITION.

MR. HEDDERWICK: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether there were any guns of position, and, if so, how many, in Natal and Cape Colony prior to the outbreak of hostilities; and to what extent our home forts and ships of war have been denuded of 4.7-inch guns for the Transvaal in consequence of the deficiency of heavy artillery in South Africa and at home in stock.

*MR. WYNDHAM: There were no guns of position as distinct from fortress guns in Cape Colony or Natal when war broke out. As regards the latter part of the question, a general statement will shortly be made on the military situation.

MOUNTAIN BATTERIES.

MR. HEDDERWICK: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War if he will state how many mountain batteries have been supplied to General Buller for his campaign in the mountain frontiers of Natal; of how many guns did these batteries consist, and were they muzzle or breechloaders; and what is the range of these guns, and are they fired with smokeless powder.

*MR. WYNDHAM: One mountain battery has been supplied to Sir Redvers Buller since he went to Natal. There are six muzzle-loading guns in each battery, which fire black powder and range about 3,000 yards.

EQUIPMENT OF THE NEWCASTLE YEOMANRY VOLUNTEERS.

MR. LLOYD MORGAN: On behalf of the hon. Member for the Gainsborough Division of Lincolnshire, I beg to ask the

Under Secretary of State for War will he explain why, after the majority of the members of the Newcastle Yeomanry Volunteers leaving this week for South Africa had supplied themselves with revolvers, an order was received that no trooper should be allowed to take this weapon to South Africa; and, did this order emanate from the War Office; and, if so, can the question be reconsidered.

***MR. WYNDHAM:** The Imperial Yeomanry are armed and equipped as mounted infantry, and mounted infantry do not carry revolvers. It is not considered desirable to make any change in the authorised equipment.

MILITIA REGIMENTS AND ACTIVE SERVICE.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War the number of Irish, English, and Scotch Militia Regiments which have volunteered for the front, and their respective strengths.

***MR. WYNDHAM:** I shall be pleased to give the information to the hon. Member, but I must ask him to give me longer notice. Such a return takes some time to compile.

MR. T. M. HEALY: How long will the hon. Gentleman take?

***MR. WYNDHAM:** The longer the notice the greater my gratitude. It is not that I grudge any time, but I have to make considerable demands on the time of the staff officers at the War Office. Questions put down at night can only be dealt with at about 10 o'clock the next morning; that is to say, at the very time when those officers are earnestly engaged on matters of national importance. I should like about four days' notice of questions which need investigation into facts of this character.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I shall be happy to give the hon. Member a still longer time in order to enable more English Militia regiments to volunteer.

REPORTED SHOOTING OF PRISONERS OF WAR.

MR. SHEE (Waterford, W.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for

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War whether, subsequent to the Battle of Belmont, seven persons, who were made prisoners, and have been described as five Boers and two Irishmen, were shot by order of Lord Methuen; whether the order to shoot them was given by reason of their having been proved to be subjects of Her Majesty the Queen taken in arms against her forces; and whether they were tried by court-martial or otherwise; and, if so, what was the nature of the evidence adduced against them.

***MR. WYNDHAM:** No information has been received on this matter.

MR. SHEE: Will the Government make an inquiry?

***MR. WYNDHAM:** The hon. Member must see that it is impossible that any such event should be omitted from the reports from the front that we receive. If any evidence were brought forward of such an event taking place it would be the first thing that we should inquire into.

MAFEKING STATION-MASTER.

MR. SHEE: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether James Quinlan, the station-master at Mafeking, was recently shot by order of Colonel Baden-Powell; and whether Colonel Baden-Powell has made any report of the circumstances; and, if so, of what nature.

***MR. WYNDHAM:** I gave the hon. Member a reply to this question yesterday.

MR. SHEE: Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will look through the reports?

[No answer was given.]

VICTUALLING OF THE TRANSPORTS—MEAT ON THE "AMERICAN."

GENERAL LAURIE (Pembroke and Haverfordwest): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether the fresh meat supplied for the use of the Royal Artillery and other troops taking passage on the s.s. "American," which sailed from Southampton for South Africa on the 20th January, was found unfit for issue, and was consequently condemned by the officer superintending the embarka-

tion ; if so, what meat was supplied in its place for the use of the troops ; and whether the troops were provisioned by the War Office or under contract with the shipowners ; and, if the former, whether he would publish in the public interest the name of the contractor supplying this meat to the War Office, in order that all public departments should know of this attempt to palm off unfit meat on our soldiers, and so should be warned from any dealings with such a firm.

MR. JEFFREYS (Hants, N.) : I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether Colonel Stacpole was compelled to reject and condemn the whole of the meat supplied under contract to the "American," which embarked two batteries of artillery and other troops at Southampton on 20th January last ; who were the contractors who supplied this meat, and have they been punished with the utmost rigour of the law ; and who was responsible for allowing this meat to be shipped.

*THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. MACARTNEY, Antrim, S.) : Arrangements were made with the owners of the "American," the West Indian and Pacific Steamship Company (Limited), to victual the troops at the rate of 1s. per head per day. A portion of the troops embarked at Southampton, and it has been reported that the fresh meat in question, on being put on board at Southampton, was at once rejected by the embarking officers at the usual inspection of provisions, on the ground that it consisted entirely of "bull" and old "cow" beef. The day being Sunday, a fresh supply could not be obtained at that port, but in accordance with telegraphic instructions, it was replaced at Queenstown (where the remainder of the troops embarked) by meat of good quality ordered by the owners' agents at their expense. The owners state that the meat was purchased from a firm who, they are informed, have supplied a large number of transports and two important trans-oceanic passenger lines. The full market price was paid for it, a guarantee having been given that it would give satisfaction. The contractors state that some of it had been served in the saloon and also to the troops before it was condemned without a word of complaint, and that after the meat was re-

turned it was inspected by the town doctor, who certified it perfectly sound, it being afterwards disposed of to his family and hotel customers. The directors of the steamship company gave instructions that in the victualling of all transports it was to be done with unstinted liberality and regardless of cost.

CAPTAIN DONELAN (Cork, E.) : Was the meat home-grown or foreign ?

*MR. MACARTNEY : The contractors who supplied it are not contractors to the Admiralty, neither are they contractors to the War Office, and I have therefore no knowledge.

MR. JEFFREYS : Was there an inspection of the meat in the first instance ?

*MR. MACARTNEY : Yes, I am informed by the directors that it was inspected by their storekeeper and cook, both of whom are practical men.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick) : Cannot that gentleman find out whether it was home-grown or foreign meat ?

[No answer was given.]

PROVISIONS ON THE "PAVONIA."

CAPTAIN PHILLPOTTS (Devon, Torquay) : I beg to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether any complaints have been received respecting the quality of the provisions supplied to the troops that embarked for South Africa on 22nd October on board the transport "Pavonia" ; and if so, whether such complaints have been investigated, or any action taken by the Admiralty.

MR. MACARTNEY : The officer commanding the troops on the "Pavonia" has reported that the provisions were quite satisfactory.

FAREWELLS ON TRANSPORTS.

MR. WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield) : I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty if he would take steps to make it known that ladies are not allowed to go on board the transports to see their officer relations off, even when they have so-called War Office passes.

MR. MACARTNEY: The Admiralty are of the opinion that it is extremely inconvenient to those in charge of transports, as well as undesirable in the interests of the troops, that relatives or friends should be permitted to go on board transports at the time of embarkation. The Admiralty do not issue passes for this purpose, and I shall be glad to confer with the War Office on the subject.

MR. WARNER: Will you make it publicly known?

MR. MACARTNEY: I think that this is sufficient publicity.

SPEED OF TRANSPORTS.

MR. COLVILLE (Lanarkshire, N.E.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War why the quickest mail steamers flying the British flag were not employed in the transport of troops to South Africa; and whether at least two days could have been saved on the voyage over the average of the vessels which were thus employed.

***MR. WYNDHAM:** I understand that the First Lord of the Admiralty will be happy to answer this question on an early day next week.

TRANSPORT SERVICE RETURN.

GENERAL RUSSELL (Cheltenham): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether there will be any objection to include in the return regarding the transport service to South Africa, which has already been promised, statistics regarding the number of horses, if any, carried on each ship respectively, and the number of horses lost on the voyage; and whether the ships in question were provided with the new or old pattern of fittings with or without slings for each horse.

MR. MACARTNEY: There is no objection to the inclusion of these statistics in the return.

CENSORSHIP OF OUTGOING TELEGRAMS.

MR. LLOYD MORGAN: On behalf of the hon. Member for the Gainsborough Division of Lincolnshire, I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as represent-

ing the Postmaster General, whether any censorship is exercised with regard to such outgoing telegrams from England to Africa as may be likely, directly or indirectly, to carry information to the enemy.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HANBURY, Preston): Under Article 8 of the International Telegraph Convention, each Government reserves to itself the power to suspend wholly or in part the service of international telegraphs upon condition that it immediately advises each of the other Governments party to the convention. Notices have been issued under this article suspending code or cipher telegrams, and applying the censure to other telegrams from or to Zanzibar, Seychelles, Mauritius, Madagascar, British East Africa, German East Africa, Mozambique, Delagoa Bay, Rhodesia, British Central Africa, Orange Free State, Transvaal, Cape Colony and Natal. All such telegrams have to pass the censor either at Aden or at Cape Town.

THE WAR OFFICE AND NEWS FROM THE FRONT—THE TUGELA RETREAT.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War at what time was the War Office in possession of the news of the retreat of Buller's army across the Tugela, which was accomplished at 8 a.m. on Saturday morning; and, on what ground was this news held back from the general public till Sunday at 5 p.m.

***MR. WYNDHAM:** The message from Sir Redvers Buller was received on Sunday morning. It was a long one and took some time to decode. It was issued to the press soon after one o'clock, and placarded for general information at 2.30.

MR. MACNEILL: Was a previous message to that referred to received?

***MR. WYNDHAM:** There was no previous message as to having encountered a reverse, but there was one announcing that a battle was to be fought. There was no previous message giving the issue.

THE MAGERSFONTEIN ENGAGEMENT.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War

when was the defeat of Lord Methuen's forces at Magersfontein, which was not communicated to the general public till the morning of Wednesday the 13th December, first known at the War Office.

*MR. WYNDHAM: The news reached the War Office early on Wednesday morning.

PUBLIC CHARGES AGAINST THE WAR OFFICE BY A VOLUNTEER OFFICER.

*MR. BROOKFIELD (Sussex, Rye): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been called to letters in the press, signed by the commanding officer of one of the Metropolitan Volunteer Battalions, making complaints and charges against the War Office and the military authorities; whether the authorities intend to take any notice of this serious breach of discipline by an officer on the active list; or whether it is the case that no machinery exists for dealing with cases of this kind in any other way than by depriving the offender of his commission.

*MR. WYNDHAM: The matter is under the consideration of the military authorities.

REGIMENTAL OFFICERS' QUARTERS.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War on what principle does the War Office allow the wives of officers on the staff to retain quarters and allowances for six months during the absence of their husbands, while the wives of regimental officers are compelled immediately to surrender their quarters; and whether, having regard to the fact that regimental officers have smaller pay than staff officers, the privileges given to the wives of staff officers will be accorded to the wives of regimental officers.

*MR. WYNDHAM: Regimental officers are liable to be moved at the shortest notice, and are specially exempted for that reason from the payment of taxes on public quarters. The wives of regimental officers have been allowed to remain in quarters until they are actually required for the troops moving in. Staff officers have appointments for a fixed term, generally for five years, and have usually

been put to expense in furnishing and fitting up quarters.

BONUSES TO MILITIA OFFICERS.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether, after the embodiment of the Militia for a period of six months, the officers serving in that force are entitled to a sum of £170, and to a further sum of £50 a year after the first twelve months, whereas ex-Army officers in receipt of pensions but serving in the Militia do not receive this bonus; and whether he will take steps to see that all officers serving in the Militia are placed upon the same footing in this respect.

*MR. WYNDHAM: The question is at present under consideration.

GOVERNMENT PURCHASES IN THE METAL MARKET.

MR. WARNER: I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office if the War Office have discontinued the old system of buying through a broker in the metal market, and now buy by tender, so that the market is always affected by their order before they buy.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE WAR OFFICE (MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS, Birmingham, S.): Yes, the change has been made; the old system did not work so well as the new, everything being taken into account.

THE CRYING OF WAR NEWS.

MR. H. S. FOSTER (Suffolk, Lowestoft): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether any power rests with him or with the police authorities of the Metropolis, to abate the nuisance which now pervades the streets and squares of London, day and night, Sunday and week day, from the cries of news hawkers shouting war news, to the unrest of the inhabitants, and especially of those who have relatives at the front; and if no power exists to abate the nuisance, whether he will take steps to obtain such power?

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (SIR M. WHITE RIDLEY, Lancashire, Blackpool): Under the law as it at present stands it

is open to the police to take proceedings in cases where the facts admit of proof of the offence or attempted offence of obtaining money by knowingly crying false news. This is a matter which it is very difficult to prove, but in some cases convictions have been obtained by the police. The London County Council have been in communication with me on the subject, and with a view to abating this nuisance, which has been brought to my notice more than once lately and to which I am fully alive, a byelaw has been framed, the terms of which I have approved, and will I understand be considered by them at their next meeting.

MR. H. S. FOSTER: Does it apply merely to the crying of false news, or does it apply to the crying in a blood-curdling voice of war news day and night?

*SIR M. WHITE RIDLEY: The byelaw applies to the calling of newspapers so as to be a public nuisance.

DISPOSITION OF MILITIA REGIMENTS.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War how many regiments of Irish Militia have been deported from Ireland to Great Britain since the outbreak of the present war, and how many regiments of British Militia are at present serving in Ireland; why have Irish Militia regiments been removed from Ireland while British Militia regiments have been brought to Ireland to serve in their place; and on what ground are Irish Militia regiments precluded from the garrisoning of Ireland.

*MR. WYNDHAM: Seven Irish regiments have been sent to England, and fourteen English regiments to Ireland; three Irish regiments are serving in Ireland. The distribution of these battalions was decided by the War Office in consultation with the military authorities in Ireland.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: May I ask the hon. Gentleman why are not Irish regiments allowed to protect their own country with arms in their hands? Why are they sent away?

*MR. W. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.): Because they are rebels.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): Mr. Speaker, may I ask you whether Irish rebels are good enough to fight behind in the Transvaal?

MR. T. M. HEALY: Why does not Saunderson go out with the Cavan Militia?

MILITIA FORCES SERVING IN IRELAND.

MR. SHEE: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War what are the numbers and composition of the Regular and Militia forces of Her Majesty at present serving in Ireland.

*MR. WYNDHAM: Owing to the constant despatch of troops to South Africa and the replacement of the Regular battalions by Militia, the disposition of the forces for home defence is necessarily in a transitional stage. I have said that I will shortly make a statement to this House describing what steps will be taken for home defence during this year, and I think the hon. Member will be able to gather from that statement the information he desires.

HARBOUR DEFENCES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

MR. HEDDERWICK: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether most of the guns in the forts of the United Kingdom protecting important naval bases and ports are practically obsolete, and are outclassed by modern ship guns; and whether the Government will consent to the immediate appointment of a committee of men of position and experts unconnected officially with the War Office, to inquire locally into and report to Parliament upon the defences of the United Kingdom generally, and the character and adequacy of our garrison artillery in particular.

*MR. WYNDHAM: The Government does not consider the armament of our harbours satisfactory, and, as I have frequently stated to the House, a conference of three naval and military experts was appointed to go into the whole question. That conference has reported, and its recommendations are being carried out.

NEWFOUNDLAND TREATY SHORE.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether in August last the Governor of Newfoundland, speaking at Bay of Islands, informed his hearers that negotiations were going on between Great Britain and France from which he anticipated a speedy solution of the Treaty Shore problem; whether any such negotiations were then taking place; whether any solution of the questions at issue is expected before the commencement of the fishing season; whether, in the Speech from the Throne, the Governor of Newfoundland, at the close of the session of 1899, mentioned the fact that no legislation had been asked for for the continuance of previous arrangements; whether such legislation has now been asked for or offered, and in what position it stands; and whether any portion of the report of the Commission on the exercise of French Treaty rights will be laid before Parliament.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I have seen a press report to the effect stated in the first part of the question, but the Governor's statement must have been misunderstood. No negotiations were then or are now proceeding with France on the Treaty Shore question. The Governor did state in his speech at the closing of the session in July last that no legislation had been asked for, but Her Majesty's Government have since requested the Colonial Government to obtain a renewal of the Treaties Act. It is not intended to lay any portion of the report at present.

THE DECLARATION OF PARIS.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was the draft of the Declaration of Paris submitted to Her Majesty the Queen, and the signature whereof was approved by Her Majesty, by a document dated the 8th April, 1856, identical in all respects with the Declaration itself as actually signed eight days later on the 16th April by Lords Clarendon and Cowley; if not, what alterations or additions were made in it between the 8th and 16th April, and were these alterations submitted to and approved by Her Majesty before the final signature; was Her Majesty's approval ever signified

of the signature by Lords Clarendon and Cowley of the further agreement proposed at the Congress by Count Walewski on 16th April to the effect that the Powers which had signed the Declaration of Paris could not enter in future into any arrangement which does not rest at the same time on all the four principles, the objects of the said Declaration; and of the further agreement on the same day that the present resolution, since it cannot have a retroactive effect, cannot invalidate anterior conventions; if so, in what form, and by what document, and on what date was Her Majesty's approval signified; and whether he has any objection to lay upon the Table of the House the despatches to Lord Clarendon of 13th April, 1856, and of 18th April, 1856, relative to the Declaration of Paris; and if there be any objection, what that objection is. I beg further to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what was the form and character of the document whereby Her Majesty the Queen signified her approval to Lord Palmerston, on 8th April, 1856, of the draft of the Declaration of Paris; was the document a letter, a rescript, or a memorandum; was it authenticated by the Sign Manual; and, if not, how; and what objection, if any, is there to laying this document upon the Table of the House.

*MR. BRODRICK: It is altogether unusual and would be inconvenient to make public such details as are made the subject of inquiry by the hon. Member. The draft of the Declaration submitted to the Queen was substantially, and in its material points, identical with that eventually adopted, but it would not be in accordance with constitutional usage to lay communications between the Sovereign and her constitutional advisers on the Table of the House.

THE AFGHAN SUBSIDY.

MR. LLOYD MORGAN: On behalf of the hon. Member for the Gainsborough Division of Lincolnshire, I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether any account is given by the Afghan Government of the manner in which the sum of £130,000 or thereabouts (which is annually paid to that Government) is expended, and whether an account of such expenditure can be presented to the House.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord G. HAMILTON, Middlesex, Ealing): The terms of the agreement with His Highness the Ameer, dated the 12th November, 1893, presented to Parliament in 1896, do not impose any obligation upon His Highness to render any account of his expenditure of the subsidy of 18 lakhs, and no such account is given.

THE DEFENCES OF AFGHANISTAN.

MR. LLOYD MORGAN: On behalf of the hon. Member for the Gainsborough Division of Lincolnshire, I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India, whether, in view of the recent experience in Natal and Cape Colony proving the practical invulnerability of a well fortified range of mountains to an invading force whose base is at a great distance, the large payment to Afghanistan will be suspended and the whole or part of the money spent on strengthening the forts and increasing the armaments on the frontier.

LORD G. HAMILTON: The terms of the agreement, dated the 12th of November, 1893, would not justify any such diversion of the subsidy as the hon. Gentleman suggests.

REFORM OF IRISH PRIMARY EDUCATION.

MR. FIELD: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether the necessary funds have been provided for the reforms in primary education in Ireland; and whether it is the intention of the Government to enable those reforms to be carried out by providing adequate means to do so.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir M. HICKS-BEACH, Bristol, W.): The Irish Government have recommended a proposal of the Board of National Education for a large scheme of reform in the system of elementary education in Ireland, and I have been glad to find myself able to accept generally the financial portions of the scheme. The details are under discussion, and the new proposals will appear or be explained on the Estimates.

SECRET SERVICE MONEY.

MR. HEDDERWICK: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether

he has during the tenure of his office refused to accede to any application for an augmentation of the secret service money.

SIR M. HICKS-BEACH: No, Sir, I remember a suggestion for an increase of the vote from a department which desired an increase in the share of the vote allotted to it. But this proved to be unnecessary, as we were able to provide the sum asked for without any increase of the total vote owing to the diminished requirements of other departments.

MR. T. M. HEALY: May I ask whether the greater portion of the secret service money is not spent in Ireland?

SIR M. HICKS-BEACH: No, Sir, it is not.

MR. HEDDERWICK: Has no application been made to the right hon. Gentleman either by the Prime Minister or the Foreign Office?

SIR M. HICKS-BEACH: I think if the hon. Member will look at my answer he will see that it covers the question.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Has the right hon. Gentleman settled this little difference with Lord Salisbury?

[No answer was given.]

BURIAL LAW REFORM.

MR. CARVELL WILLIAMS (Notts, Mansfield): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether it is the intention of the Government to bring in during the present session the Bill, which he has stated has been prepared, to give effect to the recommendations of the Select Committee on Burial Grounds; and, if so, when will it be introduced?

***SIR M. WHITE RIDLEY:** Yes, Sir, it is the intention of the Government to introduce such a Bill, but I cannot name a day for it.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S VISIT TO DUBLIN.

MR. DALY (Monaghan, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord

Lieutenant of Ireland, whether he is aware that during a recent visit of a Cabinet Minister to Trinity College, Dublin, the students of that institution attacked the Mansion House, tore down the flag, and assaulted an old woman who was the caretaker, as well as breaking the windows of tradesmen; whether any of these students were arrested or prosecuted for these offences; and if not, whether he can explain what the police were doing on the occasion.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (MR. G. W. BALFOUR, Leeds, Central): On the occasion referred to, some students together with a number of outsiders who were in the habit of attending lectures in the Medical School, appear to have gone out by the Lincoln Place gate of the College Park about one o'clock, and proceeded to the Mansion House, where they rang the bell, forced open a wicket leading to the garden, where the civic flag was displayed, took it down and carried it away. There was a struggle between the Mansion House servants and the students, in the course of which a woman grasped the Union Jack carried by the students and, in her efforts to tear it, was dragged to the ground and a pane of glass valued at about ten shillings was broken. There was no one to identify the persons alleged to have seized the flag and broken the window, and nothing could be done, as the whole affair occupied a few minutes only. A force of thirty constables under an inspector was despatched to the spot, but when they arrived a few minutes afterwards everything was quiet.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: Arising out of the answer may I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether it is not true that these unseemly and riotous proceedings were purely the outcome of the ill-timed and ill-advised visit of the Colonial Secretary?

CAPTAIN DONELAN: Can the right hon. Gentleman induce any of these "heroes" to volunteer for the seat of war?

[No answer was given.]

RETURNS UNDER THE LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1896 (CORK).

MR. MAURICE HEALY (Cork): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord

Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state down to what year returns have up to the present been made out for the Land Judge under the rules made pursuant to section 40 of the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1896, of estates to which that section in the first instance applies; how far the returns already presented have been gone through by the Judge to the Land Commission under the section; how many reports have been made by the Land Commission pursuant to such requests; how many estates have been offered for sale to the tenants under the section and accepted by the tenants, and what the number of such tenants is, and the total amount of the purchase money; how many estates have been actually vested in the tenants under the section, and what the number of such tenants is; and whether the offer of sale to the tenants has been refused by them in any and what cases.

MR. G. W. BALFOUR: Returns such as referred to have been prepared so far as they relate to cases in which receivers were appointed prior to 1891, and all the estates comprised in these returns have been dealt with by the Land Judge, with a view to their being sold under the 40th section, or of determining whether they were actually estates to which the provisions of that section are applicable. The return for the period between the years 1891 and 1896 is now almost complete. With regard to the remainder of the question, I am informed that the records of the Land Judge's Court have not been kept in such a form as would readily enable an answer to be given, and that to obtain the information an investigation which would entail much trouble and some expense would be necessary.

FAIR RENT APPLICATIONS IN COUNTY CORK.

MR. MAURICE HEALY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state the number of fair rent applications from the county Cork lodged with or transferred to the Land Commission and still unheard, and how long ago the first of such applications was lodged; how many of such applications lodged in or prior to the year 1898 are still unheard; how many of such applications were lodged or transferred during the year 1899; how

many were disposed of by the Sub-Commission during the year 1899; and how many Lay Assistant Commissioners were assigned to the work of fixing fair rents in the county Cork during the year 1899.

MR. G. W. BALFOUR: There are 715 applications to fix fair rents received from County Cork that have not yet been listed for hearing. The first of such applications was lodged in October, 1897. Of this number 48 were lodged in the latter half of the year 1897, 274 were lodged in the year 1898, and 357 in the year 1899. The remaining cases were lodged in the present year. There were 460 applications disposed of during the year 1899, when one wing of a Sub-Commission worked continuously in the county, and two other wings of the same Sub-Commission worked there for portion of the period. The cases lodged in or prior to 1898 will probably appear on the next list issued for the districts in which the holdings are situated.

MR. MAURICE HEALY: Is it not a fact that the figures show that the work of the Department is falling into arrear more and more every year?

MR. G. W. BALFOUR: It has certainly been falling into arrear.

GOVERNMENT PRINTING IN IRELAND—COPYRIGHTED RATE BOOKS.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, whether the Local Government Board have sanctioned the copyrighting of the ratepaper (Form 30), required every year by each county council in Ireland by a Dublin printing firm who issue books and forms for a Local Government Board official; and, whether they can state if the effect of this copyright has been to create a printing monopoly for one Dublin firm, and increased prices by the ratepayers for this ratepaper.

MR. G. W. BALFOUR: The form of ratebook prescribed by the Local Government Board has not been copyrighted, and can be obtained from any firm of printers and publishers. The Board learn that a mechanical arrangement of the ratebook, by which the rates for two half-years can

be shown on one folio of the book, has been protected by a Dublin printing firm, but the Local Government Board have no official information respecting this form, nor have they expressed any opinion about it, or recommended its adoption in preference to the ratebooks brought out by any other firm. All forms prescribed by the Local Government Board's orders can be obtained by county councils, district councils, and boards of guardians, from any printers and publishers they may select, and at whatever may be the lowest market prices.

MR. FLAVIN: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the Irish Local Government Board has recommended to certain county councils the use of this particular form?

MR. G. W. BALFOUR: I am not aware of that.

FAIR RENTS IN NORTH KERRY.

MR. FLAVIN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a large number of tenants residing in North Kerry have served originating notices to have fair rents fixed before the Sub-Land Commission at Tralee; and whether he can state about what time the Sub-Commission will sit at Tralee to hear applications from North Kerry.

MR. G. W. BALFOUR: I replied to a somewhat similar question yesterday. A Sub-Commission sat at Tralee in October last for the hearing of cases from the Tralee Union, and a further sitting will be arranged for by the Commissioners at as early a date as practicable.

IRISH LAND RE-VALUATION.

MR. FIELD: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Government intend to consider the immediate necessity of re-valuation in Ireland and take measures to have it accomplished.

MR. SHEE: I beg also to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether steps will be taken to cause a re-valuation of land in Ireland for taxation purposes in the immediate or near future; whether he has received

expressions of the desirability of such re-valuation from various public bodies in Ireland; and whether judicial rents would be adopted as the rating basis of the lands in respect of which such rents have been determined.

MR. G. W. BALFOUR: The Government are not averse, in principle, to a re-valuation of land in Ireland, but I am not in a position to promise to deal with the matter in the present session.

IRISH LOCAL GOVERNMENT ORDERS.

MR. MAURICE HEALY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he will arrange to continue the Return of Rules and Orders issued under the Irish Local Government Act down to date.

MR. G. W. BALFOUR: There is no objection, in principle, to the preparation of the return referred to in the question, but I should like to look a little further into the matter with a view to ascertain how many rules and orders have been issued since the first return was laid, and to see whether it might not be better to defer the presentation of the continuation return until it can be presented in a fairly complete form.

IRISH TOWN TENANTS BILL.

MR. FIELD: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Government will consider the advisability of introducing a Town Tenants Bill this session.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No, Sir, we do not propose to suggest legislation of the kind which the hon. Member indicates in his question.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[FOURTH DAY'S DEBATE.]

Order read for resuming adjourned debate on Amendment [January 30th] to Question [January 30th], "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty as followeth—

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Captain Pretyman.*)

And which Amendment was—

"At the end of the Question to add the words, 'But we humbly express our regret at the want of knowledge, foresight, and judgment displayed by your Majesty's advisers alike in their conduct of South African affairs since 1895 and in their preparations for the war now proceeding.'"—(*Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added."

Debate resumed.

*SIR FORTESCUE FLANNERY (continuing his speech which was interrupted at midnight the previous evening): I think the House is to be congratulated upon the higher level of patriotism to which the debate has been raised by the speeches delivered yesterday from the front benches. The right hon. Baronet opposite who last spoke did not dissociate himself from mere party attack as thoroughly as many of his admirers hoped he would have done. His theory that this vote of censure was necessary to enable hon. Members opposite to express all their blame of the Government so that afterwards they might settle down to the assistance of the Government in a national danger was a curious form of special pleading. I suppose that hon. Gentlemen opposite really think that the Government are lacking in knowledge, foresight, and judgment, but before saying so surely they could have waited until after the supplies had been voted, and until all the military necessities which are the main object and purpose of this session had been dealt with. Both sides of this House ought to be ready to join and consider what is really necessary for the Army and for the best interests of the country. The right hon. Baronet opposite said that this Amendment was not intended to bridge over the differences amongst hon. Members on the opposite side of the House. That may not have been the intention, but undoubtedly it is a most skilfully drawn Amendment, intended to reconcile

such widely divergent views as those held by the right hon. Baronet himself, those of the hon. Member for Dumfries, and probably those of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bodmin, who still sits on this side of the House. But does it reconcile those views? Is it a patriotic Amendment? What good will it do to the country, whatever may be its effect on the party opposite? If the Amendment were to succeed a General Election must follow, and I ask is this the time when any patriotic man anxious for the welfare of his country would desire to have a General Election? Is this not rather a time to close up all our party ranks, and show a united front in the face of the world and to our enemies in South Africa? Will not the chances of additional complications be enormously increased by the public exhibition of these differences amongst us? The right hon. Baronet stated that his friends and himself would support the prosecution of this war until the British flag should fly at Johannesburg and Pretoria, and until it was impossible to have a repetition of an oligarchy there and no more arsenals. That statement goes far to redeem the vacillating utterances of many of his colleagues. I would ask how many of his colleagues agree with that utterance? I am sorry that the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition is not in his place, because I would have humbly emphasised the challenge made by the Leader of the House that the right hon. Gentleman opposite should state what is his view upon this matter, and how far he is prepared to support the Government in carrying on this war to its ultimate and successful end. I would have invited the right hon. Gentleman for once to make up his mind and stick to it. The right hon. Gentleman in his apologia for his Amendment said --

"It would have been impossible for the Government to begin this session without a large discussion on the general points of the war."

I do not agree with that statement. On the contrary, I say it would not only have been possible, but it would have been easy and more patriotic to have begun the session by the announcement from hon. Gentlemen opposite that they held the Government seriously to blame; that they did not intend to withdraw one

single iota of the blame; and after taking counsel together, they might have decided to reserve the discussion of this question until after the real business of the session had been dealt with, and until all the possible and necessary provision had been made for the carrying on of the war. Instead of this we have had the national time occupied with a discussion merely for the furtherance of party spirit. The statement that this discussion is not delaying the work of military preparation is one of extreme value, for it will relieve the feeling of anxiety in the country, and it will go far to reassure the country, which is still without the prestige of a united House of Commons. The right hon. Baronet was much exercised in his speech as to the British Constitution, and enlisted this in defence of the Government as explaining their inaction in regard to the war preparations. Supposing the Government had made the serious war preparations which some hon. Gentlemen opposite think ought to have been made in advance, and supposing there had been no war, what would hon. Gentlemen opposite have done then? Why, they would have gone to the country denouncing the Government for its want of foresight, for its extravagance in spending the money, and for unnecessarily burdening the ratepayers with the cost of the war. All these are possibilities under the British Constitution, and are necessarily involved in our system of Government—a fact which is obvious to everybody in this House. My hon. friend the Member for South Shields, whose brilliant speech is within the memory of this House, has stated that he will vote for the Amendment because he believes that this war was inevitable and just, but the Government did not make adequate preparations for it. But if this Amendment goes to a division I shall vote against it on precisely the same grounds as my hon. friend the Member for South Shields will vote for it, namely that the war was unavoidable, and that the Government made all the military preparations which they were advised were necessary, or could have made without the sanction of the House. I believe it would be greatly to the interests of our party and the Government if this Amendment went to a division, because it would show that the Government still possess the confidence of the vast majority of this House, and

really reflects the opinion of the great majority of the people of this country upon this most important national question. But, Sir, it is better that this division should not be taken, and that we should be united on this question before the world. I would remind hon. Gentlemen opposite that in 1878 Mr. Gladstone, as leader of the Liberal party, then in opposition, requested one of his associates to move a vote of censure on the Government of the day. A vote of censure was put down on the Paper, but after news had been received of a strategic movement of Russian troops, which was not accompanied by a single blow, Mr. Gladstone considered that the duty of the Opposition was to avoid embarrassing or appearing to embarrass the Government, and he requested his colleague to withdraw the motion. Is the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition less patriotic than Mr. Gladstone, or is it that he is less influential with his followers? Be that as it may, I would appeal to him on the broadest grounds of patriotism that his duty in this instance is to pursue the course pursued by Mr. Gladstone in 1878. We are still fighting under circumstances of extreme discouragement in South Africa; nay, we are fighting for our very Empire, and I do not class as real patriots those who endeavour to make party capital out of such a state of things. I believe that when the full significance of the present debate is known to the country many who are ordinarily ardent supporters of the right hon. Gentleman and his colleagues will dissociate themselves from the course which has been taken. We are now in a moment of emergency, and what is required is to make provision for our immediate and urgent needs. All this time South Africa waits, and we have no alternative but to fight out this war to the end, and the end was indicated in the speech, to which I desire to pay a tribute of admiration, of the hon. Baronet the Member for the Berwick Division. The end must be reached, but before it is reached there may be further reverses. Let us be prepared for them. The determination of our people will be the same—a determination that our colonies shall be protected, and our position in South Africa secured for all time, that the federation of our colonies shall be completed, and that the anxieties now pressing upon us shall be removed.

Sir Fortescue Flannery.

Under these circumstances it is the duty of this House to put aside party spirit, and to patriotically think only of what is best for our country in the hour of her need.

*MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.): The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down, like several others who have spoken on the opposite side of the House, has endeavoured to represent this discussion as one which might have been avoided, and one which was not patriotic. Sir, this discussion was absolutely unavoidable. All the precedents are in its favour. There has never been a similar position in which the Opposition did not at the very first moment arraign the policy of the Government, and require it to account for the position into which it had brought the country. I will not, however, repeat what was said yesterday by the hon. Baronet the Member for the Berwick Division in his very impressive speech, to which we all listened with so much interest. He showed by irrefutable arguments that a discussion of this kind is necessary and that it hastens instead of delays the real business of the session. Everybody in this country is asking why we are at war. We have had a great many inconsistent and a great many unsatisfactory explanations. The very persons who complain of us raising the question in the House of Commons are the very persons who lose no opportunity of telling us that the war is just and was inevitable. Even from the judicial bench we hear fulminations most unworthy of the traditions of that bench. I believe the country and this House desires to know what are the causes which have brought us into our present position, and I think those of us who represent the country—as we all hope we do in our several ways—would be entirely unworthy of a seat in this House if we did not take the very first opportunity of bringing this matter to the great inquest of the nation. There is also another reason which requires it. When we come to consider the settlement to be made after the war, it will be necessary to have understood and weighed the causes which have produced the war, and the sooner the country forms its judgment as to those causes the better it will be. The Opposition are accused of endeavouring to make party capital out of this matter. That

charge is always made, and will, I hope, always be disregarded. Can anyone think that it is an agreeable task for us to say in this House what we believe it is our duty—certainly a most unwelcome duty—to say? Is it pleasant to have to tell the country that it is engaged in a war and is making enormous sacrifices that might have been avoided? Nothing but a sense of duty would induce us to undertake so painful a task, and I am glad to be able to add, after the frank admission of the Under Secretary of State for War—an admission which I expected from his fairness—that this discussion does not delay the executive action the Government has to take, and therefore it cannot be suggested that it in any way interferes with the interests of the country. Let me ask the House to consider what was the South African problem as it stood immediately after the raid. What should have been in the beginning of 1896 the aim of a wise, far-seeing and statesmanlike policy in South Africa? Surely it should have been to promote concord and the fusion of the races, to keep the peace, to soften down old animosities and to endeavour to get Englishmen and Dutchmen to live together as friends and to co-operate for the good of their common country. Peace would have produced fusion, and in that fusion the English element would ultimately have prevailed. There was a time, no doubt, when it might have been suggested that the Dutch element was likely to prevail. It is deeply rooted in the soil and increases with surprising rapidity. I do not know whether the House is aware that the number of Dutch in South Africa is now ten times greater than it was when we took over the country in 1806. But the tide turned in 1885. That year marked the discovery of the Rand gold fields, which increased to a surprising degree the immigration of British subjects into South Africa. From that time onwards it was plain that the British element would grow more rapidly than the Dutch, and that therefore its preponderance was assured, at any rate for some generations. The fusion of which I have spoken was proceeding up to the raid of December 1895, which interfered with and destroyed the process of conciliation, assimilation, and amalgamation which was going on. It threw matters suddenly back in South Africa, and

certainly not least in Cape Colony. It gave the Transvaal a justification for the armaments which immediately followed, the expenditure on which leaped into much higher figures than in previous years, it threw the Orange Free State into the arms of the Transvaal just as did our war with the Transvaal in 1881, and it undid the work of years in Cape Colony. Everyone who knows Cape Colony will tell you that the progress of friendly fusion had been most satisfactory up to the raid. But the raid, deplorable and culpable as it was, did not change what ought to have been the aim and purpose of our policy. It only made the need for pacific methods greater and the necessity for patience greater. As detached extracts from particular passages in a book written by me on the subject have been read in this House, perhaps I may be permitted to quote a few words which I used in 1897 to sum up what British policy in South Africa ought to be. I said it ought to avoid even the least appearance of aggression, and that what was wanted in South Africa was tact, calmness, and patience—above all things, patience. I suppose I shall be told that the Uitlanders suffered grievances in the Transvaal, and that it was necessary to remove them. Sir, there were grievances in the Transvaal—I have never denied it—but they were grossly exaggerated. They were grievances which might have been removed by steady and quiet pressure instead of by language which brought this country into a position from which it was hard to withdraw without humiliation. There are two observations I would like to make in regard to these grievances. The first is, that they have been immensely exaggerated. I do not at all deny that there was a bad Government in the Transvaal; but it was a Government whose badness did not affect men in their lives or their property. Property was perfectly safe. I say that without the slightest fear of contradiction; and whatever may be alleged to the contrary, the law courts rendered impartial justice between man and man. Life was safe, and the best proof of that is that the only case cited of insecurity is the case of Edgar. I do not know whether that case is fresh in the memory of the House, and I will not enter into details further than to say that the man whom Edgar struck down was an Englishman; that the policeman who shot Edgar

Fourth Day.

when the latter was resisting the attempt to arrest him was a man named Jones ; and that the man whom Edgar struck ultimately died in the hospital from the effects of the blow. I do not argue this case further than to say that it is one in which it was quite possible, as the hon. and learned Member for Dumfries stated the other day, for a jury to arrive at the conclusion to which that jury arrived, and that there is not the slightest reason to think that any race feeling had anything to do with the matter. At any rate, it was the only case cited as to insecurity of life in the Transvaal. When you consider what a mining city is, and what is the insecurity of life and property, and the difficulty of seizing offenders in the mining cities of America, for instance, the wonder is that there was not more crime in Johannesburg. Let me put another point. The Rand was very prosperous. Do hon. Members realise how the mining industry there was advancing by leaps and bounds ? During that period the number of stamp batteries had immensely increased. The dividends paid by the gold mines rose from £794,000 in 1892 to £4,847,000 in 1898. The output of gold, which in 1896 was £7,864,000, increased in two years, that is from 1896 to 1898, to £15,141,000. It cannot, therefore, be said that the gold industry was not thriving. Then, as to the condition of the white workingmen ; their average wage increased from £24 per month in 1896 to £26 per month in 1898. The country was one of the best for workingmen which they could find anywhere in the world. Under these circumstances it is perfectly clear that the grievances, whatever they were, did not seriously interfere with the prosperity of the gold mining industry. I was in Johannesburg the year before the raid, and I must say I never saw a town in which the people seemed to be enjoying themselves more completely to their hearts' content. Therefore, although I do not for a moment deny that there were serious grievances, and that they deserved the attention of the Government, I repeat that they were grossly exaggerated, and not such as obviously required a war to redress them. Furthermore, I hold that they were evils which would have righted themselves. They had nearly done so before the raid. The right hon. the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs himself told us the other

night that before the raid the Reform party had very nearly attained victory in the presidential election, and that it was growing in strength every day ; and there is no doubt that but for the raid it would have ultimately succeeded. The raid stopped that, but even after the raid confidence would have been restored, had it not been for the campaign against the Transvaal Government carried on in England, and the fear and suspicion created thereby in the Boer mind, which prevented the process of reform being resumed. Immigration was continuing in spite of these terrible grievances. The average number of white workmen at work in 1896 was 7,430, but it had risen in 1898 to 9,476. The condition of the white population was therefore improving, wages were rising, and it was perfectly clear that the proportion of Englishmen to the Dutch would have gone on increasing, and the difficulty of maintaining the Krugerite system would have been constantly greater. The Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs admitted that when he said that the Krugerite Government, like other defective Governments, carried the seeds of its own dissolution. What conclusions are we to draw from these facts ? This conclusion above all, that it would have been far better if our Government had waited a little longer before they began their policy of pressing with urgency and menace for the redress of the Uitlander grievances. I have said that the grievances were bad ; but, Sir, war is worse. Everything in politics is comparative, and the redress of these grievances affecting a comparatively small number of persons who had gone into the country with notice that the grievances existed, was a very small matter compared with the disastrous war into which we have been drawn. I venture to believe that if the Government had foreseen that war would follow, and what the war would bring forth, they would never have ventured on that line of policy. Though they could scarcely foresee all the calamities that have followed, they ought to have foreseen that their policy was a dangerous one, likely to end in war. The Transvaal was armed, and the possession of arms acts upon the temper of men who have them, and makes them more likely to have resort to the use of these arms. The Transvaal was suspicious, and attributed everything that was done by the British Government to the influence of the men concerned in

Mr. Bryce.

the raid. I do not enter into the question whether the Transvaal suspicions were justified or not, but I ask the House to realise what was the cardinal fact of the situation—viz., that the British Government and country were identified in the minds of the Transvaal Boers with the raid. Everybody knows what were the facts on which their suspicions were based; but without stating those facts I am content to point out that these suspicions were known to exist, were known to govern their views, and ought to have shewn Her Majesty's Government what distrust they must expect. Does anyone then think that if a year ago, when the House met in February last, we would have consented to press for the redress of the grievances of the Uitlanders if it had been foreseen that the price of such a policy was the present war, with all its calamities? Let me give an illustration of the state of opinion less than a year ago. A debate on the Transvaal was raised on the 20th March, by the hon. Member for the Ecclesall Division of Sheffield. He stated in strong terms the grievances of the Uitlanders, and complained that the Colonial Office had not taken steps to redress these grievances. The Colonial Secretary made what appeared to me to be a very pacific and reassuring speech. I remember that the hon. Member for Poplar, and myself, rose and expressed our satisfaction at the pacific language the Colonial Secretary used, and said that we were very glad the Government realised the danger of rousing the suspicions of the Boers and of intensifying racial antagonisms all over South Africa. What was more significant still was that not a single Member of the House then rose in support of the hon. Member for the Ecclesall Division of Sheffield, whose attack was treated with silent contempt. If these grievances were then so terrible, and called for such instant interference, why was there not a little more feeling in the House shown in order to stir up the Colonial Office to action? I maintain that the better course for the Government would have been to exercise a little more patience until the memories of the raid had ceased to be so fresh, and a more favourable moment for intervention arrived. The Government, however, shortly after 20th March, changed their policy, and why they did so I have never been able to discover. But supposing that they felt it necessary to press for a removal of the grievances, how

should they have gone about the task? The one essential thing was that they should have carried with them, as far as possible, the sentiment of the Cape Dutch and the Orange Free State. Hon. Members may think that that was a hopeless enterprise; but that was not so, because in the previous disputes which had arisen with the Transvaal Government, we had the sympathy of the Cape Dutch and the Orange Free State. Every one remembers the Drifts question. It was a matter of common knowledge that the Orange Free State and the Cape Dutch complained bitterly of the conduct of the Transvaal at that time, and the Cape Dutch at any rate, as we know from the attitude of the Cape Ministry, would have supported the British Government if war had arisen upon it. It was the bounden duty, therefore, of the Government when they took up this question of the Uitlanders' grievances to avoid anything like aggression, or do anything that might seem to threaten the independence of the Transvaal, for that is a point on which the Dutch in the Orange Free State and in Cape Colony are extremely sensitive. However, the Government went on disregarding these considerations. And here I would like to submit two propositions which I trust we shall agree in holding ought to govern a great country like ours in negotiations. The first is, that small States have the same rights as great States, and that we should observe our treaties with a small State just as scrupulously as we observe them with the great and powerful States.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): And they with us.

*MR. BRYCE: And they with us. My second proposition is that every State, not only before it goes to war, but before it threatens war, should have a proper case for war. It should be able to make out what is called a *casus belli* before it begins even to threaten a resort to force. That is agreed; but if that is agreed, that is the proposition which we have disregarded. There are two lines on which the Government might have proceeded. They might have asked for a redress of the grievances. If the Transvaal Government in an arrogant manner refused to redress them,

they might have furnished a *casus belli*. I do not say they would have furnished it, for the negotiations never got that length, but for the sake of argument we may concede that it is possible they might have done so, had the Transvaal refused all redress. But the question never came up, and we never dealt with it. Instead of going upon the grievances, we elected to make our complaint upon the question of the franchise. Now the Government could not use with regard to the franchise question any argument except that of persuasion. They were not entitled to use any threats, because that question did not contain any *casus belli*. It has been assumed all through these discussions that we are entitled to go to war to secure franchise rights for British Uitlanders. We had no such rights whatever. This point is of so much importance that I may quote some facts to establish it. First of all there was no provision ever made in either of the Conventions for granting political rights. The first occasion when the Transvaal raised their franchise was in 1882. It had been based on a one year's residence, and they raised the term to three years. In 1884 we made another Convention with them, and if we objected to their raising the franchise, then was the time to object. But by making a new Convention in 1884 we waived any right of objection to their raising the term which we might have possessed. When they raised the franchise still further in 1890 we again made no protest. They then raised it to fourteen or fifteen years. That was the time to protest if we thought they had not the right to do it, but we did not do so.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.): May I ask what Government was in power at the time?

MR. BRYCE: In 1890 a Conservative Ministry was in power. Both parties in the House have all along taken the same view of the legal operation of the two Conventions in this respect. In 1896 Mr. Chamberlain said—

"Since the Convention of 1884 Her Majesty's Government have recognised the South African Republic as a free and independent Government as regards all its internal affairs not touched by the Convention."

Again in March of the same year the right hon. Gentleman telegraphed—

"Her Majesty's Government do not claim any right under the Convention to prescribe

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the particular internal reforms which should be made in the South African Republic."

There was no mention made of the so-called suzerainty from 1884 until it was raised by the Colonial Secretary in 1897. With regard to that I must say that the introduction of the word suzerainty has been the most unhappy introduction of an unnecessary and pernicious theme into the negotiations that could well be imagined. It was superfluous so far as we were concerned, because it could not mean anything more than the right of vetoing treaties which we undoubtedly had under the Convention of 1884, but it made the Boer Government believe that under the cover of this vague word suzerainty we were endeavouring to set up a right of interference in their internal affairs. This belief was strengthened by the conduct and words of the South African League agitators at Johannesburg, who were perpetually calling upon Britain to intervene "as the suzerain power." But our suzerainty, if it existed (which it did not), meant nothing more than the right to veto treaties, and gave no title to interfere with the franchise law or any other internal affair. All the demands that were made for the extension of the franchise were based upon no right whatever of this country, and could only be supported by arguments of persuasion and remonstrance, and not by threats of war. The language of the Government was however the language of constant and increasing menace, and it was accompanied by the sending out of troops at a time when negotiations were in progress on a question which furnished no *casus belli*. Seldom have negotiations which ought to have kept a conciliatory tone been conducted with less prudence or less regard to legal right. It has already been remarked that there were several despatches which were most unfortunate to publish, one of which was that from the High Commissioner of the 5th of May. Another one hardly less unfortunate was that sent by the High Commissioner on the 31st of August last year. It is the one known as the "hurry up" despatch, in which the British Government is urged to press the Transvaal harder and be quicker about it, and may be found at p. 51 of C-9521. The High Commissioner says:

"British South Africa is prepared for extreme measures, and is ready to suffer much in order to see the vindication of British authority."

Under what circumstances was that written? That was written when the only matter in dispute was the franchise, and the use of those words "British authority" was totally unjustifiable, because Britain had no authority whatever in the matter of the franchise, a purely internal affair. The High Commissioner had himself admitted previously that the franchise was a purely internal question and his words on August 31st show how completely he had forgotten the legal rights of the case. The First Lord of the Treasury had said the Government ought to conduct these negotiations without any unnecessary menace, but their language has been the language of menace all the way through. The Highbury speech was a speech full of menace, and that speech was made on the 26th of August, after the Boers had sent a despatch on the 19th of August agreeing to the five years franchise: it was made at a time when a far more favourable offer than had ever been made before by the Boers was in the hands of the Government. Mr. Greene at Pretoria on the 30th August used that speech to frighten the Boers. This threatening language was accompanied by the sending out of troops, which there was no justification for, having regard to the facts that the negotiations were confined to the franchise. My right hon. friend the Leader of the Opposition was therefore entirely justified when he said that so long as the question under discussion was the question of the franchise there was no justification for threats of war nor for that most serious form of threat which consists in ostentatious preparation for war. After September 8th, and finally after September 22nd, the franchise question was dropped. The Government then said that they must put forward demands which might furnish a *casus belli*, and perceived also that they were getting within a measurable distance of war, while still imperfectly prepared for it. They said in the telegram of the 8th September that Her Majesty's Government reserved their right to consider their position *de novo* and to formulate new proposals, obviously of a far-reaching kind; and they said that they would communicate their views in a further despatch. It is worth remembering that the fresh proposals which the Government said they would formulate never went to the Boers before they

declared war on October 9th. What was being done in the interval? Her Majesty's Government was preparing for war. [AN HON. MEMBER: So were the Boers.] Certainly they were, and after the language of Mr. Conyngham Greene and of the Highbury speech could they do anything else but prepare for war? The trouble was that the Government prepared for war too late. They did not send out enough troops to put the colonies in a proper state of defence, because, I believe, they thought all along that the Boers would yield. The Government were persuaded that they had only to threaten sufficiently in order to make the Boers give way. The Under Secretary for War, in a speech which was listened to not only with pleasure but with admiration, and on which, if I had been in the House, I should have been glad to offer him my congratulations, has said that the Government were not able to send out troops sooner or to make larger preparations because they did not want to spoil their diplomacy. Then, if they did not want to spoil their diplomacy by their preparations, why did they not reduce their diplomacy to the level of their preparations? These two things ought to go hand in hand, but, so far from this being the case, it would appear as if the diplomacy had been warlike and the preparations peaceful. They steered the ship into the storm while the barometer was falling, and before the ship was made ready to meet it. They have so mismanaged the whole matter as to give our antagonists both a legal and a material advantage, a legal advantage, because we have never shown a *casus belli*, a material advantage, because we gave them the benefit of those precious first days and weeks of the campaign which have so greatly affected its whole subsequent course. When people asked what was the reason for this war, the most common answer given was that we were fighting for equal rights, to put down an oppressive oligarchy. But we have no right to put it down. We have no rights against the Transvaal except what the Convention of 1884 gave us. Oligarchy or not, that is a matter for its own laws; and we have no more legal justification for complaining of an oligarchy in the Transvaal than we have of a despotism in Russia. When I am told that the Transvaal is an oligarchy, I would remind the House that it is an

oligarchy which rests on universal suffrage—the universal suffrage of its own citizens, who are the people who took the country and made the country, and are the permanent inhabitants of the country, as opposed to the Uitlanders who come and go—except the mines—the mines are not the whole of the country. I wish they had given the franchise; but can we call that country an oligarchy in which its citizens, down to the age of thirteen, rally to its support when it is attacked? If so all the democracies of the ancient world were oligarchies. Others assign another cause, and say that we are trying to remove the grievances of the Uitlanders. But this, too, we cannot rightfully allege. We never made the grievances of the Uitlanders a cause for war, because we never formulated our demands for redress, and do not know but what redress would have been granted had we persisted in those demands. These are not merely technical considerations. They have made all the difference to the attitude of the Orange Free State, and a great difference to the Cape Dutch. It is because we deserted legal right and have appeared as aggressors that we have the Free State against us, and have alienated the Cape Dutch. We have also incurred the censure of foreign countries by the same disregard of legal rights. I do not speak merely of the foreign press, which has often shown its jealousy and bitterness. I speak of enlightened and moderate opinion abroad which has often been with England. There are many people in foreign countries to-day who are passing a severe censure upon Great Britain, and who never censured us before. I had a letter the other day from a distinguished German politician, and the editor of a powerful German paper, and he said, "I have always been the friend and defender of England, but now we find your conduct in this matter absolutely indefensible." And I think there has never been a time in which the general condemnation of the country has been so widespread. We have considerable cause for disquiet when we regard the possibly unfriendly action of several of the Continental Powers and couple that with the almost universal disapprobation of the peoples of Europe. I repeat, therefore, that it is a great error to appear before the world with a weak legal case. A third cause for the war is assigned by those who feel the

weakness of the reasons already mentioned. We are told that the Boers challenged British supremacy. Their armaments were not a challenge to British supremacy, for the First Lord of the Treasury has admitted that their armaments were justified by the raid. ["No, no."] Yes, for the First Lord has said that the raid prevented Ministers from complaining of those armaments. It might be said that their armaments were in excess of what would be needed to suppress a rising. That is perfectly true, but the next attack they expected was not one from their Uitlander subjects, but from this country, because they believed that the men who had made the raid had got the ear of the Government of this country. It is also said, by those who feel that some sort of humanitarian palliation for the war is needed, that the war was made for the sake of the natives, but those who know how the natives have been treated by the whites in every part of South Africa will feel that our hands are not clean, though it is quite true that the Boers have treated the natives much worse than we have done. In this native question, considering what has been done to the natives in British territories, no just cause for war can be found. Then we have the argument of the conspiracy to drive us out of South Africa, but that is not the cause which brought about the war. It was an afterthought to explain, to excuse the war. If there was the conspiracy, and if it was the cause of the war, why did the Government not know of it? It has not been proved to exist, and indeed all the probabilities are the other way. Now, does the House know what the probabilities are? Was this conspiracy hatched in the Transvaal? It is quite true they wanted to expand. Why? In the north and west it was for the sake of getting more land. As their population increased it was necessary to have that expansion. They wanted it for the sake of their stock and for fresh pasturage. They did not want to expand towards the two colonies, because there the land was already all taken up. There exists much misapprehension, regarding the parties in the Transvaal and their respective aspirations. The party which was led by President Kruger was a party which wanted independence for the Trans-

vaal if they could get it, and they wanted expansion over unoccupied lands to the north, but had no plan for absorbing the British colonies. If that plan existed—I believe it was only the dream of a few—it was not the policy of President Kruger; it was the policy of his opponents. It was the Young Afrikaner party, some of whom no doubt had the idea that at some time or other there might be a Dutch Republic embracing Cape Colony. But that was not Kruger's policy at all; it was opposed to his policy; it may have been Joubert's policy, it was not Kruger's. So far I have dealt with the Transvaal; now let me come to the Free State. The Free State had lived in perfect peace with us. The Free State was a country in which Englishmen and Dutchmen were on an equal footing. For many years the President of the Volksraad of the Free State was a Scotsman, and when the President of the Free State resigned his office in 1895, this Scotsman became a candidate with Mr. Steyn for the Presidency. I was told when I was there in November 1895, that the chances of the two were about equal, and that it was extremely likely that the Scotsman, who had been a British subject and British in all his feelings, would become President. That he did not do so was due to the raid, which of course roused Dutch feeling. There was not the slightest reason to apprehend any share on the part of the Free State in any Dutch conspiracy against Britain, or any sympathy with such conspiracy. Least of all was there any reason for such apprehension with regard to the Cape Dutch. Surely their loyalty has been sufficiently proved. We all remember the despatch in which Sir Alfred Milner spoke of them in 1897, and the exuberant testimonies he bore to their loyalty. We all remember the grant of £30,000 a year for a contribution to the British Navy, and we all remember the eloquent words in which the First Lord of the Admiralty expressed his sense and the sense of the Government of the conduct of the Cape Dutch on that occasion. There was a Dutch majority in the Cape Parliament, and that Dutch majority passed this vote unanimously. I do not think we want any better proof of Cape loyalty than that. I should like to say one word with regard to Mr. Hofmeyer. If there was anybody in whom the Bond policy was personified it was Mr. Hofmeyer. He enjoyed an unexampled influence over the

Dutch people. What has Mr. Hofmeyer done? He was known to many of us fifteen years ago as the author of one of the schemes of Imperial Federation, the United Tariff scheme, under which all the British colonies and the mother country were to unite on a joint tariff, in which there was to be a preference given to each colony and the mother country as members one of another. I do not think you want better proof than that of the loyalty of Mr. Hofmeyer to the British Empire. Within the last few months he has done everything a man could to prevent a Dutch insurrection at the Cape in aid of the two Republics. I might add that notwithstanding the terrible temptations and solicitations to which the Cape Dutch have been exposed during the last three or four months, when many of them have brothers or sons-in-law or other near relatives in the hostile armies, very few have risen against us. If there had been this conspiracy surely it would have been shown by a much more general rising. With the conspiracy, which I hope we may take to be disproved, there goes the theory that this war was inevitable." Wars have often been called inevitable which were in fact avoidable and have been avoided. How many times during the last forty years have we been told that a struggle was approaching with some European Power, but wise diplomacy has averted the danger? Nor can it be said that this conflict was inevitable when there were several points in the course of the negotiations when a conciliatory dispatch, or a frank acceptance of the large concessions which the Boers made, would have removed all danger of war. The only thing inevitable about the matter was that such diplomacy as the Government followed was certain to lead to war, unless the Boers were prepared to yield everything. In that sense the war was inevitable. Still, I do not believe that the Government intended war; my opinion is that they went on thinking the Boers would yield. I believe that they went on, even in the month of September, with the idea that their preparations would have the effect of inducing the Boers to yield. Our complaint against them is that this was a dangerous game to play, a game which should not have been played unless your preparations were in such a state that you could take action immediately on the declaration of war. Now we

are told that it is destiny which is answerable for these catastrophes—catastrophes which appear to many among us to be the natural results of the total want of knowledge and of foresight which the Government displayed. Destiny is an explanation which seems to be better fitted for the vizier of an Eastern potentate than for the Minister of a civilised country. The First Lord of the Treasury, if I understand him rightly, carries his theory of destiny even further.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have not said anything about destiny.

*MR. BRYCE: I gathered certainly from the right hon. Gentleman's speech that his theory was that this war was inevitable.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes.

*MR. BRYCE: Very well; that is destiny. The right hon. Gentleman carries this theory still further. He says that not only was the war inevitable, but the ignorance of the Government was inevitable, and if the ignorance of the Government was inevitable the want of preparation was inevitable. I will carry the chain of fate one step further. Not only was the war inevitable, not only was the ignorance of the Government inevitable, and not only was the unpreparedness inevitable, but the indignation of the country is inevitable, and a vote of censure such as this is the only course which can be followed when such diplomacy has been pursued and such deplorable results have followed. The right hon. Gentleman and the Prime Minister find fate and the British constitution sufficient to explain all our misfortunes. As regards the British constitution I will say just one thing. There was a Roman maxim, worthy of Imperial Rome, and worthy to be remembered by Imperial England, that Empire is preserved by the same arts by which it has been acquired. If the British constitution was good enough to enable us to build up the gigantic Empire over which the Queen reigns, surely it is good enough to maintain that Empire. I have said nothing in these remarks about the morality of this war, nor about its justice. I have not touched upon those topics because I desired to keep the discussion on the ground of British interest

alone, to look upon it simply as to what the true interest of this country is, and to show how gravely those interests have suffered. We are very often told that it is a question between Imperialists on the one hand and what are called "Little Englanders" on the other. My complaint against the Government is that they have struck a great and heavy blow at our Imperial interests. So far from complaining from the point of view of the man who does not value the connection of this country with her colonies and the possession of our transmarine dominions, I accuse the Government from the point of view of one who does value that connection. Our hold upon our self-governing colonies has rested for these many years past upon friendship and attachment. It is because we have given them self-government, and because we have endeavoured to keep them cordially attached to ourselves, and to make them value the Imperial connection, that we have been strong in their support. But I fear that at present we have destroyed those feelings—[Cries of dissent.] Hon. Gentlemen should let me finish my sentence—I fear that we have at present destroyed those feelings in the bulk of the population in South Africa. That is a serious matter. It is a serious matter to alienate the majority of the population of a great colony which is important not only from its wealth, its population, but also from its strategic position. In most wars we have at any rate this consolation, that although we may be hard pressed for the moment, we can look forward to and contemplate, after the war is ended, a better state of things for which sacrifices will have been made not in vain. But here, I am sorry to say, I see difficulties at the end of this war quite as great as the difficulties which surrounded us at the beginning. The clouds which hang about us now are dark enough, but the clouds which will hang about South Africa when the war has come to an end will be quite as dark and quite as hard to dispel. But, Sir, we must go on. It is one of the curses of the position into which we have got that we cannot stop. We must not only clear the two colonies of the hostile forces which now hold them, but we must also restore our military reputation and position; we must make our strength manifest to the world, we must set our military strength

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upon a proper footing, and we must also see to it, I think, that at the close of this war there is no state of things left out of which similar troubles can again arise. On this subject there is little, if any, difference of opinion in this House, at any rate among English and Scottish Members. I yield to no one either in admiration of the spirit which has been shown all over the country, or in recognition of what has been done by our colonies, and I venture to think that in expressing that sense of the way in which the country has shown its patriotic constancy and energy at the present crisis I am expressing the feelings of all the Liberal Members in this House. The feeling which the country has expressed will be shown in this House by our unanimously voting the supplies which the Government think necessary for the occasion. But when the time comes for a settlement at the end of the war we must show a change of spirit in our policy. In endeavouring to settle the affairs of South Africa in the future we must show more wisdom, more judgment, more foresight than the Government has shown in the past. It is not merely our material strength; it is not merely our wealth and the unrivalled magnitude of our Navy that have given us our great position in the world and have extended our Empire, it has been the respect we have generally inspired for our sense of justice and for our respect for the rights of other nations. I do not say that even Britain has not sometimes been wanting in that feeling, but I venture to claim that on the whole her foreign and colonial policy shows that she has not only a love of freedom, but also a respect for the rights of other communities. It is by showing that respect and by the wise principles of the policy we have followed towards our colonies that we have attained our present strength and greatness. Latterly things have changed. ["No."] I am afraid they have. I am afraid that latterly we have begun to indulge in a haughty, changed spirit, and in a spirit which has sometimes not been regardful of the rights of other States, and of late years we have sometimes given cause to other countries to question our regard for international rights and the purity of our motives. I believe that in a return to those better traditions by which the British Empire has been won lies the best hope of recovering, so far as we can, the trust and the confidence of

the Dutch in South Africa, and of establishing our dominion there as well as elsewhere upon the best and surest of foundations—the affection of our fellow subjects.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): I am sincerely anxious in this debate to be able to draw from all the speeches that are made on the other side of the House, all that support of our policy which we can find in any portions of it. I do not wish to carry party warfare into the debate. I do not wish to indulge in any recriminations, and as I listen to the speeches which are made I ask myself how much do they contain which may possibly support us in our policy in South Africa. We are told that this Amendment is unavoidable—destiny, I suppose, according to the right hon. Gentleman, has forced it upon the Opposition. I do not in any degree wish to wound the right hon. Gentleman's susceptibilities in regard to a portion of his speech, but I cannot help saying as I heard the long historical, technical, and legal portion of his arguments in trying to prove that this country in this matter is in the wrong— [Cries of "No, no!" and "The Government!"] No. We are at present the servants of the country. We are at present engaged in carrying out that task which he himself says is to be carried on to the end, and I wish to know whether he, and those who sit by him on that bench, think that the country, if they read his speech, and if they believe in his arguments, will be more enthusiastic in support of us than they are now? Does he not think it is calculated to cool the ardour of the people if they are told that this is an unjust war? The right hon. Gentleman said he had not declared this to be an unjust war. When I come to a further portion of the observations which I have to make I shall have to point out that he did contend it is an unjust war. But the people know that it is not an unjust war. [Cries of "Oh, oh!"] The country knows it. The right hon. Gentleman towards the end of his speech felt it his bounden duty to say he had not said it was an unjust war. How many hon. Members opposite say that it is?

MR. BRYCE: I never used the word "unjust" either one way or the other.

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MR. GOSCHEN: The right hon. Gentleman forgets; he used the word "unjust." He said it was an immoral and unjust war.

MR. BRYCE: I said I should not enter into the question of morality or of justice, because I was arguing the question on the basis of British interests.

MR. GOSCHEN: Unfortunately he had entered on the question of the justice and morality of the war. But if he wishes to have an answer to that portion of his speech there are some right hon. Gentlemen very close to him, and there are other hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite who have said that this was an inevitable war, and I refer him to them for a reply to some of the arguments which he used. Well, he has utilised this Amendment for the purpose of proving that the country is in the wrong, an effort which I thought it was not worth his while to make. Other right hon. Gentlemen have given us different explanations of the reasons for the moving of this Amendment. The right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean said that it was moved in order to bring home to the Government their responsibilities. The hon. Baronet the Member for the Berwick Division of Northumberland, in the extremely able speech he made last night, said the Amendment was moved with three objects, and they were to criticise some of the speeches that had been made, to enunciate opinions upon the matter, and to give the Government an opportunity of redeeming their reputation. The other night it seemed clear that some right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite were going to utilise this debate in order to do something which they believe it is their duty to do, and that is to hold us up to obloquy and opprobrium, while others wish through it to chastise us for our imprudence. I think it is seldom that a vote of censure has been justified on such extraordinary grounds. I welcome the speech of the hon. Gentlemen the Member for the Berwick Division of Northumberland, not because of the criticisms, which we thought unfair, he made upon individual members of the Government, but because I value the declaration of policy which he made, and which exactly expresses the views of Her Majesty's Government. In the first instance he stated that the primary object of what had happened

was not the planting of the British flag at Pretoria; that was not the original conception before the war began, but since the war began he has declared in the strongest manner two principles which he upholds. One principle is the principle that there shall never again be an arsenal which shall be able to threaten that which must be the superior Power in South Africa, and on the other hand he has said there must be perfect equality between all white men. In those objects I entirely concur and to those objects we shall devote every energy in our power, and we shall look to the country to continue to support us until those objects are gained. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Forest of Dean said he wished to bring home to the Government their responsibilities. In reference to the responsibility of the Cabinet, I think I might leave the matter where it was left in that admirable speech of the Under Secretary for War, which exhausted the whole subject so completely and so ably that we would be perfectly ready to take a division and to look upon the speech as a vindication of our position. The right hon. Gentleman says he wishes to know where the responsibility lies. The responsibility lies with the Cabinet. I do not understand why he questions it. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to suggest that Members of the Government had tried to shelter themselves behind their military advisers. In no sense have they done that. In no case do we wish to do it. How does it happen that it is sometimes said that we shelter ourselves behind our military advisers? Because hon. Members press us over and over again to tell them what the advice has been and who the generals are, and if we tell them the authorities on whom we rest they say we are sheltering ourselves behind them. I think a little common sense can deal with the question of responsibility. The Cabinet, of course, is responsible. I have seen a good deal of administration in the course of my political life, and I warn the House, when the time comes that the War Office and our offices have to be overhauled, not to lose themselves in the quagmire of organisation and responsibility. It is not by fixing the responsibility on paper that you will ever be able to devise a satisfactory solution. There has been too much said on this question as to who is to blame. If the

Ministers do wrong you must cashier us. We take the responsibility. Nor can we admit that any individual Ministers should be singled out for opprobrium. We have seen with deep regret the effort which has been made to blame first one Minister and then another. We stand together. It is because they are not able to stand together themselves on the opposite side of the House that they are not able to understand our strong solidarity. So long as the British Constitution is what it is it is necessary that the Cabinet should be treated as a whole. If individual Ministers cannot agree upon a particular point; if they find that insufficient means are given to them by their departments, there is one course for them to pursue—they may resign. If they do not resign they share the responsibility of the Cabinet. On the other hand, if any member of the Cabinet were to refuse to give the necessary sinews of war, if he thought that it was so strong a case that he ought not to support it, he would resign. So long as resignations do not take place, so long the Cabinet must be considered as one whole. If mistakes have been made it is the Cabinet who have made them. We have sought the best advice we could amongst our military advisers. If we have not been able to find the right men it is not the men who are blamable, but it is the Cabinet who are to be blamed for choosing the wrong men, and the Cabinet is responsible. I do not think the right hon. Baronet would wish me to push this doctrine further than I have done. I pass now to the charges which have been brought against the Government. The first broad charge has been elaborated, to a great extent, by the right hon. and learned Gentleman, and it is that this is an unnecessary war. In order to prove the charge the right hon. Gentleman went back to 1896; he reviewed and made quotations from a number of Blue-books and went over the whole history leading up to the war. Like the hon. Gentleman the Member for the Berwick Division, I decline to follow him. I believe the House does not desire me to recapitulate the whole of the arguments as regards diplomacy. We are now in the midst of war. To the charges which apply to the conduct of the war it is our duty to reply fully. My hon. friend the Under Secretary [for War] did his best to meet the charges which in that respect are brought

against us. I do not think the House wish for an elaborate debate on the causes which led up to the war, but I may here state some broad propositions in reply to the right hon. Gentleman. He said we had no right to insist upon the franchise. The demand for the admission of our fellow-subjects in the Transvaal to the franchise was made, not because we claimed that a particular franchise should be given them, but because we wanted a franchise which would be effective and which would enable the Uitlanders to have such a measure of power as would remove the grievances which undoubtedly existed. The franchise was the means to an end; it was the means for our fellow-subjects in the Transvaal to escape from the intolerable position in which they found themselves. The right hon. Gentleman minimised the grievances under which they suffered. He spoke of the greater output of gold and of their making £26 a month in wages. At the same time, on the evidence of those who were there and of the general feeling of the Uitlanders, they were in an intolerable position of inferiority.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): They are fighting for the Boers now.

MR. GOSCHEN: I think I ought to receive courtesy from the hon. Member opposite. I say their position was intolerable, and that intolerable position of the Uitlanders operated upon the position of the whole of the British population in South Africa; they came to be regarded as an inferior race. That was the position in which they found themselves in what the right hon. Gentleman called an out-of-the-way corner of the Empire. There must be no out-of-the-way corners in the Empire where British subjects are concerned. We have other colonies, and if we were to act upon such a principle as that, that where there was an out-of-the-way colony, and where our interests are not so concerned, we should abandon our fellow-subjects, then our colonial Empire would soon be gone. [AN HON. MEMBER: The Transvaal is not a colony.] I must ask hon. Members to contain their indignation until I have done and not interrupt me.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): Try to talk sense. [Cries of "Withdraw."]

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*MR. SPEAKER: I must ask the hon. Member to withdraw that expression.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: In deference to your request, Sir, I will withdraw the expression; I will not ask him to speak sense.

MR. GOSCHEN: This is a very serious debate and a very anxious time, and I am wishing to establish on the broadest possible plan some of the points which ought to be stated shortly in reply to the right hon. gentleman. I do not pursue the point, because I believe the conscience of the country is perfectly clear as to the justice and the inevitable character of this war, and I should be sorry for the Government who in these democratic days endeavoured to make a war of this kind without carrying the country with them. It cannot be supposed that the enthusiasm we have witnessed, that the co-operation of all classes which has been so striking in every direction, would ever have been shown by the common sense of the country if they held the views which are held by the learned professor who preceded me in this debate. The right hon. Gentleman and other speakers, who have passed over the question of the justice or injustice of the war, dealt with the question of the way in which the negotiations were conducted. The right hon. Gentlemen admitted that as far back as the year 1899 the language of the Government was pacifical, but he spoke throughout as if he thought we had been conducting the whole of these negotiations with menaces. [AN HON. MEMBER: And Highbury.] I think that the country generally feels that there was patience, and long-enduring patience. Not only were there the grievances of the Uitlanders, but attempts had been made to break the Conventions in many details, persistently, for many years. I am not sure that we are not more open to the reproach, which some hon. Members bring against us, that we did not show sufficient firmness earlier, than to the charge that we had been too menacing or too aggressive. Now, let me deal with the charge which is made against us, that we did not sufficiently time the sending of the reinforcements which were sent to the Cape and the despatch of the Army Corps with our negotiations. I think the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Forest of Dean said we were entangled in

the coils of our negotiations. If it were a fault that during our negotiations we did not send sufficient troops to South Africa, surely the answer to that charge must be that we believed the negotiations, which we hoped would end in peace, would be damaged if they were accompanied by the despatch of troops to the colonies. *Ex post facto* it may be said we ought to have sent them earlier, and that the information at our disposal was such that regiment after regiment ought to have been despatched to the Cape at an earlier period. But I think there was scarcely a military authority at the time who wished to accompany these negotiations with a military display. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Forest of Dean said it was the common custom now for armies to be massed on the frontier during the process of negotiations. If we had taken that step, war would have been precipitated, and we should not have been in one whit better position than we are now. So soon as it became apparent that there might be a risk of war, we took steps to strengthen the garrisons in Natal and elsewhere, and on that a great discussion has taken place. I am one of those who admit that the information of our Intelligence Department was perfectly sufficient. They put the forces of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State at about 60,000 men, and it is contended now that when we sent 25,000 men to occupy a defensive position, that force was not enough. That is a military question. It is proved, *ex post facto*, that they were not enough: but I confess, to my own guilt, if the House wishes to insist upon individual guilt, that I could not believe at the time that if we had 15,000 men on the defensive in Natal they would not be able for a month to hold themselves in perfect security against the force which the Boers could put in the field against them. It was possibly a wrong opinion, but that depends, too, upon military operations - it depends upon the Ladysmith entanglement, as it was called - and it is not at all proved that the 25,000 men which we had at that time in Natal were not ample for the purpose for which they were intended. We have been asked over and over again, and I think the right hon. Gentleman opposite also asked, although the question has been answered by the Under Secretary for War, about the advice which was

given as regards Ladysmith and the occupation of Glencoe. We did not interfere with the military authorities on the spot on that subject. There, again, I admit, if we ought from here to have arranged the plan of campaign for Natal and for the Cape, you must blame us for not having done so; but I should be very sorry to see the Cabinet undertaking the responsibility of conducting strategical operations in South Africa, at a distance of 7,000 miles, when you had on the spot men who had studied the topography of the country, and advisers on the spot in other directions who were able to solve such questions. I hope that it will not be considered that, if disasters happen, that policy ought to be reversed, and that the Cabinet in this country should undertake the management of a campaign abroad. Fancy giving orders by telegraph to generals 7,000 miles off ordering them to do this or that, and, without even the possibility of a despatch explaining the situation, ordering them by telegraph to occupy such and such a position or to evacuate another position. If we had done that, I do not know whether we should have shown want of foresight, but we should have shown want of judgment, to which the Government do not plead guilty. I plead guilty to the fact that we did not send more than 25,000 men. But, then, there came the declaration of war, and then, and not before, it was arranged that an army corps should be sent out.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion): It was before that. The Under Secretary for War said it was on the 29th September.

MR. GOSCHEN: It is a question of dates. At all events, it was decided to send out an army corps, and from that time, as will appear by the statement of the Under Secretary for War, every demand that was made on the spot was immediately fulfilled in the way of sending out further troops. Division after division was sent, and the wishes of our generals on the spot were even anticipated. There has been no slackness, there has been no holding back whatever on the part of the Government. What was asked for was given, and, on many occasions, was given in anticipation of what would be asked for. One of the charges brought against the Government

is this—that we have failed to realise the position in which we stand. I think that is a strange charge to bring against a Government engaged in the tremendous task which we have before us at the present moment. Can the House not realise that every disaster, every reverse, and every mishap has brought a deeper realisation to the Government of the responsibility of the burden which they are bearing? Many members of the Government have additional cause for anxiety in the news which arrives from day to day. Then we are told we do not realise the situation. We should scarcely be human if we did not realise the burden placed upon us, and the responsibility which, however imperfectly, we are bearing. We realise the situation. Not only do we look at that situation from the point of view of South Africa, but we have to survey the whole situation of the country at home and in every direction. But I can assure the House that there has been no slackness in that matter. On that point the Admiralty, of course, have their duties and responsibilities, and I can assure the House that since the outbreak of war there has been an unbroken spell of weary, wearing tension and stress. We know the position in which we are. We know the number of transports which are crossing the seas; we know our strong points and our vulnerable points. Some organs of public opinion say the Government have done nothing and are doing nothing to strengthen the defences of the country. How do they know? They cannot know. For my part, so far as our own work at the Admiralty is concerned, I do not intend to do that which, to use a vulgar idiom, has been recommended by some people—to “make a splash.” I think it wiser to do what we have to do quietly, conscious of our responsibilities, looking in every direction, and weighing the *pros* and *cons*. I can assure the House that in these anxious times there is no decision I take, either administrative or executive, when I do not bear in mind the position in which we are standing. It would be criminal not to do so, and it would be unwise to on every occasion trumpet forth our strength. For my own part, so strongly have I felt the impropriety at a time like this of doing so, that I refrained during the whole of the recess from making any speech, except a few words

to the Volunteers in my own constituency, because I was anxious not to reveal in public either the duties, strength, or preparation, or any portion of that which appertains to the Navy. Being on the subject of the Navy, I may perhaps in this House be allowed to pay a tribute to the assistance which happily the Navy has been able to give to the Army. In these times we have been able to provide them to a certain extent with those heavy guns which have arrived so often, several times in the nick of time, and which have been handled by blue-jackets in the style in which bluejackets are able to manage their guns. I am glad to be able to say that, if we have been in a position to supply a good many guns, we have done so without in any degree depleting our reserves or weakening the total stock of our Navy. I have seen comments in both directions — that we ought to have done more, and that we ought to have done less. We cannot denude our ships of guns. We cannot make those ships inefficient even for a time; and, though there has been an immense desire on the part of gallant bluejackets and marines to be sent in greater numbers to the front, I have to consider that we must have a sufficient number of sailors and marines at home for any mobilisation, if at any time mobilisation should be determined upon. I have seen such suggestions as this — “Why is not a big squadron sent to the Cape?” Send a squadron to the Cape, where there are no ships belonging to foreigners except a few sloops! We are asked to send a squadron to a place where it would have no *raison d'être* and remove it from a place where it has one. We know the country has been denuded of soldiers and militia. We know that our duties point to the necessity of double watchfulness and double vigilance in every respect. I hope the public will rest assured that there is no apathy at the Admiralty with regard to the present position. It is asked, “Do you realise the situation?” Yes, we realise the situation for good and for bad. We know the strain which has been put upon us. We know how the country has been drained of troops. We know that this is a position in which there might be some temptation to others to take advantage of our weakness. We know that, happily, our relations with the Governments of foreign countries are friendly,

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and we have nothing to complain of as to the way in which they have treated us. The right hon. Member for South Aberdeen speaks of the enmity of foreign countries.

MR. BRYCE: I did not say “enmity.” I did not use the word.

MR. GOSCHEN: The House knows what I mean.

MR. BRYCE: “Disapproval” is what I said.

MR. GOSCHEN: I took the right hon. Gentleman as saying something stronger. At all events it is suggested that foreign countries are hostile.

MR. BRYCE: Not by me.

MR. GOSCHEN: No; but I am afraid his speech to-day will confirm them in that “disapproval,” because he has been good enough to give a brief to every foreigner to expose the injustice and immorality of the war.

MR. BRYCE: I said what I think the truth, and I have said much less than I would otherwise have said about the policy of Her Majesty's Government.

MR. GOSCHEN: I am grateful to the right hon. Gentleman for the suppression of those other “truths.” I think he has said quite enough if he calls it the truth to supply a brief in times like these to every foreign statesman—no, I will not say statesmen, because they understand our position far better, but to give a brief to the press of every enemy of England. When the right hon. Gentleman speaks of foreign opinion disapproving of our attitude, I should like to know whether, if any one of the great foreign Powers had been in our position in the Transvaal—Germany, for example—there would have been more patience or fewer menaces? I think within their hearts many of the statesmen of Europe must know that our position in the Transvaal has not been compromised in any degree by any menaces or undue action on our part. The interruption has diverted me from my point. But I was speaking of the general position, and showing that we realised the fact that there were dangers, and that the position is serious and grave, and that we are conscious of that gravity.

Then it is said the Government have done nothing and are doing nothing. How can anyone have the face to make that statement, having regard to all the troops we have sent out, and the fact that my hon. friend in this House and Lord Lansdowne in another place have distinctly announced that the Government are elaborating plans which will, in a few days, be brought before the House, and which, we believe, will place the country in a necessary state of defence? We are working at those plans, and, with the Navy as it is and those preparations which will be made, the country need entertain no feelings of insecurity at all. Let us avoid panic. [Opposition cheers.] I suppose I must interpret those cheers to mean that I have exposed the gravity of the situation. There is no panic in my words, and the words I have used will not inspire panic. While the Navy is in its present position, and while the country is showing its resources, while our colonies are pouring troops into South Africa, and while the native princes of India are showing their loyalty, while in all directions the forces of the Empire are arraying themselves to confront a common danger, it would be folly to speak of panic. But what I was anxious to show was that we were aware of the situation in which we stand. We are not blind to the facts, and I confidently hope that nothing I have said will lend itself to the interpretation which I think some hon. Members would put upon it. If I had not said so, it would have been said I was endeavouring to gloss over the present situation and did not realise its gravity. I believe the situation is grave when you send 180,000 troops 7,000 miles across the sea. I realise that we have sent those men away, and that those soldiers are good soldiers. The hon. Member for West Belfast complained that I have spoken with admiration of the "boys" we have sent to the Transvaal. Our definition of "boy" is not a certain definition. Our troops are young, they are still young. If a year ago we had thought of sending 160,000 men 7,000 miles, we should have been told that we should not be able to find them, or, if we did, that we were sending squeezed-out lemons, or boys unfit to be put into the field. At all events, we know the men we have sent are worthy to be in the field, and worthy the best traditions of the Army. We know we are putting

150,000 or 160,000 good sound soldiers in the field, well able to go through the campaign. With the Reservists, again, do you not realise the great success we have had, a success never anticipated by the War Office critics? Then, before I sit down, I must say a word in reference to the colonists. The colonists have been supporting us with unstinted loyalty, with unstinted generosity. There has been shown in the colonies a spirit of affection to the mother country which has been the admiration of the world. May we not suggest that the great loyalty of the colonists is, to some extent, a response, a return for the consideration shown to the colonies for some time past? Is it not right to remember at this time that never before has there been till now a Secretary of State at the Colonial Office who has so endeavoured to win the affections of colonists? You tax us with not having shown judgment and foresight, but at all events the treatment of our colonies at large has encouraged that loyalty which has always existed, and the patriotic impulse of the colonists to come to the assistance of the mother country. I have dealt with the charges brought against the Government; I do not know to what extent I have succeeded in my endeavours, but I feel I ought to add to what has been said by the Under Secretary for War that of course we are every one of us aware how much we have learned for guidance in the future from what has been done. We are perfectly sensible we may have made mistakes, possibly grave mistakes, which it will be our endeavour to avoid in the future. Some of them depend upon principles which I should not wish us to abandon. For instance, there is the principle of not interfering with the military authorities. We are perfectly conscious that we have a great work to do, and we will do it. Hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite support an Amendment the object of which is to damage us. It may be the object of some to give us the chance of redeeming our reputation, but the object of hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite, I presume, is to damage the Government. We are the instrument, for the moment, the imperfect instrument, of the national will. We have to carry through this work. I do not know that hon. Members opposite wish to displace us. I do not know whether they are envious for the burden that rests upon our

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shoulders. I do not know if they are prepared to take up that burden; but if they are not prepared to take up that burden, is it wise and patriotic to endeavour to shake the confidence of the country by every means in their power, and to put difficulties in our way while we are engaged in conducting operations of war and have called together all the forces of the Empire for the purpose of carrying those operations to a successful conclusion? Is it possible to believe that for the purpose of damaging the Government at a time like this, they summon all their supporters from all parts of the kingdom to meet us in the lobbies in order to weaken us? Suppose there should be what is called a bad division for the Government, the cheers with which that bad division would be acclaimed would be cheers at success in an endeavour to damage the Government. It would be your triumph to have a larger vote than you expected in support of your accusation of want of judgment and foresight. If you could persuade the country as you seem to have persuaded yourselves you would have to step into our places. The time may come for this, and if so, when this war is successfully concluded—and successful it must be—let us be swept away, but do not try to lame the arm of an Executive Government which has to carry through the work we have on hand. There is the hon. Baronet the Member for the Berwick Division, and his friends, who by speeches in the House and on platforms have contributed so much to strengthen our position in the conduct of the war—are they content to go into the lobby where any vote will be counted as weakening us? [“No.”] Someone said “No.” Every vote will contribute to support the impression that we ought to be turned out of office. That is what such a division ought to mean; that is the only constitutional justification for it. I can quite understand some of the speeches which have been made. I fully appreciate the patriotic speeches of the hon. Members for the Berwick Division, South Shields, and Plymouth, and others, but I cannot understand, holding the views they do, why they should desire to weaken the Executive Government. During the recess there was a great deal of patriotic co-operation with us on the part of the Liberal party, and we thank them for it

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and hope it will be repeated. I believe this is but a break—an interlude between that more patriotic attitude which they assumed a few weeks ago and that patriotic attitude to which we look forward in the future. They assure the country they will support us in going forward with this war notwithstanding the Amendment they have moved. What is infinitely more important than any criticism which may be directed against the blunders of the Government is the work we have to do, and I say again that work shall be done. We have the country with us. We are trustees for the nation in this matter, and from all parts of the Empire we are receiving support; and, so long as we receive that support, God willing, we will fulfil our trust.

*SIR EDWARD CLARKE (Plymouth): I do not desire to offer to the House a controversial speech upon the motion which is now before us, but there are some things that I should very much like to say if the House will give me its patience. They are not at all from a party view, but from my strong feelings in regard to the position in which the country at this moment stands. I do not agree with the complaint that has been made from the Treasury bench of the debate which is now going on. I do not at all believe that the country is taking no interest in this debate. On the contrary, I think the strongest interest is being taken in it from the many aspects of the question which are being dealt with, and I think from day to day the interest that has been felt has been well rewarded. I never knew of a vote of censure moved as an Amendment to the Address that was not complained of by the Government. If the Ministers are sure of a majority they say the debate is a waste of time; if they think they may be defeated they say the motion is factious. I am quite sure that the time which this debate has already taken has not been wasted. I will not speak of other speeches, but the speeches that were made yesterday by the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean, by my hon. friend the Member for Belfast, and by the Under Secretary of State for War, were speeches of great value to the country and which the country is studying to-day with interest. In regard to those speeches they may not be of so much value taken separately, but

the group of them illustrated the military position of the country at the present time, and require to be studied together in order that the people may be instructed as to what is the present position. Therefore I do not agree that this debate is being wasted, and I make the strongest protest against the attack which the right hon. Gentleman has just made upon the right hon. Member for South Aberdeen, whom he has denounced as being a friend of the enemies of this country, because he has spoken what he believes to be the truth with regard to the conduct of Her Majesty's Government. That is not a charge which a Minister has a right to make, and I do enter my strongest protest against it. I should like to say that while I think this debate was inevitable, and is, on the whole, doing good, I am very anxious that, if possible, there should be no division when this question comes to be put, and I think the words which the right hon. Gentleman has just addressed to the other side may well be considered by them when they are determining whether they will have a division upon this question. I for one will gladly vote for the Government, because now while the war is raging, when it is impossible for us to stop the war without doing more mischief to our Empire, and producing more misery in the world, we must carry the war to its ultimate conclusion, that is the successful issue of our arms and the establishment of a satisfactory state of things in South Africa. I will gladly vote with the Government, and I do wish that when we come to the end of this debate there will be no recorded division, which, though it will be perfectly understood in this country after the debate, will undoubtedly be misunderstood and misconstrued abroad. An argument has been put forward against which we have a right to protest, and that is the suggestion that the Government cannot be fairly held responsible for those defects which are charged against them with regard to the preparations of armaments, because they would not have been able to get from the House of Commons the supplies which they thought were needed. Now, this is the last Government by whom such a complaint should be made. Since this Parliament began the Government has had an almost unparalleled authority in this House. It has had the support of

a very large majority, and there have been domestic circumstances on the other side which have crippled for a time the strength of the Opposition. Indeed, Ministers have actually gone about lamenting that they have not had a sufficiently strong Opposition for the regular and comfortable conduct of Parliamentary affairs. While they have had an overwhelming authority in this House and only a divided Opposition, there is such a completeness of party spirit and party discipline throughout the country that if an old supporter of the Government differs conscientiously from the policy of the day, he is punished by exclusion from Parliamentary life. [HON. MEMBERS: Oh, oh!] Oh, yes; and I am prepared to pay the penalty for having expressed opinions unpalatable to those who have supported me. I do not think it is fair to suggest that it is any excuse for a Government, in such a position and with such a majority, that it cannot be held responsible for the defects charged against them with regard to the preparation of our armaments, because it would not have been able to get the support and the supplies from the House of Commons which they thought were needed. [HON. MEMBERS: No, no!] It has been suggested over and over again.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I never said that.

*SIR EDWARD CLARKE: I am very happy to be assured that the right hon. Gentleman did not say so; but it is perfectly well known that it has been alleged. Let me pause for a moment to say a word regarding the negotiations. The Ministry speak very strongly against those who now discuss the conduct of the negotiations, and the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Admiralty has said that the country has made up its mind on this matter. But, Sir, I think, if the Government do not wish these negotiations to be discussed, they had better leave off publishing Blue-books, because the Blue-books published during the present week contain a most remarkable illustration of the course the Government took on a most critical occasion. The position of this question is greatly changed from that which it had when we were discussing it in October last. Then we were not aware of what we now know, that the Government had complete and

accurate information in regard to the strength of the armaments and the number of the Boer forces. When, in the light of these Blue-books, we consider the situation as it existed in the middle of September, the course which was taken in sending the despatch of September 8th becomes more and more amazing. On the 6th September a telegram was received by the Colonial Secretary from the Governor of Natal. We are told now that until September 27th nobody thought, and nobody was entitled to think, that the Orange Free State would join the Transvaal. Yet on the 6th September this telegram was read by the Colonial Secretary, who received it from Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson—

“My Ministers know that every preparation has been made, both in the Transvaal and in the Orange Free State, which would enable an attack to be made on Natal at short notice. My Ministers believe that the Boers have made up their minds that war will take place almost certainly, and that their best chance will be”

—then comes the remarkable phrase—

“when it seems unavoidable, to deliver a blow before reinforcements have time to arrive.”

That telegram came on 6th September. But there is something more than that. Sir Alfred Milner had a few days before that spoken of “the colossal armaments” of the Transvaal, and yet it was on the 8th September that the despatch was written which was said to be an acceptance of nine-tenths of the proposals of the Transvaal Government. And when I read the passage from that despatch that Her Majesty's Government were compelled to regard the proposal of the Transvaal Republic as unacceptable in the form in which it had been presented, I asked the Colonial Secretary “Is it a matter of form?” and the Colonial Secretary in the face of this House said “Yes.” That was on 8th September.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham, W.): No, Sir, I cannot believe that I could have said that, although it appears to have been only a hasty interjection. Most certainly the difference was not merely a difference of form. What I think I said was that nine-tenths of the Transvaal Government's proposals would be acceptable, but that the

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one-tenth that remained was something more than a matter of form.

*SIR EDWARD CLARKE: I do not wish to dwell on the point; but I believe the exact words are to be found in *Hansard*.* At any rate we know that on the 8th September both the Transvaal and the Orange Free State were arming, and that that warning came to the Government with full information as to the number of the Boer forces and the state of their armaments and ammunition. I will not, however, dwell on that point, but pass to another; and that is whether we do realise now the necessity of not only making a great effort to succeed in this war, but of making that success as speedily as possible. Time is of enormous importance. Ministers are no doubt bound to be reticent, but it is permissible for a private Member to think and to say, when the country is drained of troops, that there are dangers ahead, week by week, arising out of the multiplicity of the difficulties between this country and foreign states, which make it of supreme importance that every effort should be immediately made to put this country in a state of defence. There has been a splendid exhibition of loyalty, courage, and devotion on the part of the country; but national defence cannot be maintained by voluntary subscription. I would hope that within a very short time there will be some very strong movement to organise in this country a force which may be useful to us, if unhappily we are called upon to meet dangers at home, while our army is locked up in South Africa. There is one thing I should like to say in regard to the matter of the future. I am very glad indeed that the Leader of the Opposition did limit his definition of the purpose and object of this war in the way he did. Before the beginning of the debate, a great many people were anxious that the Government should say that this war should never stop until the British flag is planted at Bloemfontein and Pretoria. I can quite understand Englishmen wishing that that may be the ultimate consequence of the war; but it would be a terrible mistake if the Government declared that that was an essential consequence. We do not know what our difficulties may be in the future. Suppose

* See *The Parliamentary Debates*, Fourth Series, Vol. LXXVII., p. 311 (19th Oct. 1899).

we take it on the footing that this war is absolutely just, and that we cannot escape from it, and were compelled to enter into it from the best of motives. Even then, it would be most unwise for the Government to define the result which was to follow the war, because we might find ourselves in difficulties so great as to compel us to expend, on an object unnecessary and hardly worth the realisation, a force which we have no business to use except for the highest purpose, and for the greatest interests of the nation. I am bound to say from my point of view, and of a great many others in this country, that this war is an absolutely unnecessary war, caused by our diplomatic blundering, and does not represent that which can be truly called the cause of justice. Those of us who think thus look with horror at what is going on in South Africa. We are sending our best and our bravest sons to slay and be slain by men who are as brave and as true-hearted as themselves. This is a thought which, I believe, comes day after day and morning after morning into the minds of many men amongst us, and we pray that something may be done to stay this war. I want to leave it to the Government, when we have succeeded in the first requisite of having cleared our foreign foes from off the territories of the Queen, to make some settlement, honourable alike to ourselves and to the brave people whose conduct in this war has vindicated for them the right to maintain their independence. I plead only for this, that we shall leave open to ourselves the right and the opportunity of making such an honourable settlement at the first moment when we can stay this bloodshed and agony. I do not believe that the annexation of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State would be of the slightest advantage to this country. I believe it would compel us to a great increase in the enormous military expenditure which now presses upon our people, and will press upon them more heavily for some years to come. I do not desire to press my own views on the House, because I realise that they are not popular at the present moment; but I only plead that the Ministry should not pledge themselves to a course of action which may involve tremendous sacrifices in the future. There is one other point I wish to dwell upon. I know the doctrine of Ministerial responsibility. It is a very valuable doctrine in many aspects. It obliges

Ministers to take an active and careful interest in everything that comes before the Cabinet; and when something happens on which the Government is arraigned by a hostile party, it is well that the Ministers should feel that there is a solidarity amongst them. But that doctrine may be carried too far. In this case the real responsibility for this war, be it right or wrong, is with the Colonial Secretary. It is impossible not to see, not to note, from the speeches that have been made of late, that the Prime Minister, who, I believe, is the man in whom all England puts the greatest confidence at this moment—having many other things to deal with, and being distressed by domestic anxieties—may not have been able to attend so closely as he otherwise would have to this matter. But at all events, we cannot get away from this fact, that there are two men—one in this country and one in South Africa—who are the persons looked upon, it may not be by all in this country, but certainly by all in South Africa, as being the persons who have been most closely associated with the beginning of this war. I wish that the highest sentiments of patriotism would induce these two men to leave to others the positions which they now occupy. I must say I myself believe that the greatest difficulty in South Africa in dealing with the solution of many questions that have arisen in this war is the fact that the lines of communication and action in South Africa are with the Colonial Secretary and Sir Alfred Milner. I am not saying a word against their honesty in this matter; but I do say that I believe their presence—one here, and the other in South Africa—would be a difficulty and a hindrance to a settlement. If others were to take their places for a short time— [HON. MEMBERS: Oh, oh!] Oh, yes. This is a great national crisis. It is a time of great and deep anxiety. If others were to take their places for a few weeks, or a few months, if the Prime Minister himself were to take under his own control the communications of the Colonial Office to South Africa, if Lord Rosebery would give his services to the country, and go out to South Africa himself to deal with the solution of these difficulties it would be a sacrifice not too great to ask even from the greatest men amongst us, at the time of national danger, and one for which I believe the country would

be very grateful. I have said I was not going to make a controversial speech— [HON. MEMBERS: Oh, oh!] I do not think I have. If I have, it has been with no intention of personal attack, but simply under the conviction that we are now at a time of great national danger, and that we have to consider the things, not only of to-day, but of the future.

*SIR H. MEYSEY-THOMPSON (Stafford, Handsworth): It is very difficult to know the exact position which the hon. and learned Member for Plymouth has taken up. But as this vote of censure has been brought against the present Government, it is necessary to examine for a moment some of the grounds on which it has been brought. The noble Lord who moved the vote of censure left off more than once at the very moments when his speech was becoming interesting. He told us that the general objects which the Government suddenly thrust upon the War Office by embarking them in a great war in South Africa were objects for which the War Office was not organised, and for which Parliament had not voted supplies. Now I suppose that the ordinary Member of Parliament has the idea that the War Office exists to carry on war, or to prepare for war. If these are not the objects of the War Office, I would like to ask the noble Lord what he imagines the organisation of the War Office is for. We hoped to hear this from him, but were disappointed. Then he went on to blame the Government for not having made adequate preparations for the war, for not having troops ready to send to South Africa at the critical moment when they were wanted. He again disappointed us by not pointing out when, in his opinion, the mobilisation of the Army ought to have taken place, and when the troops ought to have left our shores. It is very easy to tell a man that he has taken a wrong road, but the point of the accusation is rather blunted unless you can show that a better road exists which he might have taken. The difficulty, of course, is that in these matters you cannot have a rehearsal. There are 670 Members of this House, and every single one of us will be, in regard to the war, wiser in many respects when it is over than any single person in the world was before it began. But that does not prove the superlative cleverness of every

Sir Edward Clarke.

Member of the House of Commons. I cannot understand why, in one respect, our opponents say our Government were wrong. They try to prove that because the difficulties and the losses in this campaign are greater than were anticipated, therefore the Government were wrong to undertake the war; but common sense would lead us to an opposite conclusion. We have in Cape Colony a great many Dutch-British subjects, who have been treated by the Empire with greater kindness and consideration, I suppose, than any other alien race has been treated in the history of the world. If when this war broke out they had said, "We recognise the kindness and consideration with which we have been treated, and we will remain loyal to the British Crown," then we should have said that, so far as they were concerned, there was no occasion to undertake war. Very much the same thing might have been said regarding the Orange Free State. If the Transvaal Republic had proved to be extremely weak, and had put fewer men into the field than anticipated, and if the war had proved to be an easier matter than it has, then our opponents would have said, the Government were wrong in pressing the matter so strongly. But the exact opposite has happened. The Dutch inhabitants of the Cape have proved themselves as disloyal as they dare to be. [HON. MEMBERS: No, no!] Well, that is my opinion. The Orange Free State is in open war against the British Empire, and the Transvaal has proved itself so strong as a military power that it is absolutely certain that if we had been engaged in war with any foreign country at the time when we had only a normal garrison at the Cape, then the Dutch population in South Africa would have swept the English troops easily into the sea. The result would have been fatal to the British Empire. The Cape is the very keystone of the British Empire. If we acknowledge, as I think we must, that the Boers had it in their power to engage in war at the moment which suited them, then the British Empire would exist only at the grace of President Kruger. That is a condition of affairs that could not be tolerated by any Government possible in this country. The late Attorney-General made a very effective speech the other night, which combined enthusiasm, tempered by moderation, and the skill of a great advocate. He said that the war

was due to the present Government, and one of the reasons given was that suzerainty had been put forward in an unnecessarily irritating manner by the Colonial Secretary. Now, more than two and a half years ago, the Chief Justice of the Orange Free State told me that the suzerainty over the Transvaal had been the one and only barrier to the fusion of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. If the suzerainty was the only barrier to the fusion of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, I do not think it can be said that the suzerainty did not exist. Another statement was made by the late Solicitor-General and the right hon. Gentleman who has just spoken, which was that if the independence of the two South African Republics were not given back to them we should have to keep a large army in South Africa. That would be the case, no doubt, if these States remained in possession of arms and ammunition, and the money and organisation which enables them to make use of them. But if they have no longer the power of taking the hard-won money of our fellow-countrymen at the gold fields and no longer have the power to organise for war or to purchase arms and ammunition—as they will not have under any system of franchise, or any measure of Home Rule likely to be granted them—then I do not see that any great army in South Africa will be necessary. The whole wealth and intelligence of South Africa is centred in the towns, and with the exception of Pretoria and Bloemfontein all those towns are extremely loyal to the British Empire, therefore, if these two States have no longer their independence, a small army will only be needed there. The late Solicitor-General wants us to undertake to preserve their independence, but what sort of independence? We have been told that true liberty has its limitations, that “my rights end where my neighbour's rights begin,” but the Boer's idea of liberty is, “My rights never end, for my neighbour has none.” After 1881 the Boers were the spoiled children of fortune. They had everything a nation could wish for—a small population, a land as large as Austria, and a climate that was all to be desired. They were free from the dangers of pioneer states; we had conquered the Zulus and the Matabele, who had harassed them, and gave them protection. What did they do?

They had independence, and nobody would have interfered with it if they had behaved properly, but they set to work day by day and year by year to take away all the rights of our fellow-subjects and built up the Government upon the most corrupt system it is possible to conceive. The right hon. Gentleman tried to make out that property was respected in the Transvaal. I cannot agree with him when we know that the taxation per head in the Transvaal is three times as much as in any of the other three States in South Africa, and that at least half a million was taken out of the pockets of the people by the dynamite monopoly alone, the benefit of which went entirely into the pockets of private individuals, and that this and the other most extortionate exactions on account of monopolies, railway rates, and duties were levied not only on the income, but came also out of the capital of those who were sinking and equipping the mines which constituted the source of revenue of the country. Why is it that the Boers were not satisfied? Why run the risk of war by not granting reasonable concessions? That is due to two causes. There are some people so constituted that they cannot help intriguing—it is the breath of their life; and President Kruger is one of them. Before the Transvaal was annexed he intrigued; he intrigued for its independence, and when that was restored he still intrigued. The other reason is, that they were afraid the present state of things in the Transvaal could not last. The gold industry of the Transvaal is exceedingly scientific, and it is difficult to work a poor reef without a great deal of skilled labour. The authorities saw it was impossible for ever to keep these people from their political rights, but they hoped by joining with the Orange Free State and Cape Colony they might be strong enough to sweep out the English, annex their property, and set up a Dutch Republic in South Africa which would be strong enough to resist any force which we could bring against them, and be able to make alliances with foreign Powers. I believe that the reason why they were so extremely stubborn and would not yield in any particular was that they had a dream that they would have in their hands the whole of South Africa with the gold mines, and the diamond mines at Kimberley; and that by making the British, who were the

heads of the industry, and the blacks, who were the hands, subservient to the Dutch they could appropriate a large portion of the profits of these industries and live independent and idle lives out of the proceeds of other people's labour. They never meant to give any reforms, and from the moment we insisted war became inevitable. I think quite contrary to the right hon. Member for Plymouth. Lord Rosebery said the affairs of the Empire ought to be carried on in a businesslike manner, and I think it is very lucky that we had a business man like the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary at the Colonial office. Nothing could be more unbusinesslike than the Conventions of 1881 and 1884; but since then the Colonial Secretary has learned something, and having seen the result of those conventions he determined that whatever in future had to be done should be done in a thoroughly businesslike manner. The Government is blamed for not having seen that war was inevitable; but when I was in Johannesburg the view of all sorts and conditions of men there was that if their Government granted this measure of franchise there would be no war. It is not fair to blame the Government because they were not prophets, and because they held a belief which was held by everybody who could be considered to know most of South African affairs. With regard to the number of men it was necessary to send out, the universal opinion in South Africa was that 40,000 or 50,000 would be ample to carry on and win the campaign, and had we not tried to hold Northern Natal and relieve Kimberley, I believe the men sent out were sufficient to keep the Boers in check until reinforcements arrived. The Government cannot be held responsible for the military arrangements that were made, and I think they have been unfairly attacked on that subject. I hold as strongly as I ever held any opinion in my life that the Government were right to raise this question, and were right to press it home, even at the risk of war. They are doing their best to bring the war to a successful conclusion, and I shall give my vote for them.

*MR. C. P. SCOTT (Lancashire, Leigh): I desire to express my admiration of the speech of the hon. Member for Plymouth, which, to my mind, was one of those notable speeches that, by their courage

and sincerity, lift the debate far above the range of party, and appeal to every honest man in the country. This is an occasion on which speaking of that kind is needed, for those who have the courage and sincerity to say the truth are the true friends of their country. I think the House will agree that the attack made by the First Lord of the Admiralty on the right hon. Member for South Aberdeen was not called for. The right hon. Member for South Aberdeen's speech was a masterly exposition of the facts of the case, given with great moderation and with complete knowledge. We have heard from the First Lord of the Admiralty a very important statement indeed in regard to the policy of the war. The difficulty some of us are in is to know what we are fighting about, and therefore the terms that should constitute a just and honourable peace. We listened to a remarkable speech made by the hon. Member for the Berwick Division, which is most of all to be admired for the effort to probe some of the root facts of the controversy, and to state for himself and to elicit from the Government what are the objects for which this war is being waged. What did the hon. Baronet say were the two great objects aimed at by the war, the attainment of which would justify the making of peace? They were equal rights between whites in South Africa, and the adoption of measures to make it impossible that hereafter any arsenal should be erected or any accumulation of materials of war should take place except under the authority of the British Government; and the important fact is that the First Lord of the Admiralty, after twenty-four hours reflection, said these terms would satisfy him, and presumably would satisfy the Government also. This throws a light into a very dark place, and the House will do well to examine a little more closely these vital points. I could wish that the right hon. Baronet had explained more precisely what he meant by equal rights between whites in South Africa. It might mean one of two very different things, and as the phrase has been taken up by the Government the House is entitled to seek further explanation as to what was meant by it. If by equal rights to the whites is meant such equal rights as for two generations have existed in the Orange Free State for all immigrants and residents, the solution opens out hopes for peace brighter than

Sir H. Meysey-Thompson.

any we could hitherto have entertained. The Orange Free State has been a peaceful and independent community, existing without offence in the midst of our South African possessions, and, so far as I am aware, no one has ever complained of any lack of equal rights for white men. If it be the fact that one object of the war is to secure that in the Transvaal also such a state of things should exist, then the object of the war is nearer than, perhaps, many have ventured to hope or believe. The other condition is that no arsenal should be erected or accumulation of arms take place except under the authority of the British Government. This I think a reasonable condition. It is not desirable that there should be great accumulations of arms of this kind, which would obviously threaten a renewal of strife. It is not desirable and is not necessary if this country once for all pledges itself to respect the independence for the defence of which these accumulations and these arsenals were provided. These gigantic military preparations took place, as the evidence seems clearly to show, for no offensive purpose, but from the fear—a well-grounded fear—that the liberties of the Transvaal were endangered. If those liberties are respected on the morrow of victory, not merely as a matter of convenience, but as part of the settled policy of this country, there will be no need for such arsenals and accumulations of arms, and there will be no objection, I believe, on the part of the Orange Free State or of the Transvaal to pledge themselves that they should not take place in the future. The terms upon which this war may be brought to an end is, I venture to think, vital not only for the future but for the immediate present. We are told nothing as to what our policy is to be, and in the circumstances I admit that at the present moment it seems, perhaps, irrelevant, because we are not in a position to impose our policy, whether good or bad. Sir, we must believe—and I believe—that the power of this country will prevail before very long. I think it is certain to prevail ultimately, if our forces are not, as they unfortunately might be, distracted by dangers in other quarters. We must make up our minds as to what we are seeking by this war before we can justify to our own hearts and consciences the spilling of all this blood. It is idle to conceal the fact that there is a deep difference of opinion in this country as to

the merits of this war. It is not confined to this side of the House. It is shared by some of the ablest and most conscientious men on the opposite side of the House. How are you going to get unity and common action, unless these two great parties of the State are brought into line? I admit that up to a certain point we should act in common, even though the ultimate objects of the war are not stated. We all agree that the invasion must be repelled. We are all agreed that the power of this country must be asserted to that extent, and to such an extent as may be necessary in order to secure honourable terms of peace. But we do not believe that the war must be carried on at all costs and to all extremities—for what? For the purpose of imposing terms which, as the hon. and learned Member for Plymouth has just stated, so far from being a gain to this country, would be a positive loss—that is, if they mean the suppression of these two States and the annexation of their territory. Let us for one moment consider what are the alternatives. Suppose that we are entirely successful—

*MR. SPEAKER: I would remind the hon. Member that the terms of peace are not involved in this Amendment. It is specifically confined to the policy and conduct of the Government in the past. Although I have allowed considerable freedom in the discussion from that point of view, the terms of peace cannot be deliberately discussed upon this Amendment. That question is raised by another Amendment.

*MR. C. P. SCOTT: I will endeavour to conform to your ruling, Sir, and pass over as speedily as possible the remainder of my arguments. I would merely point out that the want of knowledge, foresight, and judgment which have been so conspicuously displayed in the blind way in which we have stumbled into a terrible position, may be equally marked in the future. We cannot carry on this war merely for the sake of a barren supremacy. We must look to what must come after, and consider how the country which we are endeavouring to conquer is to be governed; and I think,

Sir, when we realise what that means—what it means to govern those colonies by military rule, or as Crown colonies permanently, what it involves in the expenditure on military force and in the violation of our best traditions—then I think we might come to the conclusion that it is better to be moderate as well as just, and to respect the independence of these brave people, who have shown themselves to be worthy foes in time of war, and who, if treated rightly now, may in time—a long time it may be—become reconciled to this country. Then instead of being our enemies as we regard them now, they would become one of the most potent factors in a great and united South Africa.

*COLONEL BLUNDELL (Lancashire, Ince): The reason I rise, Sir, is to say a word with regard to the military question. I wish to say something with regard to the conduct of the campaign which is now being prosecuted in South Africa, because I fear it may be misjudged owing to reverses our arms have met with hitherto. The Government has sent out a very large body of troops in a very admirable way; they are nearly double the number that Lord Cardwell ever expected to send abroad. We have been obliged to split them into fractions in order to relieve Ladysmith and Kimberley and other garrisons. Now, these fractions have met with serious reverses and loss; and I think that people do not understand how that can be, because I maintain, and have no doubt whatever, that the 100,000 men we have sent to Africa is, as an army, put together in a proper manner, with its proper complement of guns and cavalry, as fine a one, for its numbers, as either Germany, France, or Russia could send anywhere. I am afraid people are apt to think that our army is not what it really is. It is a splendid fighting machine; but our forces in South Africa have been confronted by an enemy possessed of small arms of an immensely improved type, and of Maxims and machine guns, which, together with smokeless powder, make them very formidable indeed. The effect of it all has been to give extremely increased value to the Boer mounted marksmen when acting on the defensive against our forces. They take up a very extended

position, and their mobility is extraordinary. Now, I contend that any other force sent to meet this new condition of warfare, which requires new and corresponding tactical conditions to meet it, would have met with just the same difficulties as we have done. I recollect going to Austria in 1867. After the great war of 1866, in which Austria had a very fine army indeed, the world witnessed a new mechanical invention, which paralysed Austria's action in that campaign. It was the introduction of the needle gun. I remember the chagrin that was felt by the Austrian officers, who knew that their army would be misjudged because it had not been able to cope with the latest weapon. What was the result of it? The very next year every Continental Power in Europe adopted the breechloader; and they also adopted Prussia's system of general service, which Lord Clyde characterised as militia. Just as it was then with the innovation of the breechloader, so it is now with mounted infantry. The result of the present conflict has so far demonstrated the wonderful effectiveness of mounted infantry; and every Continental army in Europe will develop that system henceforward. If not it will suffer greatly in future wars. This war has also raised the question of whether our reserves were sent out soon enough, or not. That is a matter which affects diplomacy; and I would point out that there is a great defect in our reserve system. In our reserve system we cannot send a body of troops abroad to meet a military foe unless we call out our reserves; and we cannot call out our reserves except in the case of a great national emergency. Well, that must put our Government into a very difficult position; and I contend that that is a system which requires amendment—reservists should have the option at a higher rate of pay to belong to a "furlough reserve," liable to be recalled for any special service with their regiments. My own impression is that at the end of this war we shall emerge more powerful than ever and more chastened. I trust that the tendency to gasconade which everyone must have noticed of late years will cease. There has been an absence of scouting and of taking cover as there was at the beginning of the Crimean War; but that sort of thing arises from not having been in action against a European foe. That is now past; and I venture to hope and

Mr. C. P. Scott.

believe that the termination of the war will show the Army in its true light. There has been a lot of talk about the word "supremacy" at sea. It is a word which I think ought to be dropped. Of course, we want a great preponderance of sea power; but in my opinion there is no such thing as supremacy at sea. It is the use of abominable phrases like these which makes us unpopular abroad. It is a comparison which is as offensive in the eyes of our neighbours as it is useless. There is one other remark I would like to make in reference to what fell from the First Lord of the Admiralty to-day. He talked of Cabinet responsibility. Well, if there is one defect in our system which the Cabinet should set themselves to remedy it is that the Commander-in-Chief and the First Naval Lord should be retired on a higher allowance than is given under the present system. They are often poor men who have two or three moves to make in the last few years of their service, and who have to take a house in this expensive capital. These officers cannot resign, though they may differ seriously from the Cabinet, but the country should feel sure that the experts do not differ seriously from the Cabinet.

MR. SPEAKER said the hon. and gallant Member was not now speaking to the Amendment.

CAPTAIN SINCLAIR (Forfar): I do not intend to follow the hon. and gallant Member who last addressed the House in his criticism of the purely military points to which he alluded; I propose to look rather at the political aspect of the matter, not especially as regards the War Office, but as to the responsibility of the Government as a whole. One complaint which has already been noticed from these benches, but which has been repeated again and again by those who have spoken on behalf of the Government, is to me nothing short of astounding. The Liberal party during the whole of this controversy have behaved with the greatest restraint. No Government has ever had a freer hand, a fairer opportunity, less criticism while they were developing their policy, less cause to say they have been hindered by the utterances or the actions of the Opposition leaders either in this House or in the country, than the present Administration. Yet we have had the extraordinary claim made, unsupported

by any precedent, unsupported by common sense, and against all experience, that when this House meets no criticism is to be offered, no examination is to take place of the actions of the Government which have occupied the attention of the country for the past few months. This claim would have been unreasonable enough if the policy of the Government had led to a successful issue, but when we remember that this year has been signalised by disasters such as have not been experienced by this country for more than one or two generations, I think such a claim coming from the Government must show that they have either a bad conscience or a very bad case and a very bad defence to offer to the country. What is the House of Commons for if it is not to demand an explanation on the part of the country from those who are trustees for the power of the country, who are responsible for its policy, and who have been placed in the position they hold by the opinion of the country itself? One speech we have listened to with a great deal of satisfaction and interest, and that is the speech of the Under Secretary of State for War. But has not that another aspect from that which has been already noticed? How is it that with our perfect system, with the admirable working of the War Office—to which I am ready myself to give all praise, because the War Office, taken as a whole, has been asked to do greater work than has ever been contemplated by the administrators of the country—I speak broadly, of course—but does not that add to rather than detract from the responsibility of the Government as a whole when we find that, in spite of the working of this system, in spite of the generous and loyal support which they have had from every part of the country and of the Empire, with all their efforts, there has still been, as the Amendment states, so great a lack of foresight, skill and knowledge, as to place us in the deplorable position in which we now stand? It is said that as an Opposition we are not entitled to make this complaint because the Leader of the Opposition during the past summer expressed it as his opinion that there was no reason for war or for military preparations. I do not think that that position is at all inconsistent, as it has been said to be, with the charge made by the right hon. Gentleman only a night or two ago that the Government had done more harm

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than good in sending out their dribblets of support and reinforcement to the Cape Colony and Natal. The difference between his view, which is shared by others on this side of the House, and the view adopted by the Government is that the policy pursued was a war policy from the beginning, and we protested against it as a war policy—as a policy which might lead to war. The Government denied that that would be its consequence, though I must say I am puzzled to account for the ignorance that led to this result, and that is the difference between us. The Government did not face the fact that by the policy in which they were engaged, the policy of pressing upon the South African Republic reforms which, as the right hon. Member for South Aberdeen said to-night, were outside the Convention, which were matters reserved for the internal control of the Republic—they did not face the fact that by taking up that line and pressing those reforms upon the South African Republic in the way they did they risked the ultimate collision which has come upon us. The policy which was preferred from these benches was a policy not of force at all, but of persuasion, of pressure of diplomacy, rather than of military preparations and of military pressure. I am puzzled beyond measure to understand why the Government have acted in the manner they have. The despatches which we read this morning, to which allusion has already been made, show how the defenceless condition of Natal might have been foreseen, and indeed was foreseen, but not provided for by the Government. If we recollect that Sir Alfred Milner during the greater portion of last winter was at home, and that shortly after his return to South Africa he began the proceedings which terminated as they have, can we dismiss altogether from our minds the idea that he had some prevision that the policy he was going to adopt and enforce might lead to these dangers? Whether that policy was a good one or not I do not intend to enter into at present, but it seems impossible to believe that Sir Alfred Milner, the man responsible on the spot, and the Colonial Secretary, the man in the Cabinet responsible here, did not contemplate the ultimate possibilities of the policy which they were then deciding to adopt. The truth is, the Government have been afraid of the man

Captain Sinclair.

of whom we have heard so much, the "man in the street;" they were not courageous enough. Perhaps they did not think the country would approve, but they did not come boldly to Parliament or to the country and say, "Here are our responsibilities as Ministers: we have no other alternative but to adopt a policy which may lead to the most extreme conclusion." On the contrary, until as late as March 20th last, there was not the slightest symptom in the speech delivered in this House by the Colonial Secretary that the mind of the Government had changed, that the position in South Africa had changed, or that there was any intention on the part of the Government to depart from the policy which had hitherto been the common policy of both parties. There is a great deal of talk as if on this side of the House there was no recognition of the difficulties in South Africa. What is the fact? Take whatever cause or whatever contributory cause you like as having brought on this war, take the question of the grievances which has been argued at such length before this House: as a matter of fact the opinion expressed by the Colonial Secretary on March 20th last in regard to those grievances is precisely the opinion held on this side of the House. If the House will pardon me I should like to read one passage. In reply to the hon. Member for the Ecclestone Division of Sheffield, the Colonial Secretary said (the hon. Member having urged the grievances of the Uitlanders)—

"My hon. friend comes here as if he had authority to speak in their name, but I am very much inclined to think that if we were to adopt his advice the Uitlanders themselves would be the first to quarrel with us on that subject, and they might ask why we had interfered when we were not asked."

Then the Secretary of State for the Colonies goes on to repudiate the idea that there had been any breach of the Convention with regard to these grievances. He says—

"In the first place we may intervene if there is any breach of the Convention, but it is not contended so far as I know that any of these things to which my hon. friend refers are breaches of the Convention."

And he wound up by saying—

"Sir Alfred Milner is on the spot, but I do not feel at the moment that any cause has arisen which would justify me in taking the very strong action which seems at all events to have been suggested by my hon. friend."

That was the opinion of the Colonial Secretary so recently as March 20th last ; that was the policy of the Government so recently as that date, and that being the case I think the First Lord of the Admiralty has very little cause to charge us on this side of the House as he did to-night with minimising the grievances which are suffered by the Uitlanders residing in the Transvaal. Then we come to the theory of the armed conspiracy. I always listen with great attention to the remarks of the hon. Member for the Handsworth Division of Stafford. He has been in South Africa ; he has given great attention to the question ; he has studied it apparently very deeply. But I entirely disagree with some of his facts, and I should like to have controverted them if he had been in the House, both as to the history of South Africa and as to the present situation. One remark I cannot help noticing, and that is the assertion that he made with regard to the Dutch in Cape Colony. The hon. Member took upon himself the responsibility of saying that the conduct of the Dutch in Cape Colony had been most disloyal. I cannot believe that that opinion is shared by many members on the other side of the House. That that opinion should even be expressed in this House is, I think, much to be deprecated on the present occasion. No one knows without having been to South Africa the trial and strain and tension that have been put upon our Dutch fellow-subjects in Cape Colony, and I think, considering how their feelings have been harrowed and their property destroyed, and their responsible Government practically entirely suppressed during this crisis, it is in the highest degree necessary that we here, feeling for them just as we do for the others in the colony, should do our best to support them in their trials and to assure them of our confidence, and show that we recognise their loyalty and devotion under circumstances of supreme anxiety and difficulty. What is at the bottom of this theory of an armed conspiracy throughout South Africa ? Could anything be more baseless ? Think of the position of our Army now in the north of the colony. Think of that, and couple it with an armed conspiracy, not in theory but in reality, and you will have some idea of the loyalty of the Dutch and of the value of their loyalty to us at the present time. Perhaps I may be allowed to remind the House of the statement of the Colonial

Secretary yesterday, bearing out what I say about the constitutional Government of the Cape having been practically superseded at this time of crisis. It will have been noticed that the right hon. Gentleman said that the Volunteer forces now being raised in the Cape Colony are being raised by the general officer commanding there under the authority, not of the responsible Minister, but of the Governor himself. There is only one other point to which I should like to allude, simply to endeavour to convey the impression that everyone on this side of the House is not, as some seem to think, blind to the difficulties and the circumstances which have brought about this present crisis, though we may not approve the methods adopted by the Government for remedying those difficulties. No one who has followed the controversy during the last few years will deny that in regard to Article II. of the Convention of 1884, which binds the South African Republic to keep within its own strict boundaries, the Boers have, in regard to Bechuanaland, in regard to the efforts to obtain a seaport, in regard to some of the native districts, in regard to the northern parts of Africa, just as in regard to Stellaland and Goshenland, gone outside the limits not only of their own territory, but of the Convention of 1884. Undoubtedly that can be charged against them ; undoubtedly that, supported as it has been by the intrigues and negotiations carried on with Germany and other Powers, lends colour to the idea that the South African Republic is not contented with its present status, and has ambitions, and that its young men do "dream dreams," and have ideals of a South Africa different from the South Africa which we should like to see. That is all quite true, and I think it may be perfectly well admitted. That is common ground, and as a matter of fact has been recognised by both parties in this House. These grievances, the aspirations of some of the Dutch in South Africa, the difficulties that have ensued in getting the South African Republic to keep strictly within its boundaries—these, I say, are common ground to, and have been recognised by, both parties. In support of that I will only quote the fact—it does not cover all these points, but it covers some—that a despatch prepared under the direction of Lord Ripon in 1894, but not sent to the Transvaal at

that time, was included and sent by the present Colonial Secretary in the year 1896 as a complete, careful, proper, and suitable statement of the case of the grievances we wished to see remedied. It is only when we come to the remedies that we differ, and there we do differ. We are asked what we should have done. We should have followed the policy which had been followed hitherto of endeavouring to establish friendly terms with the Transvaal, of endeavouring to increase the confidence which, by the testimony of all competent observers in South Africa, had sprung up between the people, and which had not been interrupted even by the question which arose at the end of 1895, the question of the closing of the Vaal Drifts. That state of things unfortunately was upset by the raid. The raid was bad enough; the South African Committee was bad enough; but worse than all has been the complete identification of Her Majesty's Government with the policy of the gentlemen most distasteful in South Africa. I have not had the privilege of going to South Africa, but I have done my best so far as papers, books, and conversation go to become acquainted with it, and the impression which remains indelibly fixed upon my mind is this: in South Africa for all these difficulties what was preached was patience. The people there are the main sufferers by the unsettled and troubled state of their country, and you can go to Ministers of both parties in the Cape and to Ministers in Natal; you can go to the most responsible and respected people in the country, and one and all will advocate the policy expressed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Montrose, the policy of patience, the policy which has been so much spurned and contemned in the debates in this House.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.): Will the hon. Gentleman name one who would advocate that policy?

CAPTAIN SINCLAIR: I will not only name him but read out his opinion, if the House will allow me. The first one I will take is a gentleman to whom the hon. Member for Derby made allusion the other night, Mr. Du Toit, who was at the time President of the Afrikaner Bond. He moved a resolution in the

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Cape House of Assembly, and it was carried by a large majority—this was in April, 1897—

“deprecating war between European peoples, and expressing an earnest desire for peace and the conviction that these objects would best be attained by the faithful and reciprocal observance of all obligations under treaties, conventions, and agreements; that means should be devised to obtain a settlement of any difficulties which might arise in the interpretation of such obligations; and by the adoption of a policy of moderation, mutual consideration, and fairness, the tranquillity of South Africa would be further assured.”

An amendment was moved, different in words, but the same in sense, urging strict observance of the Convention, and a policy of moderation by Her Majesty's Government. Then I will quote the Premier of Natal, who was here in 1897, and who, if my memory serves me rightly, has since died—Mr. Escombe. He said this at a public dinner given in his honour in London—

“As for the South African Republic, at present it was not fully understood, and people in England would, on close inquiry, be astonished to find how much good there was in the Dutch population in that part of the world.”

Lastly, I will quote Sir Gordon Sprigg, who cannot be suspected of any Afrikaner leanings. At Cape Town, as Premier of the colony, he said that—

“If he went to England as Prime Minister, representing the colony, he would, in his speeches and conversations, on every opportunity presented, explain to the people of England the real condition of affairs in the country, showing how in South Africa there was not a homogeneous population as in Europe, and that the majority of the colonies were differently circumstanced.”

That is the point I want to bring out.

“He would point out how necessary it was in all matters to pursue a very cautious policy, and that they, above all things, wanted moderation and patience—everlasting patience—in this country. In fact, patience seemed to him to solve almost every question in South Africa. Without patience they could solve no question satisfactorily, and that was what they should endeavour to impress upon the people of England and Her Majesty's Ministers. . . . If the Cape Government were allowed to pursue their policy peace would be maintained in Africa. The Transvaal, he believed, would shortly recognise the desires of the inhabitants, and friendly relations and prosperity would be maintained.”

There are many other utterances of public men who have held the highest positions

in those colonies in exactly the same sense as those I have quoted, and I say therefore that it is not wisely said or wisely thought that the policy of patience is not a proper and possible alternative to the policy of force which has been adopted by Her Majesty's Government. In my humble opinion the raid, the South African Committee, and the policy of the Secretary of State for the Colonies have had the effect of inducing a large number of people in this country to share the views so eloquently expressed to-night by the hon. and learned Member for Plymouth, and have contributed to form the conviction that we cannot possibly have that basis of confidence between us and those who are unfortunately our enemies at present on which reconciliation may begin, unless the negotiations fall into other hands than those of the present Colonial Secretary. The policy of the Government is responsible for this. I am not blaming those gentlemen personally, but I say that they have by their public acts so thoroughly identified themselves with all the interests most opposed, most disliked, and most detested by the inhabitants of the South African Republic and those who sympathise with them in South Africa, that their continuance in charge of these matters is a most powerful barrier to peace and reconciliation. During those dreary days in September and October last, when we were waiting to know what would be the result of the Colonial Secretary's last despatch, day after day inquiries came from South Africa as to when the Republic was to be informed of the further demands which he had announced he was going to make upon them. There was a Cabinet Council held during that time, and it was very remarkable that after that Cabinet Council no less than four Cabinet Ministers spoke during the week—Lord James of Hereford, the First Lord of the Treasury, and two others (I had the advantage of listening to the words of the First Lord myself)—and in the most solemn terms they all affirmed that they did not wish to threaten the independence of the Transvaal, but all these four Cabinet Ministers, having, I am perfectly certain, the confidence of the country in the sincerity and truth of their words, with all their authority and influence both here and in South Africa, were not able to allay the suspicions of the South African Republic. The end of that dreary time

of waiting was that the step was taken, the ultimatum was issued, and we have been plunged into this war. I say that, apart from the present situation altogether, apart from the particular difficulties we are in, apart from the particular objections which I have urged, apart from the evidence which I have quoted from South Africa against this policy, we are fighting against all experience of colonial administration in this matter. The normal course of colonial government is self-government. Perpetually in the history of self-government in this country, when the desire of the central authority here, of the Imperial Government, call it whatever you like, has been asserted over the colonies under one set of circumstances or another, every time it has led to disaster. The interference from Downing Street, the overruling of colonial interests and colonial opinion, has never been attended with success in any part of the world. That experience is another thing against which we are fighting at the present time. We are fighting also against the goodwill of the Dutch, against the goodwill of men who have been contented, happy, and prosperous under our Government, whose loyalty has been unquestioned until this time, men who have readily rendered a loyal devotion to the Queen and Government under which they have had this happiness and prosperity. Another thing against which we are fighting—and it is a powerful thing—is our own solemn promise and convention. ["No!"] There are two opinions possible, I admit. Hon. Gentlemen opposite may hold their view, but in my humble judgment it counts for something in this controversy that we are fighting practically against our own solemn promise and convention. I do not deny—and I have given reasons—that some readjustment in South Africa was necessary. Anyone who has followed the extension and development of our dominions in South Africa, who remembers that in less than thirty years we have practically multiplied by six the extent of our territory in South Africa—we have now about 1,500,000 square miles to be responsible for instead of about a quarter of a million—anyone who remembers that will admit that some readjustment was inevitable and necessary. I say that it does count for something in this deplorable business that, in the opinion of a great many

people, we are fighting and using the whole forces of the Empire against what, after all, has been a solemn promise and convention undertaken in the name of this country. And what have you to look forward to? The English have got to live with the Dutch. This is the third contest we have had with the Dutch. Some 40 or 50 years ago the Governor, who afterwards was very popular, Sir Harry Smith, had to take forcible measures against the Boer population north of the Orange River. The dispute was settled by one battle, and British authority had its way. Twenty years later we had another contest with the Dutch north of the Vaal River. You know how that terminated, and you know that in the opinion of the highest military authorities not a couple of thousand men, as on the former occasion, but 15,000 men at least would have been needed to assert our authority or sway on that occasion. Now, twenty years later, you have got a much larger difficulty on your hands. You have got a difficulty which I do not believe the people of this country would have had to face had they known — [The remainder of the sentence was rendered inaudible by cries of dissent from the Ministerial Benches.] Yes: that is exactly a point on which I should like to say something. People say that the shibboleth has to be repeated with regard to this war as to whether it was just or unjust. That does not exhaust the considerations which have to be taken into account. You have got to look at this matter from a practical point of view, from the point of view of the practical interests of the country and of the Empire as a whole. I say that it requires more reasons than have ever been urged against the policy of moderation to outweigh the enormous present and future disadvantages which have been disclosed by the expedition and the results of the expedition so far which we have sent to South Africa. We shall have to add another 100,000 men to the Army in the interest of South Africa, owing to the difficulty of reconciling the Dutch to our rule. I do not think that even then you will get rid of all those difficulties. I thank the House for allowing me to give the few reasons which induce me to vote with great heartiness for the Amendment of my noble friend. I recognise the patriotic endeavours the Government are making

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to the full, but I deplore and lament the policy, and the consequences of that policy, which has led us into the present difficulties. I shall at present do my utmost to give my support to the Government wherever it is possible, but I do not hesitate to say that I shall work against them if I think it is necessary, and in the councils which are to determine this war I hope there will be moderation, firmness, and patience.

MAJOR RASCH (Essex, S.E.): I only desire to say a few words to the House on the subjects of departmental interests, which we feel very strongly about. I listened to the speech of the right hon. Member for South Aberdeen with a certain amount of mild surprise, when he said he regretted that feelings of hostility were apparent in foreign countries with regard to this nation, because there is no man who has done so much to raise hostility as himself. I listened to the speech of the Under Secretary for War last night, a speech which, I venture to say, raised the level of the debate, but I do not agree with him. He said we had increased the artillery by sixteen batteries, and we had strengthened regiments in that direction, but he forgot to say that the Estimates had increased from £16,000,000 to £21,000,000, and he forgot to say that our Army had so far been held in check by a population which was hardly so large as the number of men we ourselves usually keep under arms. What has surprised me is the light-hearted character of some of the speeches delivered, and also the consensus of opinion that it was necessary to defend the War Office, which was shown in half the speeches made. The mover of the Address, the Leader of the House, the Leader of the Opposition, Lord Salisbury, all did so. Even the mover of this Amendment, after he had searched the world from China to Peru to endeavour to find a stick with which to beat the Government, turned round and took the War Office under the ægis of his protection. I should just like to say half-a-dozen words with reference to the speech at Manchester by the Leader of the House, following in that regard the speech of the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean. The right hon. Gentleman found fault with the stay-at-home politicians and War Office critics, but it is not their fault that

they are stay-at-homes, they would be elsewhere now if they knew how to get there. With regard to the critics, the right hon. Gentleman said the War Office had been efficient, and referred to the Reserves. Now, the Service Members of the House of Commons never did criticise the Reserves. The man who did criticise the Reserves was Lord Wolseley. He said the Reserve was simply a sham, and he showed an intuitive perception of the opinion of the House of Commons by saying that they desired to have it so. We do not believe in the three Army Corps. An Army Corps as one understands it is an entity, but in South Africa you simply have an aggregation of regiments pitchforked together, as you had in the Crimean War. In the speech that was made last night, it was said that the Government were right and the War Office had done nothing wrong, and that it was impossible to supply transports at a moment's notice. The hon. Gentleman asked how you could put 18,000 mules in line in South Africa. That is not what we meant. What we meant was that until President Kruger marched his troops to the borders of the Transvaal the War Office made no effort to provide transport. With reference to the guns the hon. Gentleman took up the cudgels and said there was a force of something like 180,000 men at the front, with 240 field guns and several guns of position. That is all very well as far as it goes, but it is not the proper allowance. In European armies the proportion of guns to infantry is 5 per 1,000, but, on the hon. Gentleman's own showing, in South Africa there are only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per 1,000. There are only a few quick-firing guns there at the present moment, and they are the old-fashioned ones with the breech-firing attachment of Sir George Clarke. Then with regard to proper maps, the hon. Gentleman said the reason why proper maps were not prepared was because in the first place the colonial authorities ought to have prepared them, but did not, and secondly, because of the expense. I believe that the loss at Spion Kop was due entirely to the fact that the topographical character of the country had not been found out. Then again, with regard to transport, the man in the street does not understand why, when it is necessary to send troops out quickly, we should have slow ships instead of fast ones. And with regard to troops, the hon. Gentle-

man said this country was bursting with troops, but he could not have visited our garrison towns lately or he would have seen that our troops here consist of immature youths, not old enough to be sent abroad, dismounted cavalry, artillery without guns, and a few troops that are going to be sent off during the next few weeks. These are some of the questions which the Service Members have called the attention of this House to, and some of the matters we have endeavoured to bring before it; and the country will find that the Service Members have told them the truth rather than the apologists of the establishment in Pall Mall. So far as I am concerned my opinion is clear, and I shall support the Government here and outside. And when the crisis is over I shall be able to criticise more, as I please, the operations of the War Office.

*MR. BRYN ROBERTS : I think the right hon. Members opposite who are so disposed to denounce the right hon. Member for South Aberdeen would do their own cause far greater good if, instead of denouncing him, they took to answering his arguments and displacing the irresistible case which he has made against this Government. This debate has branched out in two directions. One branch, of course, is the justification of the war and the other the question of the conduct of the war. With reference to the conduct of the war, we have had very full answers from the Government benches, but with reference to the question of the justice and right of this war not one word has been said, for the simple reason, in my belief, that they have adopted the only possible mode of answering the question by avoiding it. I hope hon. Members on this side of the House will not permit that to be done, but that they will urge the point in question until a full answer is given. Even in the last debate of the last session it was the same. No defence was given until the Colonial Secretary rose on the last night of that debate, and we have had no defence beyond that. We have had various reasons assigned for this war, as various and contradictory as the reasons assigned for the war in the Soudan, but when I find people in business, or in social or political life, give various and contradictory reasons, I generally find that the real one is one

which they dare not avow. My belief in this case is that the real reason of this war is to get hold of the Transvaal, or at least the political control of it. With regard to the alleged Dutch conspiracy, that matter has already been fully dealt with, and I shall only draw attention to one or two matters. It is based entirely on the fact of the large armaments in the Transvaal. But before you can establish a case of this kind you must prove that the armaments are too numerous, not from our point of view, but that they are excessive in the view of the Transvaalers themselves; that they exceed the amount which they can possibly consider necessary for the defence of their country. The attempt is now practically abandoned. We set up the point that these armaments were laid up before the raid. That was practically given up or destroyed at any rate by the right hon. Gentleman by his speech at Manchester. He said the raid fettered the Government, that it was impossible for them to remonstrate with the Transvaal on account of the armaments because of the raid. That must prove that the excessive armaments were laid up after the raid because that remark would not be relevant if they were laid up before the raid. It is now admitted that the Intelligence Department has fulfilled its functions fully, but it is an irrefutable fact that the raid caused the armaments. As far back as March, 1886, Sir Hercules Robinson telegraphed that the arming movement was defensive and not offensive, that the Boers believed that the raid was connived at if not instigated by the Government, and that it would be renewed on the first favourable opportunity. President Kruger himself said to Captain Younghusband, the special correspondent to *The Times*, "So long as you never attack us we shall not attack you." [AN HON. MEMBER: But he did attack us.] Yes, because we were going to invade the Transvaal. We pride ourselves on the enthusiasm that has been shown by volunteers coming in, but the Boers have commanded all men between the ages of sixteen and sixty, and if we made similar sacrifices for this war 6,000,000 men would be at the front. It is impossible to believe that any democratic nation would send all its male inhabitants to wage an aggressive war. Such a sacrifice would only be made for

one of the two strongest motives that can impel human nature—one the defence of religion, the other the defence of our nationality. Would we do it? I hope we would for the defence of our religion. But it is said they are compelled by President Kruger, who is really an autocrat. He is an autocrat who rests entirely on the goodwill of his burghers, the same as Mr. Gladstone rested on the conviction of his supporters. There was this extraordinary phenomenon, that although this dispute had been going on for years, yet there was not a single suggestion in all the despatches in the Blue-books of any complaint that the Boers wished to drive the British people out of the country. There was a distant allusion in a letter sent by Sir Alfred Milner on 4th May last to the Colonial Secretary, in which he said that some newspapers had made some reference to that. But we know that there are wild papers in the Transvaal, just as there are in Fleet Street. It is impossible to get away from the fact that there is no ostensible cause for this war in the Blue-books except the alleged grievances of Uitlanders. I think that hon. Members who are against the war have been a great deal too free and liberal with their concession as to the existence of these grievances. I do not admit the grievances, except to a very slight extent. Hon. Members who talk about them always do so in vague and general terms. You never see a reference to a single detail, but only to the "intolerable oppression of the Uitlanders," and vague statements of that kind. What are these alleged grievances? Why, one is that a public meeting in the Transvaal was disturbed, whereas the opponents of this war in this country have had their meetings broken up on scores and hundreds of occasions by Jingo roughs. You know what took place in Trafalgar Square, but does anyone suggest on that account the English people should be deprived of their Government? There is no restriction whatever in the Transvaal on the right of public meeting, provided these are held in halls. The only restriction is as to open-air meeting, and that restriction is the same as regards meetings

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in Trafalgar Square. Permission has to be got from the police because of the danger of the public meeting creating riot and disturbance, and that permission is never refused. It is said that the press have been restrained, but there has not been a single case of a newspaper being suppressed under the law complained of, except that of the *Critic*, which was edited by the notorious Henry Hess, who had to leave the country on account of fraud and perjury. We know that this Mr. Hess brought an action against Mr. Henry Labouchere on account of an article which appeared in *Truth*, but he abandoned it and paid the costs rather than appear in court to answer the interrogatories. President Kruger went beyond his rights in suppressing the *Johannesburg Star*, but an appeal was made to the Transvaal courts, and from that time forward the *Star* was allowed to be published. That illustrates the falsity of the charge against the judiciary, for here the Courts quashed the order of President Kruger. Then we come to the question of the franchise, which, after all, is the really important question. My hon. and learned friend the Member for South Shields denied that the Uitlanders were aliens, and attempted to maintain that denial by the most extraordinary arguments. He said that the Uitlanders have the right to enter the Transvaal, to reside and trade there, and that aliens have not that right. Why, that right exists in this country as well as in the Transvaal. There is no power in this country, not even in the Crown, to prevent the entry of aliens here and engage in trade. We have the fact that the Member for the Central Division of Sheffield has introduced time and again, but has been unable to pass, a Bill to prevent aliens coming to this country. But there is this difference, that most of the Uitlanders who come into this country do so with the intention of remaining here, whereas four-fifths of the Uitlanders who go to the Transvaal do so with the intention of returning to their native country when they have made their fortune. Under these circumstances it is not to be expected that these should be granted the franchise to the same extent as in England, because they would use it not in the interests of the Transvaal, but of the country to which they intend to return. I utterly deny that the Uitlanders' griev-

ances were great down even to the initiation of the negotiations, and are we to make war on any government which falls away in the slightest degree from perfection? If so, what are we to do with our own Government? I venture to say that the grievances of the Uitlanders, when examined and divested of exaggeration, were of the flimsiest description, and of the same character as exist in every country under the sun, and will exist until the millennium. Suppose that President Kruger had passed a law, as had been done in this country by the present Government, that all agriculturists and landowners should be exempt from one-half the taxation, and that the Imperial funds should be applied to pay the exempted half for them, and that all shopkeepers and dwellers in town should pay in full, there might have been a cause for remonstrance. Or suppose that President Kruger had passed a law that the old Doppe Church, being in a minority of the whole population, should have the control of religious education in schools which were maintained almost entirely by the Imperial taxation of the country, then the Uitlanders might have claimed that they suffered from serious grievances. Why, the whole of the Uitlanders' grievances put together were not to be compared with a single one of these from which we suffer in this country; and yet, we who feel these grievances keenly have not the remotest idea that they would justify us in seeking to stir up rebellion. We rely for their redress on ordinary methods of political evolution. And so all those trifling grievances would have been remedied in time by the ordinary evolution of political change. We are told that the case was urgent, but the only reason for urgency that I know was the risk that in the meantime the Rand mines would be exhausted and all these Uitlanders would then be coming home. But I hold that even if the grievances did exist to an intolerable extent there was the unanswerable argument that we had no right to interfere. It has been admitted over and over again that the Transvaal was an independent Government so far as regards internal affairs. Lord Salisbury has said so, the First Lord of the Treasury admitted it, and so did the late Right Hon. W. H. Smith. I should like to call the attention of the

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House to the fact that at the time when the Colonial Secretary was endeavouring to prevail on President Kruger to come over to this country, to discuss matters, President Kruger objected, on the ground that the discussion of these grievances would be a tacit admission on his part of the right of this country to interfere in the internal affairs of the Transvaal. And what was the answer of the Colonial Secretary to that objection? He said—

"Her Majesty's Government do not claim any right under the Convention to prescribe the particular reforms which should be made in the South African Republic. . . . They consider that they are entitled to make such friendly representations on behalf of British subjects."

And he goes on to say—

"Such a discussion as they contemplate would not involve any acknowledgment on the part of the President of a right of interference in the internal concerns of the Republic, but would only, at the most, amount to a recognition of the friendly interest of Her Majesty's Government in its security, and in the general welfare of South Africa."

And then there is this further important admission—

"The President would be, of course, at liberty to accept or reject any advice that might be tendered to him by Her Majesty's Government."

What did the right hon. the Colonial Secretary say in this House in answer to a speech of the hon. Member for the Ecclesall Division of Sheffield? In March last that hon. Member made an attack on the Government because they did not make the grievances of the Uitlanders a *casus belli*, and the Colonial Secretary said—

"Does the hon. Member wish this Government to send an ultimatum to the Transvaal Government on these matters? Does he wish us to insist upon the reforms which my hon. friend brings before us, and, failing satisfaction, does he expect us to go to war with the Transvaal?"

At that time it was regarded as ridiculous that this question should lead to war. Further on the Colonial Secretary said—

"There are certain clear cases where we can intervene, and rightly intervene, in the Transvaal. In the first place, we may intervene if there is any breach of the Convention; but it is not contended, so far as I know, that any of these things to which my hon. friend refers are breaches. Then, no doubt, we should have the usual right of interference if the

comity of nations is not observed—that is to say, that the treatment of British subjects in the Transvaal of such a nature as would give us the right to interfere as to the treatment of British subjects in France or Germany. When we have been asked to interfere, and when we have not interfered, it has been because we have been advised that no such case has arisen for interference."

Every one of the Uitlander grievances, with one exception, were in existence long before these words were uttered. The only exception was the failure to discover the murderer of Mrs. Appleby. It does not rest with the Government of a country in which Jack the Ripper ran riot, and where there was a total failure to discover that terrible murderer, to complain of a failure to discover one murderer in the Transvaal. It should be remembered that the Transvaal Government issued a reward of £500 for the apprehension of Mrs. Appleby's murderer, and that the police of Johannesburg were increased. There has been absolutely no change in the situation since then. It has been argued that although there was no Convention right to exact amelioration of these grievances, yet President Kruger made promises during the negotiations for the Convention which he has failed to perform. That is not true. Certainly most unfortunate misrepresentations have been made in the press and in this House in regard to that matter. During the conversations which led up to the Convention of 1881 the President of the Conference asked Mr. Kruger, "Before annexation had British subjects complete freedom of trade throughout the Transvaal: were they on the same footing as the citizens of the Transvaal?" To which Mr. Kruger replied, "They were on the same footing as the burghers; there was not the slightest difference in accordance with the Sand River Convention." The President said, "I presume you will not object to that continuing;" to which Mr. Kruger replied, "No, there will be equal protection for everybody." Sir Evelyn Wood interpolated, "And equal privileges!" When Mr. Kruger replied, "We make no difference so far as burgher rights are concerned. There may, perhaps, be some slight difference in the case of a young person who has just come into the country." Later on it was explained that the proper translation and proper meaning of "young person" had reference to the age of the person, not to the length of his residence in the country. [Hon.

Captain Sinclair.

MEMBERS: Oh, oh!] Well, I quote Question 1037. Dr. Jorissen said in answer: "At No. 244 the question was, 'Is there any distinction in regard to the privileges or rights of Englishmen in the Transvaal?'" and Mr. Kruger answered, "No, there is no difference," and then he added, "There may be some slight difference in the case of a young person just coming into the country." I wish to say that that might give rise to a wrong impression. What Mr. Kruger intended to convey was this: According to our law, a new comer has not his burgher rights immediately. The words "young person" do not refer to age, but to the time of residence in the Republic." I want to draw the attention of the House to the fact that my hon. and learned friend the Member for Haddingtonshire in the last session of Parliament quoted this answer, but omitted the latter part of it referring to the exception as to new-comers. I shouted at the time for him to read on, I am afraid rather violently, because at the moment I thought the omission was designed. I do not say that now, but at any rate it seems that it was an important omission. The whole case depends on that qualification. Before a single word of complaint was uttered as to the franchise question, all the persons who had come into the Transvaal at the time this conversation took place would have received the franchise under the then existing law. The question does not rest there. Hon. Members will observe that in this connection two matters were discussed, namely, trading rights and burgher rights. Sir Hercules Robinson made reference to trading rights, and the assurance was given him on that behalf. Then Sir Evelyn Wood went on to ask about political rights. My point is that the question of "trading rights" was dealt with in the Convention, and these rights were given and accepted, but that the "political rights" were rejected. The mere fact that political rights were not introduced into the Convention shows that the omission of political rights was intended. There have been broken promises, but the pledge breaker does not reside in Pretoria, but nearer home. We all know that Dr. Jameson and his confederates were taken prisoners in accordance with the fortunes of war. The Colonial Secretary interceded for their lives on hearing a rumour that they were

going to be shot. He telegraphed to President Kruger on January 3rd, 1896—

"It is rumoured here that you have ordered prisoners to be shot. I do not believe it, and rely on your generosity in the hour of victory."

President Kruger replied that they were not going to be shot, but would be dealt with according to law. Thereupon the Colonial Secretary directed this telegram to be sent. (He had five or six days before written to the Chartered Company to tell them that one of their obligations to this country under the London Convention was to respect the internal independence of the Transvaal Government.) This was the Colonial Secretary's reply to President Kruger on 5th January—

"I thank your Honour for your message, which I will publish as you desire. The press have not given credence to the rumours about cruelty to the prisoners; and for myself I have always felt confidence in your magnanimity. I have sent an Imperial officer to Bulawayo to see that my orders are obeyed, and to prevent the possibility of any further raid; and your Honour may rest confident that I will strictly uphold all the obligations of the London Convention of 1884."

Six days before that promise was made he publicly acknowledged that one of the obligations was the internal independence of the Transvaal. He secured the lives of the prisoners on the assurances given; but the history told by the different books shows that, in dispatch after dispatch, the promise made by the Colonial Secretary has been broken; and still the supporters of the Government retain a Minister in office who has departed from his pledged word, and who goes about the country denouncing the men whose clemency he has acknowledged, and urging the country to go to war with them. I will only deal with another matter in connection with the cause of the war. I will tell the House what was the real cause of it. It may be summed up in one word, "Bluff, bluff!" I am perfectly certain that the country never intended to go to war on account of these grievances. We were assured by the Cape press that we had only to be firm in our attitude and point our cannon at President Kruger and he would climb down. I am afraid I cannot acquit the Liberal party from some share of blame in the action we took. My conscience, at any rate, is entirely free from the stain of a single drop of the blood that is being shed

in South Africa. I protested last year and the year before last, in season and out of season; but I am afraid some of our Liberal friends did not do as much as they might. They wanted to give the game of "bluff" a chance of succeeding. We were denounced as encouraging the Transvaal in its resistance; but I am glad to say that the Leader of the Opposition put our party completely right on the question of principle, although I should have been glad if it had been followed up more vigorously. Had we done so, I am sure there would never have been war. Not only were we told that President Kruger would give way, but that these Boers were ignorant farmers, who would never be able to hold together against a disciplined army. We were told that after a month in the field they would be wanting to go back to their farms and crops. Moreover, we were told that they had lost all their skill in shooting since game had disappeared; that they could not maintain themselves in the field because they had no commissariat and no transport arrangements. What is the result? They have a transport service which has surprised the world, for instance, in their use of siege guns as field guns that nobody ever dreamt of before. It is one of the complaints made against the Government by their own supporters that the artillery of the Transvaal has outranged our guns. But all these facts were unknown or ignored, in order to egg the country on to war. The war party knew perfectly well that if the people of England and the Members of this House were acquainted with the real state of things, the course of action entered upon by the Colonial Secretary would not have been persisted in. The facts were kept hidden. Sir, my opinion is that the war fever in this country has simply been worked up. Reference has been made to the speech of the First Lord of the Treasury at Manchester, where he said, dealing with the question of inadequate preparations and the charge of his own supporters, that it would have been impossible to get this House, if it had been asked to do so in June or July last, to sanction a vote for the purposes of the war. He omitted to state the real reason. I entirely agree with the First Lord of the Treasury. What he said was perfectly true. He also said that it was most diffi-

Mr. Bryn Roberts.

cult to project themselves back six months, and to the state of feeling that existed then. That is also true; but the real reason for the attitude taken up by the Government in not getting the House to vote for war in July was because the House would at that time have recoiled with horror from the idea of waging war on account of the dynamite monopoly, or on account of this question of franchise. Nobody would have dreamt of it. Therefore, to secure the vote it was necessary to work up the war feeling. That is the secret of the new diplomacy as against the old diplomacy. The difference between the two is that under the old diplomacy the object was to avert war. The object of the new diplomacy is to ensure war, and in order to do that it was necessary to excite popular feeling. That is the reason why Sir Alfred Milner's despatch was instantly published. And so the angry feeling spread on the instant. That underlies the explanation given by the First Lord of the Treasury at Manchester; and Lord Salisbury said practically the same thing in the House of Lords, when attempting to justify this new diplomacy. He said it was necessary in order to carry the country with them. As long as the country remained cool and calm, the disproportion between issues in dispute, and sacrifices, and horrors of war could be kept steadily in view. But once let popular resentment loose, and calm reason and argument vanished. I have only one other question to deal with in the points raised by this debate. There was a taunting laugh when I referred to President Kruger's statement that he would never invade our territory unless we invaded his. I say that he has not broken his promise. It is idle to say that the ultimatum was the cause of the war. As it is put in the excellent words of Lord Crewe: "If the ultimatum made war inevitable, who made the ultimatum inevitable?" What was the actual fact? The members of the Government did not apparently know, for the First Lord of the Admiralty misstated the dates. The actual fact was to be found here: The normal garrison in South Africa was 10,000. Between June and October the normal garrison sprang from 10,000 to 24,700 men; and it was increased with a view of enforcing our demands upon the Transvaal. Nevertheless, President Kruger did not make war. It was on the 29th September last, accord-

ing to the speech of the Under Secretary of State for War, that the Government came to the decision to send an armed force to South Africa. That decision was immediately announced in the Government organs. The newspapers all stated that a field force was going to be sent to South Africa, and that Parliament was going to be called together in order to vote Supplies. Nevertheless, even then President Kruger did not send an ultimatum. He was asked to take the assurances of certain newspapers. He said—

“I do not care what the newspapers say. I look to the actions of Her Majesty's Government.”

Then on the 7th October came the Royal Proclamation calling this House together to vote those ten millions in order to send out that field force. On the 9th October, two days later, we sent the ultimatum. Now, if the ultimatum caused the war, then the Government must be impaled on the horns of a dilemma. The Government undertook to send out 48,000 troops in addition to those sent out already, to march through our colonies to the frontier of the Transvaal, then, having done that, our ultimatum was to be sent to President Kruger formulating our demands. Then, if President Kruger declined the ultimatum, would we order that army of 75,000 men to the right about and ship them back to England without fighting. It was either that or we meant war. I venture to say that there is not a statesman or military man in the world who would not say that after the decision to send out the Army Corps the Boers had only two alternatives before them—either complete submission or war. No, Sir, this is what I have all along regarded as an unjust and iniquitous war. It is a war waged on behalf of capitalists, and the most unscrupulous set of capitalists that the world has ever seen. That charge has not been met. It has been evaded in the most puerile fashion by Lord Salisbury. He said that “it was suggested they (the Ministers) wanted to put money into their pockets.” We do not suggest that. What we do suggest is that they were the willing dupes of the people in South Africa who wanted to put money into their own pockets. Not only did the capitalists make war, but the press made war, and we are face to face with the consequences, the terrible consequences, in

the slaughter of hundreds of lives. Two Anglesey gentlemen, living within a few miles of my house, were among the officers killed in the disaster of Spion Kop. I say, Sir, that it is maddening to think of gallant lives being thus sacrificed, and this horrible war being waged, to play the game of an unscrupulous and greedy gang of capitalists.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON : I listened to the speech of the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down, and I fail to discover any indication in his speech of any sound argument against the policy pursued by Her Majesty's Government. He has found fault with the Government for increasing our armaments, and yet I find that he himself finds fault with Her Majesty's Government for not taking proper precautions before the outbreak of war in South Africa. There is this peculiarity in the speech of the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down, and in the speeches of other Members on that side of the House. They have devoted nearly all their speeches to vilifying their own country. I cannot conceive any accusation brought against a country more unpatriotic than that of accusing one's country of engaging in an utterly unjust war. The difference between the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Aberdeen, whom we listened to to-night, is that the former did not tell us how he is going to vote, or whether he is going to vote at all. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Aberdeen gave us a long dissertation to prove that this country is absolutely unjust in the war now proceeding in South Africa, and yet he concluded by saying that he intended to give his support to the Government in carrying the war on. The right hon. Gentleman led us to believe that as he declared this to be an unjust war he would not support the Government in carrying it on ; but the contrary is the fact. Sir, the speeches to-night struck me as showing that hon. Gentlemen opposite are utterly out of touch with the country. The country does not care a jot for these academic utterances. I could understand these speeches and the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Aberdeen if they had been made last session, but I cannot conceive a man, who calls

himself a Briton, making such speeches while the war is going on.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): He's a Celt.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON: I will attend to you before I am done. I feel, sir, that a great responsibility lies upon this House in regard to the present stage of the history of this country. I do not for a moment believe that the country is in danger; I do not think the country was ever stronger. But it is a grave crisis—a turning point in the history of the country, and, therefore, a serious one. I should have imagined that before putting down what amounts to a vote of want of confidence in the Government—a serious step, and one which is unprecedented in the history of the country—hon. Gentlemen opposite would have considered well their conduct; for I can find no analogous case, when a great war is going on, where Parliament has endeavoured to bring about a vote of want of confidence in the Government.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Chatham and Fox.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON: Certainly not in this century.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Fox is in this century.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON: They must have thought of the seriousness of the step when they put that vote on the Paper. What does it mean? It means that, if adopted, the Amendment will turn out Her Majesty's Government who are conducting this war, and those gentlemen opposite will step into their places. I have been a Member of this House for the last thirty-five years.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: On the Liberal side.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON: That was before the Liberals proposed to sell their country. During the course of these years I have heard many votes of want of confidence raised in this House,

Colonel Sanderson.

but I never remember a vote of want of confidence being proposed against any Government, and supported in the way pursued by hon. Gentlemen opposite. Now, Sir, the issue before the House is of the simplest possible description. There is a great task before the country and before the Government. The Government are carrying out that task to the best of their ability. And the Opposition have put a vote on the Paper which, if carried, will turn the Government out. The House of Commons is invited to cast its eye upon the roll of gentlemen who sit on that side of the table, and those who sit on this side; and it is asked to decide which party is most likely to carry out the task successfully. The peculiarity of the situation is to be found in hon. Gentlemen getting up on that side of the House and saying that they intend to support the Government, while at the same time they seem to desire to turn them out. So when I listened to the very able speech of the hon. Gentleman the Member for the Berwick Division, who spoke last night, I was astonished. I never heard more patriotic sentiments uttered than those of the hon. Baronet. He said it was a perfectly just war, and he was apparently satisfied with the speech made by my hon. friend the Under Secretary of State for War. He said it had relieved him of a great weight, and had satisfied his mind, and that he intended to give the Government all the support in his power, and yet he said that he was going to vote against them. All I can make out is that the hon. Baronet and those with him look upon this Amendment as a sort of tonic administered to Her Majesty's Government, not with a view of turning them out, but by way of stimulating them to further efforts in the discharge of their task. The House is asked to judge between the Front Opposition bench and Her Majesty's Government; and I imagine that the House will take a businesslike view of the situation, and see which set of Gentlemen is likely to see the thing most successfully through. Well, observe what the Government have done. They have succeeded in doing what no other Government in this or any other country have ever done before. In an incredibly short space of time they have landed 160,000 men in South Africa. More than that, the Government intend to carry on the war to a

triumphant conclusion. The question is, would the opposite party, if they came into power, carry out that policy? Some of them look upon this as an unjust war; but I ask you to support the Government who are most likely to terminate the struggle with success. If the Amendment is carried the present Government will leave the Treasury Bench; and they will be replaced by right hon. Gentlemen opposite. Then these right hon. Gentlemen who formed the Government would be absolutely dependent for the position they occupied on the Treasury Bench on the votes of hon. Gentlemen opposite. They would be dependent on the votes of eighty Irish Nationalists who sit below the gangway, and I ask you how you could trust a Government so supported to carry out the task? I think, Sir, it is absolutely necessary, before this House, by displacing the present Government, brings about the appointment of such a set of gentlemen to carry on the business of the country, to bear well in mind the results that would follow the administration of such a Government. Now, a very distinguished Member opposite—the hon. Member for Waterford—who I am glad to see to-day—made a speech at a meeting of the Irish Nationalist Members on Tuesday last, which I ask you to consider, because it directly bears on the position of the party supported by the hon. Member. He said, “It was no exaggeration to say that now, for the first time since the Union, the power of England was seriously menaced. Her prestige, which had protected her so long, was at this moment almost shattered—[An HON. MEMBER: Lord Rosebery said so.]—and no man could tell what might arise out of such a situation.” If the Government were changed and if right hon. Gentlemen opposite took the places of the present occupants of the Treasury bench, they would practically be at the mercy of eighty Nationalist votes. I think the House ought to consider whether a Government supported in that manner would be likely to be a Government that would carry out the will of the nation—for it is the will of the nation—to bring this war to its proper conclusion. Distinguished Irishmen on the other side of the channel have also been making remarks in the same direction. A distinguished man in Ireland made the following statement. [An

HON. MEMBER: Who is he?] The Mayor of Limerick. He said—

“The British soldiers are falling before the Boers, and when the Boers have taken the ‘stuffing’ out of them, then the men of Cork and the rest of Ireland will lend a hand.”

When the “stuffing” was taken out of the British soldiers, then the courage of the Irish nation would rise to the proper point. If this motion were carried not only would the British soldiers be attacked in front by the Boers, but also they would be liable to be attacked in the rear, for the Nationalists never attacked in the front. [Several HON. MEMBERS: Withdraw, withdraw!]

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): What about the Tugela? Why are you not at the front with the Cavan Militia?

*MR. SPEAKER: I hope hon. Members will confine their interruptions within proper limits.

MR. T. M. HEALY: May I ask you, Sir, on a point of order, whether the speeches of the Mayor of Limerick are relevant to this Vote?

*MR. SPEAKER: As I understand, the right hon. and gallant Gentleman is showing what would be the consequences of carrying a vote of censure.

MR. DILLON: May I be permitted to point out that the right hon. Gentleman made a grossly insulting observation to Irishmen?

*MR. SPEAKER: The right hon. Gentleman did not, in my opinion, exceed the limits of Parliamentary language in what he said.

MR. T. B. CURRAN (Donegal, N.): He said that Nationalists were cowards.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: Why should he insult Irishmen?

MR. T. M. HEALY: I beg to say that we are in no humour to stand insults from the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. DILLON: Why don't you go out and fight?

MR. T. M. HEALY: How many Orangemen had Buller with him? You go and insult Butler. Where is the Cavan Militia?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! I must ask hon. Members to abstain from these disorderly interruptions.

MR. T. M. HEALY: We will be insulted by no one.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: You, Sir, ought to protect us from being insulted. Why should we be insulted here? If I had said anything of the kind I would not have been permitted.

MR. DILLON: Go out and fight the Boers. You are always bragging here of what you will do against us.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): May I ask you, Sir, on a point of order, whether an expression does not exceed the limits of Parliamentary usage when it is to the effect of the one used by the right hon. and gallant Gentleman that Nationalists never attack in front?

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member asks me a question on a point of order, and his supporters raise a clamour which prevents me from answering. I think it is hardly courteous to the Chair. The hon. Member asks me whether such an expression is out of order.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: Whether it exceeds the usages of Parliamentary debate.

*MR. SPEAKER: That is the same thing. I say that in my opinion it is not out of order, and I will tell the House why. If the observation had been made in a sense in which it was a personal reflection upon Members of this House or upon their courage, then it would be out of order. But a line must be drawn in considering whether a matter is disorderly or is within the freedom of debate, and I am quite sure that, if hon. Members will reflect, they will admit that they have often used, without being interrupted, language with reference to the English people which is as offensive to the feelings of Englishmen. In so doing, provided they did not make a personal attack upon

Members of this House, they were in order. It may be a question of taste on one side or the other whether such language should be used. I have no control over that. I can only speak on questions of order, and to the best of my ability I decide them with perfect impartiality from whichever side of the House they may come. I am doing so in the present instance, and I hope hon. Members will give me credit for doing so, and will pay some attention to my ruling.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: Withdraw withdraw!

COLONEL SAUNDERSON: I will withdraw. When the expression escaped my lips I did not mean to insult hon. Gentlemen opposite. I am an Irishman myself, and I am as proud as they are of Irish valour, and when I used the expression I was simply thinking of historical records in Ireland, which I thought justified me in saying what I did. I wish to withdraw it.

MR. DILLON: That is making the observation twice as bad. Withdraw it like a gentleman.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: This will be nice reading at Pretoria for Kruger.

MR. DILLON: Three times as many of our men have been killed at the front as of Englishmen. It is an insulting observation. It is a most cowardly and insulting observation.

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is hardly going the right way, it seems to me, to obtain anything like an expression of regret from the right hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite when he charges him with being cowardly.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: Why don't you ask him to withdraw?

AN HON. MEMBER: Name, name!

MR. DILLON: Mr. Speaker, we are Irish Nationalists, and when the right hon. Gentleman used the expression he used, we were justified in applying it to ourselves, and we did apply it to ourselves, and we regard it as a gross reflec-

tion upon every Member who sits upon these benches. And when the right hon. Gentleman stood up to make some sort of apology or withdrawal, what is the explanation he offered us? Why, that he had in mind the records of our race and that he based his reflections upon those records. I say nothing could be more insulting.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: Withdraw, withdraw!

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: May I venture, very respectfully, if I am not out of order, Mr. Speaker, to appeal to both sides of the House, to my right hon. and gallant friend as well as to Gentlemen opposite, to allow a controversy to drop as to an observation which really was not intended to be offensive.

MR. P. O'BRIEN (Kilkenny): Let him speak for himself.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Send him to the House of Peers; we have had enough of him.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: The Leader of the House is a gentleman, and would not use such language.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Oh, yes, he is a gentleman.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have been, in my time, severely attacked myself by hon. Gentlemen opposite.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: We never insulted you.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have said hard things of them —

MR. DILLON: You never called us cowards.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: And I am glad to think it has not interfered with our good relations. My right hon. and gallant friend has explained that he did not intend anything offensive to hon. Gentlemen opposite, and, therefore, not in the interests of my right hon. and gallant friend or of any section of the House, but in the general interest, I appeal to hon. Members to allow the incident to end.

*MR. SPEAKER: I am sure that when the right hon. and gallant Gentleman is told that what he said is understood by hon. Gentlemen on the other side to apply to them personally he will withdraw it.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON: Certainly, Sir; I withdraw the observation.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I hope the Irish soldiers in South Africa will read what you said of them.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON: I would only point out to the House that a Government supported by hon. Gentlemen opposite would not be likely to carry on the war at present being waged or any other affair connected with the welfare of the Empire in a satisfactory manner, and therefore I say that when the House of Commons decides what set of men shall administer the affairs of the country they will decide by an overwhelming majority upon the present Government as preferable to a Government which would have to depend for support on hon. Gentlemen opposite. Now I ask myself the question what object right hon. Gentlemen opposite have in putting this motion on the Paper? They say they do not want to weaken the Government; then why was the motion put on the Paper? The speech of the hon. Baronet the Member for the Berwick Division could have been made on the main question, and I cannot conceive how a man like the hon. Baronet can bring himself to vote for this Amendment after having made the speech he did last night. That is beyond my comprehension. Now we come to the question of the justice of this war. I believe the British people desire to be perfectly clear in their conscience as to its justice. I am not misinterpreting the opinion of hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House when I say that never in the history of this country has a more just and honourable war been engaged in. What is it that has brought on this war? And now I may say that I do not hold Her Majesty's Government as altogether blameless. What I blame the Government and the preceding Government for is that they allowed the Transvaal to increase its armaments without any sufficient protest. We know on high authority that the responsibility has been cast on the framers of the treaties of 1881 and 1884, but you

cannot shuffle off responsibility in that way. That is exactly the way we were treated—perhaps that is why I dislike it so much—when we tried to effect some alteration in the Land Bill. We were told that it was our duty to carry it to its logical conclusion, but that was not an argument that went home to the minds of the Irish landlords. Now we are told that the responsibility rests with the framers of the treaties of 1881 and 1884, because in those treaties no mention was made of armaments in the Transvaal. I do not think that that is an argument which justifies the action of this Government or the Government which preceded it. I believe the duty of a Government, if they find that a mistake had been made by their predecessors, is to remedy it. Everybody knew that these armaments were being collected. The First Lord of the Treasury tells us that the Government were hampered in their action by the raid, but a really big man is never interfered with in doing what he thinks is right by considerations of that kind. The raid was universally condemned in this House and in the country, and I never heard or read of one word having been said or written which would lead to the idea that the raid was not absolutely condemned. It was condemned by the British people, but President Kruger, who is an extremely wise man, made use of it to multiply the armaments of the Transvaal. How did he do it? It is a favourite statement on the other side of the House that this war was caused by the gold interest in South Africa. It is perfectly true that gold brought the war about—and in this way. Had gold not been discovered in South Africa the Boers would not have been able to arm themselves; but when this immense gold field was discovered, to what use did the Boers put it? Two uses. First of all they feathered their own nests, and in the second place they turned the Transvaal into the greatest military power in South Africa. Anyone who has carefully followed the history of our dealings with the Transvaal during the last few years must deeply regret that when millions were being spent on Creusot guns and ammunition of all kinds we had not a Government with the courage to say: "These armaments must cease." That is really the cause of the present war. It has not been brought about by the malice or

ingenuity of the British Government. I do not believe any man in Great Britain or in the Empire covets an acre of the Transvaal. It is said we want the gold fields, but what use would the gold fields be to the British people? How would any particle of the gold find its way into the pocket of the British taxpayer? Hon. Gentlemen opposite are quite shrewd enough to know that a great deal of the gold interest in South Africa belongs to foreign countries. I believe that there are thirty millions of French money and forty millions of German money invested in the Rand, and I cannot imagine how hon. Gentlemen can use an argument of such a clap-trap description when they state that we are eager to get the goldfields. That certainly is not an argument that will appeal to the British people. I only wish the Government had followed the example of President Kruger. It will be in the recollection of the House, because it happened only a very few years ago, that President Kruger asked for an explanation from the British Government regarding some small increase in our armaments in South Africa, and the Government responded. I deeply regret that the Government did not follow the wise example of President Kruger, and demand an explanation as to why the Transvaal armaments were being increased, and use all the power of the British Empire to put a stop to them, because they could only end in war. When I visited the Transvaal I made all the inquiries I could regarding its armaments, and it appears that our Government were perfectly well aware of them. What were these armaments for? Were they for the purpose of repelling another raid by three or four hundred Rhodesian policemen? Why, Sir, it was patent to the world that these armaments, paid for by the gold of the Uitlanders, were directed against the British Empire. When I was in South Africa I did not take very long to find out that war was inevitable. I found the Transvaal armed to the teeth, and its armaments could only have been collected in contemplation of war with this country. I found further that there was an organisation—though it may not be called a conspiracy—with its headquarters in Pretoria, and its agents all over Cape Colony paid by the Transvaal. That was the Afrikander Bond, which had for its object the establishment of a Dutch nation throughout South Africa.

Colonel Sanderson.

That cannot be denied. The Bond obtained money from the Transvaal and that money was used to return members to the Cape Legislature. Every British man in South Africa, in common with many Nationalist Irishmen in that country, who are as loyal to the Empire as myself, and who I am glad to see have condemned the action of hon. Gentlemen opposite, knew that these efforts on the part of the Transvaal and the arming of the Free State and the Dutch in our own colony could have only one object—to drive the British out of South Africa. We had only two alternatives—either to force the supremacy of the Crown to be admitted or to scuttle out of the country. It is said that we have gone to war on behalf of the Uitlanders. I do not believe it. The treatment of the Uitlanders was unbearable. We created the Dutch Republic, and the Uitlanders had as much right to be in the country as the Boers themselves, and to be treated on an equality with other white men, but when they were treated as helots, subject to taxation without representation, then the Government, if the supremacy of the Crown meant anything had a right to interfere. The Uitlanders' grievances were the pivot round which the supremacy of the Crown in South Africa turned, and accordingly the Government determined to enforce the supremacy of the Crown, and in doing that they are backed by the British people. It appears to me that some hon. Gentlemen in this House are out of touch with the British people in this matter. Two nights ago after having listened to speeches from the opposite side of the House which tried to show that the British people were engaged in an unjust war, I went to a London railway station and there I saw a train full of young Yeomen who had left their occupations, and were going to Liverpool to embark for South Africa. There was a crowd on the platform cheering them, and I compared what I witnessed with what I had heard in this House.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: Why do you not go out yourself?

COLONEL SAUNDERSON: The hon. Gentleman asks me why I do not go out myself. Unfortunately I am suffering from an incurable disease—*Anno Domini*—and I am afraid that after a man has

passed the age of sixty he is not allowed to volunteer.

MR. T. M. HEALY: How old is Roberts?

COLONEL SAUNDERSON: Oh! if Her Majesty would make me a field-marshal, possibly I might go; but I am afraid that as a Volunteer my age is a barrier. The hon. Member for East Clare professes great admiration for the Boers as well as a considerable dislike for the British Empire. He is at present in the flower of his age. Why does he not go out to the Transvaal?

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I would go to the Transvaal with pleasure, only I feel that I can serve the cause of the Boers and liberty a great deal better here in this House.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON: After that remark, I think the House will see it would not be very safe to have a Government dependent on hon. Gentlemen opposite, but I think I can promise the hon. Gentleman and any hon. Member opposite not debarred by age, that if they have any inclination to go to the Transvaal, the Government will not offer any opposition whatever to their going. They will get every facility for going, however it may be as regards their coming back. We are about to decide whether Her Majesty's Government are more likely to carry this war to a successful termination than a Government dependent on the assistance of hon. Gentlemen opposite. I should not like to insult the House of Commons by imagining that it would decide in any other way than by rejecting the Amendment. It is said that this war, even if carried to a successful termination, will be disastrous to South Africa, and will leave in the minds of the Dutch a feeling of racial hatred which time will not obliterate. I do not believe it. I believe the Dutch in South Africa made two mistakes. They adopted two false standards: they measured the pluck and endurance of the British soldier by the Majuba standard, and they measured the determination of the Government of this country and of the British people by the Gladstone standard. They have found that both these standards were fallacious. However this war may end, the Boer soldier and the British soldier—whether he be

Irish, English, or Scotch—have learned to respect each other's valour. Neither side will be able to pour contempt on the other. No man admires the courage and war genius of the Boers more than I do, and the Boers themselves will admit that they never met a more courageous antagonist than the British soldier. I look with confidence to the time when, after the war is over, Briton and Boer, thus respecting each other, will live in peace together in South Africa, and when the Boers will realise, as other nationalities have realised, that under the British flag they are sure to enjoy what other people living under that flag enjoy—both freedom and liberty.

*MR. BIRRELL (Fife, W.): The right hon. Gentleman who has just concluded the most repulsive speech which I, at all events, have ever heard in this House began by calling down the vials of his wrath upon my right hon. friend the Member for South Aberdeen for vilifying his country, but he had not been speaking many minutes before a scene arose painful to witness, and at a time like this disgraceful to contemplate. Whose fault was that? What are we to say of the good feeling and patriotism of the man who, at a time like this, knowing well the inflammable material of which he himself is composed, and with which he has to deal, deliberately goes out of his way to pour insults upon his countrymen? For my part I rise with considerable reluctance to take part in this debate, which in my judgment is already too protracted. But I ask myself why it has been so protracted. I do not think that the rank and file of the House ought to bear the blame for that. It is due to the vanity and conceit of the members of the front benches, who cannot make up their minds when they are to speak, who nourish the delusion that Her Majesty called this House together to hear them talk, and who positively regard every Parliamentary day as epicures look upon a joint which has only two or three prime cuts, and unless they can have one of these they will not speak at all. The other hours of the day they treat as offal, on which the rank and file may please themselves by spending their time until the moment arrives for another prime cut off the joint. This course is making our debates both uninteresting and depressing. I can see no reason why

the Colonial Secretary should not have spoken to-night or last night, and I do not know why the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouth conceals himself in this debate until the hour has arrived for the delivery of some marvellous oration. I should like to see the leaders listening to the debates, and actively contributing to bring them to a proper conclusion. Then debate would be conducted as it ought to be conducted in the interests of the House and the country. However, these great men have not yet polished their *tu quoque*, and we must be content to occupy time until they are ready, and I do not know that I have not as much right to occupy this time—to feed upon this offal—as anyone else. I must say, however, that to a private Member like myself, guiltless of my country's blood, and anxious only for the well-being and well-doing of my country, in whose future fortunes some at all events of the best hopes of humanity are, in my opinion, involved and bound up, the course of this debate has been somewhat depressing. I know, of course, we have no right to expect—certainly we have no power to insist—that the best interests of the country shall at all times be served in the Council Chamber by statesmen of wisdom and foresight, and richly endowed with that political imagination without which there can be no wisdom or foresight. Nor can we expect that our generals shall always exhibit military skill in the field. The only working definition of a statesman that I have been able to devise is a politician with a salary. And, as for our soldiers, unfortunately there seems to be nothing in our military experience and training to enable even an expert like Lord Wolseley to select those generals likely to exhibit in the field the highest qualities of military skill. We must take what we can get, and if our generals do not run away, and if our salaried politicians do not take bribes, that is all we can expect. Nevertheless, it was somewhat depressing to be told by the Under Secretary for War in his speech—on which I would gladly lavish praise if praise of mine were worth having, or if he cared to be praised in a crisis like this, for mere oratorical skill—of what he honestly called the disastrous events in South Africa. Our great army, which was to advance in triumph to Pretoria, is now cut up into

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three hopeless and helpless sections; a large body of men are shut up in a place which, from a military point of view, is not worth the life of a single mule; and thousands of our soldiers are now living in the capital of the foe, fed by the bounty—the generous bounty—of the enemy. I should like to be told that these disastrous events were due to some attributable cause. But they were not. There was no lack of anything. The Intelligence Department told the Government everything; there was no lack of money—the Treasury gave all it was asked for; there was no lack of men, aye, there was no lack of anything—except brains. That is in itself somewhat depressing, and we naturally cannot but criticise those whose hard luck it is to accept the whole responsibility for this matter—and a grave and serious matter it is. I am not blaming Her Majesty's Ministers, but the whole history of our connection with South Africa is one long commentary, often written in blood, upon the melancholy saying, "With how little wisdom the world is governed." I quite agree with one criticism passed by the First Lord of the Treasury on the wording of this Amendment. He asked why only from 1895. If you want even-handed justice you must devise a resolution which will condemn the lack of political imagination of every Colonial Secretary who has held the seals of office during the present century. But what is it we find fault with to-day? Why the man and even the boy in the street know it. What is the offence urged against the Government? It is twofold. There was the delusion that President Kruger would not fight, and the neglect to give proper protection to our Colony of Natal. Why were Ministers persuaded that President Kruger would not fight? Who told them that lie? Who disseminated that dishonouring suspicion? I have no doubt—though I cannot prove it—that it could be traced to the *fons et origo mali* in this case—Mr. Rhodes. He has said over and over again that the bravery of the Boers was an unpricked bubble, and that they would not fight. Mr. Rhodes is the very last man whose opinion I would take on any subject involving the nobler aspects of humanity. He has so long worshipped the power of money—I will not say money for personal purposes—that he firmly believes every man has his price, and that he can have a cash deal with any man. He thinks no more of buying a news-

paper—editor; staff, and all—than a schoolboy thinks of buying an orange. This was not the man whose opinion was worth listening to for a moment, as to whether these burghers would or would not fight. Why should they not fight? We are told that their Government was oligarchy. Great heavens! men do not fight for governments. Do you suppose that the brave men who have fallen in the service of the Crown in South Africa died with the name of "Chamberlain" on their lips? The very thought is impious. Do you suppose the Boers who have died laid down their lives for the dynamite monopoly? As for the Boer Government being an oligarchy, I wonder when did an oligarchy become so distasteful to the great Tory party. When was our great Empire founded? It was founded in the eighteenth century, and the Government of that time was an oligarchy, and when I add that it was a Whig oligarchy there is no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that it was as corrupt as Satan. Nevertheless, our soldiers died and cemented with their blood that Empire which they founded and we talk about. There was no reason why the Boers should not fight for what they believed to be their independence. I do not believe there is a man in this House—and all men are willing to be fair to an enemy—who does not believe that President Kruger and his burghers had grave grounds for the suspicion—if not for the belief—that there were in South Africa powerful, influential, wealthy and unscrupulous men, who were aided, supported and sympathised with by powerful and wealthy men in this country, who would never be content until these two Republics which stood between them and their dreams—I do not say disgraceful dreams at all—were swept away. President Kruger and his burghers had grounds for that suspicion, and therefore it cannot be denied that in their own opinion they are fighting for their independence. Whether these men are heroes or not is a question I will not discuss, but history is full of examples in which such men were always supposed to be heroes. It was therefore as natural and reasonable a thing for any rational man to imagine that the Boers would fight as anything else that was likely to happen in the area of political conflict. I think it is a wise and patriotic thing to put ourselves as far as we can in our enemy's place and give him as much

credit as we can for generosity. We should hold the balance evenly, even when our own country is in the scale. But I confess that if I thought-- as some hon. Members not confined to one side of the House think-- that Her Majesty's Ministers had goaded and provoked President Kruger into this war and had made themselves the puppets of Mr. Rhodes and his bulls and bears, I should not be content myself with voting for this insignificant Amendment. I should think it my duty to use every energy I could command, every force I possessed, to stop this war at once. I would do my utmost to have a proper message sent to the presidents of the two Republics saying that if they withdrew their troops from the Queen's dominions we would pay the whole expenses of such an unjust war. But thank God I do not believe anything of the kind. I am persuaded that, whatever the faults, shortcomings, and lack of political imagination, and of all the other great qualities—with which, of course, everyone else is endowed—of Lord Salisbury's Cabinet, it was a Cabinet of peace. I believe it wanted to keep the peace, and although I do not blame President Kruger for entertaining a contrary opinion, I cannot give over my country because another man had some justification for making a mistake. President Kruger could if he liked have had peace with that independence guaranteed to him under the Convention. If he were a genuine lover of peace, if he were studiously anxious to do as much justice to persons carrying on industries within his dominions as he ought to have been, whether we had a right to interfere or not, he could have appealed over the head of Mr. Rhodes, over the head of the Colonial Secretary, even over the head of Lord Salisbury, if it were necessary, which it was not, to the British people, who, whatever their faults—and they have great and even hideous faults if you like—are a generous people, who had no desire to make war on a small republic which they believed at that time was not so well equipped to meet them as it has since proved itself to be. Had he done this, war by us upon him would have been impossible, and war by him upon us unnecessary. I do not believe that anyone has any other feeling than one of horror when they read of the deaths of the Boers; after we have shed our tears over

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our own killed and wounded, I do not think anyone can read of the sacrifice of life among these brave men without shedding tears of bitter vexation. This war was not, however, desired by the Government or the people of this country, and I think also that the House of Commons is free from any such imputation. We on this side are justified in maintaining two things: one, that we did not begin this war, the necessity for which President Kruger might have prevented, and the other that the war must be carried to its legitimate conclusion. If we can do it, we must; if we cannot, we must submit. The legitimate conclusion of this war is to render a repetition of such a conflict an impossibility. Secure that by any means you like, and I at all events shall be satisfied. When I made use of certain language in Manchester, which has been referred to, and to which I adhere, I was not speaking of any permanent Government or anything of that kind. I meant that the war should be proceeded with until a repetition of it became an impossibility, and it is for Statesmen to consider how best that can be done. If it is not done every life lost in war and every pound spent on war is a life squandered and a pound thrown away. I do not intend to occupy the time of the House longer, and I only wish that the division on this Amendment had been taken at an hour which would have prevented me from making any observations at all.

It being midnight, the Debate stood adjourned.

Debate to be resumed on Monday next.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—MESSAGE FROM MAFEKING.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I beg to move that the House do now adjourn, and, in making that motion, perhaps I may be permitted by the House to say that I have received from Sir Arthur Bigge, by her Majesty's command, a telegram which she thinks may interest the House. It is from the Mayor of Mafeking, and is dated January 27. The message begins:—

"Mafeking, upon the hundredth day of the siege, sends loyal devotion to your Majesty, and an assurance of the continued resolve to maintain your Majesty's supremacy in this town.—WHITELEY, Mayor."

Adjourned at one minute after Twelve of the clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, 5th February, 1900.

HOUSE OF LORDS MANUSCRIPTS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Calendar of the Manuscripts of the House of Lords, Volume I. (New Series) (in continuation of Historical Manuscripts Commission : Fourteenth Report. Appendix, Part VI.). The same was ordered to be printed. (No. 5.)

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND).

Minute of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, dated 5th February, 1900, relative to the Minute of the 18th May, 1899, as to the application of Article 21 and Chapter IX. of the Code of 1899.

TRADE REPORTS (MISCELLANEOUS SERIES).

No. 521. Germany (New Imperial German Mortgage Bank Law).

Presented (by command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

GENERAL PRISONS (IRELAND) ACT, 1877.

Order in Council approving of rule made by the General Prisons Board, in pursuance of the Fine or Imprisonment (Scotland and Ireland) Act, 1899.

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS, 1853 TO 1891 (CONDITIONAL LICENCE).

Licence granted by Her Majesty to Clara Jane Mason, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting the said Clara Jane Mason to be at large, on condition that she enter the Royal Victoria Home, Horfield, Bristol.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

LUNACY BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to amend the Lunacy Acts—Was presented by the Lord Chancellor; read 1^a; and to be printed. (No. 6.)

VOL. LXXVIII. [FOURTH SERIES.]

ISOLATION HOSPITALS (AMENDMENT) BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to amend the Isolation Hospitals Act, 1893—Was presented by the Earl of Lichfield; read 1^a; and to be printed. (No. 7.)

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—CONTEMPLATED MILITARY MEASURES.

*THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN: My Lords, I rise to move to resolve—

“That in the opinion of this House a full statement as to the military measures which Her Majesty’s Government have in contemplation is desirable at the earliest possible moment.”

I rise really to ask a question of my noble friend the Secretary of State for War, but as I was anxious to make one or two observations upon that question I thought it would be more in order to put it on the notice paper in the form of a motion. I feel sure that the terms of the motion, that a statement from Her Majesty’s Government in respect of military preparations is desirable at the present moment, will be acceptable to every member of the House, but it may appear unnecessary. That I do not dispute; and lest it should seem to imply that I attribute any reluctance to my noble friend the Secretary of State to impart that information, I wish to say at once, and emphatically, that such is not the case. Your Lordships will recollect that on Tuesday last my noble friend said, in answer to the noble Earl, Lord Rosebery, and, I think, the noble Earl the Leader of the Opposition, that he would at a very early date explain fully what measures Her Majesty’s Government have in contemplation. A week has elapsed, all but a day, and though under ordinary circumstances a week is not a very important lapse of time, yet a week of silence in the present condition of tension of the national mind causes anxiety, and is hard to bear. I therefore hope that the noble Marquess will presently inform the House of the date, or, at any rate, the approximate date when he proposes to make his promised statement, and I venture to urge that it should be made with the least possible delay. The question of how the drain upon the normal military resources of the country is to be made good, how sufficient reinforcements can be sent to the seat of war, and how the defensive strength of the

country is to be raised to the requirements of any eventuality, is the one matter upon which the nation demands, and naturally and properly demands, information. One remark that fell on Tuesday last from my noble friend the Secretary of State caused me some little uneasiness. He said he did not consider the debate on the Address a suitable occasion to make a full statement "on a very technical matter." I would suggest that great detail is, at any rate in the first instance, unnecessary in the statement so anxiously looked for, and if a very technical explanation involves delay it is to be deprecated. Great technicalities and very elaborate statements of detail are apt to obscure the main facts, and what the constantly-quoted "man in the street" wants to know at once is what steps Her Majesty's Government are going to take to render effective the potential strength of the nation, with a view not only to the determined prosecution of the war, to the only settlement with which the nation will be satisfied, but also to preparedness against, I won't say the probability, because I believe there is no probability, but the merest possibility of the occurrence of any unforeseen event that might render still more grave the very grave and serious position in which the Empire is placed. In South Africa disaster—and I do not hesitate to say that up to the present the campaign has been disastrous—may be traced, in almost every case, to one cause—lack of sufficient strength. What is the result? Our forces are everywhere stalemated, and they have been asked to perform, and to their enduring renown they have performed, tasks which, even allowing for the magnificent courage and splendid fighting qualities they have displayed, were, according to the ordinary rules and arithmetic of warfare, disproportionate to their strength. We want to know that sufficient troops will be sent out to satisfy the now proved requirements of the case. We want to feel, in addition to that, that the Government are taking timely steps to provide against any possible emergency, however remote, that may add difficulties to an already difficult task. We want to feel that the strength of the nation will be utilised. There is a fund of strength—not inexhaustible but well-nigh inexhaustible—a fund of strength, moral and physical, in the nation upon which the Government may safely draw. They can rely upon it their drafts will not be dishonoured. The

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fund is waiting to be drawn upon, anxious to be drawn upon; but to be utilised effectively it must be drawn upon in time. It is idle to try and disguise the fact that, justly or unjustly, the Government are thought to have been afflicted with defective vision, to have been all along troubled with a false sense of proportion and perspective, and it is unwise to ignore that an uneasy feeling exists that even now they do not fully realise the gravity of the situation. That feeling, however erroneous, should be dispelled. I may be told that even if Her Majesty's Government did minimise the situation in the past, it would be equally foolish to exaggerate it now. I do not think that is so. Neither Parliament nor the people will, I am convinced, quarrel with the Government for taking measures which may happily prove to be far in excess of anything that the future shows to have been necessary. I feel very sure that any measures that the Government think fit to take, however widely they may depart from ordinary custom and usage, will be welcomed, provided they are designed to place the nation in such a position that its utmost strength, whether for offence or defence, can, if necessary, be exhibited. That, I believe, is the one matter which exercises the public mind. People look with indifference if not with contempt upon speeches out of doors and debates in Parliament dealing with the past. Accusations and vindications appear to them very trivial matters now. Their attention is riveted upon the future. What they want to know and to feel is the certainty that Her Majesty's Government will take, and will promptly take, whatever steps are necessary to place the nation in such a position that its undeveloped strength can be developed, so that it may be able to prosecute the war vigorously to a conclusion, and, if necessary, defend itself under any circumstances which could possibly arise. Feeling strongly as I do on this subject, I venture to think that it is very desirable that a general statement, if not a full and detailed statement, of the steps which Her Majesty's Government intend to take, should be made known to Parliament and the country as speedily as possible.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (The Marquess of LANSDOWNE):

My Lords, nothing is further from my thoughts than to blame my noble friend for the desire he has expressed to be furnished as soon as possible with a statement of our intentions, and I have certainly no wish to postpone needlessly the moment at which his desire may be gratified. But I am told that it is customary and convenient that statements of such a description should be made simultaneously in both Houses of Parliament. The House of Commons at this moment is still occupied in discussing the terms of the Address in reply to the gracious Speech from the Throne, and the general impression is that that discussion is very likely to last for some days to come. I am told that this obstacle—the only obstacle—is likely to disappear, probably within the limit of a week from the present date; and I can therefore intimate that as the approximate time at which I shall be able to make a statement to your Lordships. I gladly notice what fell from my noble friend when he said that he had no desire to press for a minute statement of the details of our scheme, and that what he desired to obtain from us was a general outline of the proposals which we had in contemplation. Meanwhile, I may perhaps be allowed to administer a grain of comfort to my noble friend by telling him that the postponement of the statement will not, in my belief, occasion any delay in the preparation of the measures themselves, because we are taking it for granted that the country desires that such measures should be adopted, and we are proceeding on that assumption and losing no time. All I think that I can usefully add this evening is that I entirely accept what was said by my noble friend as to the double duty which is incumbent upon us—the duty, I mean, of making adequate preparations for the prosecution of the war in South Africa, and also for the securing of the safety of these islands during the period when they must necessarily be denuded of a large portion of the forces which are habitually stationed within the limits of the country. I hope I shall be able to show your Lordships that we see our way to provide for both those objects, and I may certainly repeat, what has already been said on much higher authority than mine, that, having addressed ourselves to this task, we mean to carry it through, if I may use his words, “to the only conclusion which will be satisfactory to the people of this country.”

*THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN: With the permission of the House I withdraw my motion.

Motion, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

THE IRREGULAR CORPS.—COL. EDIS AND THE INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF AUXILIARY FORCES.

*THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN: My Lords, I rise to ask the Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been drawn to letters which have appeared in the public press from Colonel Edis; and whether the Inspector-General of Auxiliary Forces has control over the various irregular corps now being formed. I have no intention of going into the question as to whether the letter ought or ought not to have been published, nor do I propose to enter into the subject-matter of the letter in any detail; but I should like some information on one point. The main complaint in the letter of Colonel Edis is that the Volunteer Corps are not allowed to recruit beyond their normal strength. I understand from an answer to a question given by the Under Secretary of State in another place that the Volunteer Battalions may be recruited beyond their normal paper strength to the amount of drafts which have been sent out to the seat of the war; but to limit any increase in these battalions beyond the normal strength to that amount does not appear to me to be a common-sense proceeding. The Volunteer force is, of course, a defensive force, and its great value is probably brought home to us more forcibly now, when the country is denuded to so very great an extent of the ordinary garrison than it has been before. I contend that if the Volunteer force is to be kept up to its true value as a defensive force it must be kept up to its full strength. To do that it is not sufficient to merely allow recruiting to the extent only of the drafts sent out to the seat of war. Commanding officers should be allowed to recruit to a considerable margin above their normal strength, not only to the amount of drafts which have gone out to the war, but also to make allowance for further drafts which may have to go out, and for the ordinary waste and wear of war. By that means only can these Volunteer Battalions be kept up to their proper strength. In an emergency like the present, when it is necessary that the raw material

of defence in the country should be turned into a more or less manufactured article as speedily as possible, I should have thought that there could have been no serious objection to allowing battalions numerically small to be recruited up to, at any rate, the normal strength of a line battalion, and I would venture to express the hope that the Army Order dealing with this matter may be interpreted a little more liberally. I have no doubt that my noble friend the Secretary of State for War knows as well as I do, and perhaps a great deal better than I do, that a certain amount of dissatisfaction exists in the country owing to the obstructions which are being placed in the way of the Volunteer movement. I am not going to inquire how far that is justified, but my own impression is that there is a considerable foundation in fact for the existence of this feeling. It seems to me perfectly inevitable that in a sudden and hurried movement of this kind difficulties and friction must arise. The wonder is that the friction is not greater. I have seen it stated in the papers, with what truth I do not know, that units have been disbanded because they were kept waiting so long that they did not know whether they would be utilised or not. Complaints have also been made as to the rejection, at the final medical examination, of men who have previously been passed by properly qualified medical officers. I would venture to remind my noble friend that in the matter of medical examination, for instance, there is a very great difference between the recruiting for the Regular Army and recruiting for the Special Corps. In the former case the medical men have to consider whether the recruit is likely, in the course of years, to become a charge on the country. I scarcely think that the Army Order dealing with the matter is sufficiently elastic. In my opinion, commanding officers and medical men ought to be given considerable latitude in the question of age, and some latitude in the question of dimensions. Many men considerably over the Government limit of age for the Regular Army, and perhaps not quite up to the proper standard of chest measurement and height, may be admirably adapted for the services required of them at present. I am not sure whether, in an emergency of this kind, it would not be advisable in this special corps to relax the sight test, and

to accept men who are short sighted, but whose sight is otherwise sound. There are one or two other matters which I should like to mention merely as examples of the difficulties that arise. Take the matter, for instance, of equipment. It is essential that all these special corps should be armed with Government rifles, but, with regard to the carrying of ammunition, if any particular corps favoured some other method, such as the Boer waiscoat, in preference to the Government bandolier, why should they not be allowed to adopt it? Many of these men are crack shots possessing their own rifles, and surely in such cases they ought to be encouraged to bring them, because they naturally suit the individual idiosyncrasies of the owners. There ought to be some authority dealing with these questions who could say "yes" or "no," and could thereby settle points of doubt. If I am asked by a man whether any allowance will be given if he brings his own rifle I cannot give him an answer. If I write to the War Office I may, in the course of time, get an answer on several cubic feet of foolscap paper, but considerable time will be wasted. I would venture to suggest that some authority should be created, if it does not at present exist, and should be instructed to push forward as much as possible the volunteering desire of the people, and to give considerable latitude in small matters of detail. This authority should be able to give authoritative answers to questions of the kind to which I have referred. I am sure my noble friend is most anxious to clear away anything which can possibly constitute a difficulty in the way of the volunteering spirit of the nation, which is so much to be commended, and I would appeal to him to take into consideration the small points I have mentioned, and devise some means whereby they can be obviated in the future.

***THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE :**
My Lords, I think I ought first to state to my noble friend with regard to the corps which he describes as "the various irregular corps now being raised," and by which I think he means the Imperial Yeomanry and the Volunteer companies lately attached to the line battalions, that the members of those corps are treated as belonging to the regular Army. They are formally enlisted in the regular Army, and from the moment that they join the companies of Volunteers or the Mounted Infantry they pass under the administra-

tive control of the same members of the Headquarters Staff as the regular Army. They are, therefore, no longer under the Inspector-General of Auxiliary Forces, as they would be as long as they remained Volunteers pure and simple. As to the letter published in the papers with Colonel Edis's signature, Colonel Edis wrote to the War Office, his communication being received on December 25th, asking permission to raise two new companies for his Volunteer battalion. The answer which Colonel Edis received was this—that his battalion having provided a company which had been transferred to the line battalion, he was at liberty to go on recruiting to an extent sufficient to fill the vacancies thus occasioned. That was equivalent to telling him that the company attached to the line battalion was to be treated as supernumerary, and that his own battalion was not to suffer by the transference. But as to the further question, whether Colonel Edis should be at liberty to go on recruiting so as not only to add to his battalion sufficient men to make up the void, but also to raise further companies, permission to do that was not given at that time. It is quite clear that it would have been impossible to give a permission of that kind to one Volunteer colonel and not to others. The question was one of great importance, affecting the whole of the Volunteer force, and it was a question which, I think, we might not unfairly desire to reserve for examination. Colonel Edis did not wait for the answer to his letter; but, assuming that the answer would be in the affirmative, he proceeded to raise recruits for his battalion; and that, to put it mildly, was a little previous. If other Volunteer colonels had proceeded in the same manner, comment might have been made upon the ideas of the Volunteer force in regard to what is, after all, a matter of military discipline. I think it is to be regretted that Colonel Edis took that course; and, having taken it and put himself in the wrong, that he should have written a letter imputing to the military authorities feelings with regard to the Volunteer force which they are very far indeed from entertaining. But, my Lords, I certainly do not dispute what my noble friend has said as to the desirability of taking advantage at a moment like the present of as many as possible of those spontaneous offers of military

service which are reaching us from so many parts of the country. We have been considering that matter, and it is one which I will deal with when I have the honour of addressing the House as to the military steps which we intend to take. But I have not the slightest objection to telling the noble Earl now that our idea is this. All Volunteer battalions should be allowed to recruit up to a certain maximum strength, even if that maximum considerably exceeds the present authorised establishment. Of course, if you go beyond about 1,000 men, you get a unit which becomes too large and is inconvenient for military purposes. But where the influx of recruits is so great as to point to the conclusion that recruits might be obtained sufficient not only to raise the battalion to its maximum strength but also higher still, then we shall have no objection whatever to substituting for one full-size battalion two other battalions which might perhaps be of a somewhat inferior numerical strength. That is a perfectly fair way of meeting the desire which has been expressed. My noble friend spoke of the action of the War Office in rejecting men who had accepted a liability for service with these new Volunteer companies, on the ground that they did not come up to the physical standard insisted upon for the Regulars.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN: Men who had previously been passed.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: I fancy I am familiar with the case to which my noble friend refers. It was a case in which the colonel of a battalion raised a company and had the men examined on his own responsibility. He had not complied with the terms of the Army Order, which says that—

“When a Volunteer commanding officer has received application for not less than a section of Volunteers, he will so inform the officer commanding the regimental dépôt to which his battalion is affiliated, who will then, if they are to form part of the service company, have them medically inspected, and, if fit for service, attested.”

But in this case the medical examination was not conducted in the proper way, but, I believe, by some private practitioner, and without communicating with the officer of the dépôt. The company was subsequently examined in the proper way,

and it was found that forty-seven of the men did not come up to the proper standards of height or chest measurement. My noble friend's observation upon that is that our regulations should be more elastic. But I ask the House to consider whether, in the case of these Volunteer companies—who are to serve with Regular battalions in South Africa, under conditions just as trying as those endured by the soldiers who have been fighting for us during the past weeks—it would be fair to the men themselves or to the officers who command them to send out from this country Volunteers who, in point of physical stamina, are distinctly inferior to the regular soldiers by whose side they are to stand in the field. We considered this matter, and we thought that it would be most inexpedient to relax the conditions on which we insist in the case of ordinary recruiting; and I hold strongly that, in cases of this kind, the exercise of a kind of dispensing power by the Secretary of State is most inexpedient. You should lay down what your best advisers tell you is a reasonable standard, and you should tell your medical advisers to ascertain whether that standard is reached, and not to accept men falling below it. But, my Lords, while we insisted on this measure of strictness with regard to these Volunteer companies, I am glad to tell my noble friend that in the case of the Imperial Yeomanry, who will be serving under somewhat less trying conditions, we did in our instructions dwell especially on the fact that these men would be required, not to serve for a term of seven or twelve years with the colours, like the ordinary soldiers, but for one year or for the duration of the war; and we said that they should be judged with reference to that condition. My noble friend is anxious that some authority should be appointed who will be able to answer questions on subjects of this kind. I believe that authority can be discovered without very much difficulty. It depends what the particular point is, but all these questions are allocated to the different members of the headquarters staff, and if there is any delay in dealing with them it is probably owing to the great pressure of work. I may mention in this connection, as evidence of our desire to meet the wishes of these newly raised corps in every possible way, that we have, in regard to the Imperial Yeomanry, been very much

The Marquess of Lansdowne.

guided by a committee of Yeomanry officers, who have been constantly sitting, and who have acted as a valuable intermediary between the War Office and the corps. This committee have been able to take off our hands a number of those very details which the noble Lord wishes to see dealt with by methods somewhat more elastic than those habitual in a public department. As to the question whether, if a Volunteer brought his own rifle he would be allowed to substitute it for the weapon with which otherwise the Government would supply him, the first consideration would be whether the rifle was the same as that issued to the remainder of the corps. Of course, if it necessitated the supply of different ammunition it would be out of the question.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN: But if not, could he be granted some allowance?

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: I have not heard the suggestion made before, but I am willing to take it into consideration.

LORD MONKSWELL: There was one point in the speech of the noble Marquess which I did not understand. The noble Marquess said that a different standard would be adopted for the Imperial Yeomanry as compared with the Volunteers serving with the Army. The noble Marquess put the difference upon the ground that the Yeomanry only served for a year or till the end of the war. Is it not the same with regard to the Volunteers?

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: The Volunteer company becomes a company of the line battalion, and serves with it. The Imperial Yeomanry serve under different conditions.

LORD MONKSWELL: They may not serve under the same conditions, but the noble Marquess put the difference on the ground that the term of service was different.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN: I understand from the Secretary of State for War that all these Volunteer forces and Imperial Yeomanry after acceptance become subject to the ordinary military authorities the same as Regular soldiers. It is

during the process of enrolling the men that these difficulties occur. I think that while a corps is being formed and before the men are finally accepted there ought to be some authority that one could appeal to during that period. It seems to me ridiculous to have to go to one of the heads of the War Office to ask whether a man can be allowed £4 for his rifle or not. With regard to the rejection, on the final medical examination, of the men to whom I have referred, the noble Marquess stated that the previous examination was conducted by a private practitioner. If my information is correct, they were examined in the first instance by the Volunteer medical officer.

COAL SUPPLY FOR NATIONAL REQUIREMENTS.

*THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN: My Lords, I beg to ask Her Majesty's Government whether it is true that 400,000 tons of Cardiff coal have recently been consigned to foreign agents; and whether adequate steps have been taken to ensure a sufficient supply of steam coal for national requirements. It is most important that there should be an adequate amount of the best steam coal not only for Her Majesty's ships, but for the vast fleet of transports, and the announcement that 400,000 tons of what is after all a very limited commodity had been consigned to foreign agents gives food for reflection. I do not suggest that Her Majesty's Government should commence commandeering coal or that we should interfere with the ordinary course of trade, but the matter is one which should be very carefully watched. I should like to feel that Her Majesty's Government have got something in the shape of priority of call, and could, if necessity arose, appropriate for itself, paying whatever damages may be necessary, any large supply of coal proposed to be exported to foreign countries.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: I have been asked to reply to this question in the absence of the noble Duke (the Duke of Marlborough) who usually represents the Admiralty in this House, and whose engagements in South Africa render his presence here impossible. The attention of the Admiralty has been drawn to the rumour that a firm in

Cardiff has contracted to supply a foreign Government with 400,000 tons of coal, but diligent inquiries at Cardiff have so far not resulted in any confirmation of the statement. I need scarcely say, whether the statement is correct or not, the subject of assuring to ourselves sufficient supplies of coal for naval requirements is one which is never out of the mind of the Board of Admiralty.

House adjourned at twenty minutes past Five of the clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Four of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, 5th February, 1900.

PETITIONS.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES SERVANTS' SUPERANNUATION.

Petition from Coventry, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS TO CHILDREN BILL.

Petition from Colne, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

VACCINATION ACTS, 1867 to 1898.

Petition from Freebridge Lynn, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

ARMY (MILITARY SAVINGS BANKS).

Copy presented,—of Statement of the Amounts due by the Public to Depositors on 31st March, 1898, and of the Receipts, Interest, and Disbursements during the year ended 31st March, 1899, etc. [by Act]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 31.]

PRISONS (IRELAND).

Copy presented,—of Order in Council approving of a Rule made by the General Prisons Board for Ireland, dated the 9th August, 1899, in pursuance of the Fine or Imprisonment (Scotland and Ireland) Act, 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

PENAL SERVITUDE ACTS (CONDITIONAL LICENCE).

Copy presented,—of Licence granted to Clara Jane Mason, a convict under detention in Aylesbury Prison, permitting her to be at large on condition that she enter the Royal Victoria Home, Horfield, Bristol [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

SOUTH AFRICA.

Copy presented,—of Notice issued by the High Commissioner for South Africa, on 26th January, 1900, relating to Forfeitures, etc., of Property situated in the South African Republic or in the Orange Free State declared subsequently to 10th October, 1899 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

SAINT LUCIA.

Copy presented,—of Regulation amending Rule 282 of the Prison Regulations with respect to Interviews between Prisoners awaiting their trial and their Legal Advisers [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND).

Copy presented,—of Minute of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, dated 5th February, 1900, relative to the Minute of 18th May, 1899, as to the application of Article 21 and Chapter IX. of the Code of 1899 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

PAPERS LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

1. Charitable Endowments (London).—Further Return relative thereto [ordered 2nd August, 1894; *Mr. Stevenson*]; to be printed. [No. 32.]

2. Church Temporalities (Ireland).—Copy of Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General upon the Account of the Irish Land Commission in respect of Church Temporalities in Ireland for the year ended 31st March, 1899 [by Act], to be printed. [No. 33.]

3. Irish Land Commission (Account).—Copy of Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General upon the Account of the Irish Land Commission for the year ended 31st March, 1899 [by Act], to be printed. [No. 34.]

4. Royal University of Ireland.—Copy of Accounts of Receipts and Expenditure of the Royal University of Ireland for the year ended 31st March, 1899, to-

gether with the Reports of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act], to be printed. [No. 35.]

NEW WRIT.

For Nottinghamshire (Newark Division) in the room of Charles William Sydney Pierrepont, commonly called Viscount Newark, now Earl Manvers, called up to the House of Peers.—(*Sir William Walrond.*)

QUESTIONS.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—IRISH VOLUNTEERS.

*MR. WILLIAM JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he is aware that communications have been addressed to the War Office, in behalf of many loyal subjects of Her Majesty in Ireland, desiring to be permitted to enrol themselves as volunteers both for home service and service in South Africa; whether they have been informed that under the existing law the Secretary of State for War cannot sanction the formation of such corps; and whether, as more than one thousand gentlemen in Belfast alone have already come forward with offers of service, in addition to such offers from all parts of the country, he will take immediate steps to remove the legal disabilities which prevent these patriotic Irishmen from becoming soldiers of the Queen.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (MR. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): I fully recognise the spirit of patriotic loyalty that animates the gentlemen of whom my hon. friend speaks, but he asks the Government to make a change in the settled policy of this country that certainly we could not make without much greater consideration than we have hitherto been able to give to it.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Kilkenny, N.): Are there any legal disabilities to prevent those men enlisting in the ordinary way, and going out to fight in South Africa? Will the right hon. Gentleman instruct the recruiting officers to try and enlist them?

[No answer was given.]

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in view of the almost complete withdrawal of troops from Ireland, the Government will consider the expediency of authorising without further delay the formation of Volunteer corps throughout that country, following the precedent of 1782.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have already answered that question.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: Do not the people of Ireland regard it as an insult that they are refused permission to bear arms?

[No answer was given.]

SIR WILLIAM BUTLER AND SIR ALFRED MILNER.

MR. WARNER (Lichfield, Staffordshire): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether General Sir William Butler objected to the detachment from the defensive forces for Cape Colony of troops for the occupation of Kimberley, on the urgent request of Sir Alfred Milner that Kimberley should be held; and whether this objection by Sir William Butler was the cause of the friction between him and Sir Alfred Milner.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: There is no foundation for the suggestion in either paragraph of the hon. Gentleman's question.

MR. WARNER: Is it untrue, or does not the Government know?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have asked of the Colonial Office and of the War Office, and neither of them have in their reports the slightest statement which would warrant the hon. Gentleman in putting that question.

CONTEMPLATED MILITARY MEASURES.

MR. WARNER: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he would, in consideration of the great anxiety that prevails in the country, make some very short and general statement as to the military preparations being made by the Government at once; or, if that be impossible, if he will lay such a statement

upon the Table now, and before the present debate is concluded.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have already answered this question, and pointed out to the House that it would be not only unusual, but inconvenient and almost unconstitutional, to interrupt the debate on the Address in reply to the Queen's Speech by any such method as the hon. Gentleman suggests.

UITLANDER VOLUNTEERS.

MR. WILLIAM ALLAN (Gateshead): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, early last October, Sir Walter Hely Hutchinson, Governor of Natal, reported to Her Majesty's Government that he had received an offer from the Chairman of the Refugee Uitlander Committee of 75,000 able-bodied men who were willing to be enrolled as Colonial Volunteers; what reply was returned by the Governor to the deputation; and whether any steps had been taken to enrol these recruits for active service.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham, W.): The number 75,000 is obviously a mistake, and on the 10th October Sir W. Hely Hutchinson reported an offer of 3,000 by the Refugee Uitlander Council. He informed the deputation that he would ask me to recommend the enrolment of 1,000, and on 16th October he was informed that the General Officer commanding had received instructions accordingly.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): Can the right hon. Gentleman say how many Uitlanders are enrolled for active service?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Yes; I can state the number if notice is given of the question. Some thousands; but I cannot say exactly without notice.

JAMESON RAID—THE RHODES-HAWKSLEY CORRESPONDENCE.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he has copies of the letters that were exchanged between himself and the Solicitor of the Chartered Company of South Africa in connection with certain telegrams sent to him for

- confidential perusal and return; and whether he will consider if those letters might be laid upon the Table of the House without detriment to the public interest.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I must refer the hon. Member to the answer which I gave in debate on the 19th October. I have nothing to add to that.

MR. LABOUCHERE: What was the answer? Will the right hon. Gentleman repeat it?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: No. I prefer to let the answer speak for itself.

ARTILLERY STRENGTH.

MR. WARNER: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War what steps are being taken to bring the proportion of guns up to the standard of foreign armies for our troops engaged in the war; and what steps are being taken to supply field batteries at home to replace those that have been, and will have to be, sent abroad.

*THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (MR. WYNDHAM, Dover): In reply to the first paragraph I have to say that the artillery with the fighting line of our army in South Africa is up to continental standards. The general statement about to be made will include a reply to the question in the second paragraph.

DEFECTIVE WEBLEY CARTRIDGES.

MR. HEDDERWICK (Wick Burghs): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether the ball cartridges for Webley pistols, manufactured between February and April of last year and issued to the Army, were found to be so defective as to be useless; and, if so, when the discovery was made and what steps were taken to remedy the defect.

*MR. WYNDHAM: Some of the ball cartridges for Webley pistols supplied by one contractor between February and April, 1899, were reported as being defective, and orders were immediately issued for the destruction of all cartridges of this particular contract. In justice to

the Webley Company it may be mentioned that they do not supply pistol ammunition.

SHOOTING OF BRITISH SUBJECTS COMMANDEERED BY THE ENEMY.

COLONEL PRYCE-JONES (Montgomery Boroughs): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been called to the following item in the list of deaths published on Tuesday last, the 30th ultimo: M'LACHLAN.—On Christmas Day, shot in the Market Square, Harrismith, Orange Free State, for refusing to fight against his own countrymen, John M'Lachlan, junior, aged 30, eldest son of John M'Lachlan, of Wandsworth, and grandson of the late John M'Lachlan, of Lambeth; whether two other Englishmen were shot on the same Christmas Day, at the same time and in the same place and on the same charge; and whether Her Majesty's Government are taking any and what steps in respect of this matter, and for the protection of British subjects resident on British soil in the district in Cape Colony named Barkly West, commandeered by the Boers, from a like fate.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion): Before the right hon. Gentleman answers, may I ask if he has any information that these men were burghers of the Orange Free State, and whether they were not shot for refusing to fight for their country against the enemies of their country?

COLONEL MILWARD (Stratford-upon-Avon): I beg at the same time to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is able to confirm the information received in this country that John M'Lachlan, junior, and two other British subjects were shot in the Market Square, Harrismith, upon Christmas Day last, for refusing to fight against this country; and whether there were any circumstances tending to exonerate the authorities of the Orange Free State in this matter.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I am asked by the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to reply to the question of the hon. and gallant Member for the Montgomery Boroughs, and I shall answer at the same time the question

addressed to me by the hon. Member for the Stratford-on-Avon Division of Warwickshire. I have made inquiry by telegraph, and I have received a telegram from the Governor of Natal, dated yesterday, to the following effect:—"Report appeared in the press here some time ago and was subsequently contradicted. I know of no foundation for report, but am trying to obtain information through Harrismith refugees in Natal if any can be found. I am trying to ascertain on what authority contradiction was based." The answer to the third part of the question of the hon. Member for Montgomery Boroughs is that Her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington has been instructed by telegraph to ask the United States Government to make inquiries into the matter through their consul at Pretoria.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): As the Government have telegraphed to Natal with regard to the death of Englishmen, does the right hon. Gentleman see any objection to making a similar inquiry with regard to the death of Irishmen as to which we have been unable to obtain any satisfaction from the War Office?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I understand that that concerns the War Office and not the Colonial Office.

MR. T. M. HEALY: How is it the War Office refuses while the right hon. Gentleman is willing to inquire?

[No answer was given.]

MAFEKING STATION-MASTER.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether Mr. James Quinlan, station-master at Mafeking, was allowed, before being shot by order of Colonel Baden-Powell, to write a letter containing a vindication of his innocence, addressed to an Irish Member; was this letter detained by the military authorities, or can the Government say what has become of it; were two Irish prisoners also shot by order of Lord Methuen, without trial; and will the Government, with a view to preventing reprisals by the opposing forces, suggest to the Commander-in-Chief that no prisoners in safe custody should be shot without legal formalities.

*MR. WYNDHAM: There is no information in regard to the questions raised by the first three paragraphs. The Government has full confidence in the discretion of the Commander-in-Chief in South Africa.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Did I not understand the hon. Gentleman the other day to say he would make some inquiry? It is strange that what is notorious to everybody else should not be so to the Government.

*MR. WYNDHAM: That which is said to be notorious is not always based on evidence to which careful examination can be given. I must ask the hon. and learned Member to submit a *prima facie* case showing he has gone through a preliminary examination of the evidence, and then careful inquiry shall be made. On mere report, however notorious, I do not think we are justified in interrupting the work of Lord Roberts and troubling him with questions.

MR. T. M. HEALY: May I ask the hon. Gentleman whether he considers statements in English newspapers at the Cape not always friendly to Irishmen a *prima facie* case?

*MR. WYNDHAM: Certainly not, until we know the circumstances and the authority for these passages.

MR. T. M. HEALY: If Irishmen are shot by English, then I advise the Irish to go for the English.

THE CONNAUGHT RANGERS.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War if his attention has been called to the letter of a soldier in the Connaught Rangers, stating that their major was to be court-martialled for remonstrating against the unnecessary exposure of his men; is there any foundation for this allegation; and what is the name of the gallant officer.

*MR. WYNDHAM: There is no knowledge in the War Office of any such court martial, or of any intention of holding it.

IMPERIAL LIGHT HORSE EQUIPMENT.

MR. HEDDERWICK: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War will he explain why the request of the troopers of the Imperial Light Horse of South Africa to the War Office to be permitted to have Mauser pistols as part of their equipment, accompanied by an offer to pay for the weapons out of their own pockets, was refused by the War Office; and whether the troopers in question have since been armed with Mauser pistols.

*MR. WYNDHAM: The War Office did not refuse permission. On the contrary, it did what it could to facilitate the transmission to Natal of the revolvers which the commanding officer of the Imperial Light Horse had ordered from a private firm.

SOMERSETSHIRE VOLUNTEERS.

COLONEL WYNDHAM MURRAY (Bath): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether, since the Volunteer rifle regiments of the county of Somerset were called upon to supply a company to join the regular county regiment in South Africa, about 100 men have passed the required tests; whether, as this number was somewhat under the numbers required, the company has now been disbanded; whether this decision can be reconsidered, and the services of these men who have come forward for active service accepted, and the company mobilised at once; and, whether, in order to make up the few required, some modifications of the regulations can be made in the direction of accepting one year men, or second class shots who have in previous years been in a higher class in shooting.

The following question on the same subject also appeared on the paper:—

MR. HOBHOUSE (Somersetshire, E.): To ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether an order has been given for disbanding the men of the 1st Somerset

Volunteer Light Infantry, who have volunteered for active service in South Africa, after they have gone through part of their training; if he will state how many volunteered in the first instance, and how many were rejected by the medical officers; if men who had served in the Army were rejected because they had served less than two years with the Volunteers; what notice was given of the proposed disbandment; and if it is proposed to disband all companies which do not come up to the required strength, without giving the men the option of serving in other companies.

*MR. WYNDHAM: In answering this question I should like at the same time to reply to the question asked by the Member for Somerset, East. The number of men who actually passed the tests was 90, and, though some additional volunteers came forward, the total still fell short of 116, the required number. The formation of the company was, accordingly, not proceeded with. It is evidently desirable that the strength of companies in the field should be as uniform as possible, but the Secretary of State has decided that in cases where the deficiency in number is inconsiderable, special arrangements for making it good may be sanctioned; each case will be dealt with on its merits. The Somersetshire Light Infantry Volunteers are 3,000 strong, and the number required to form a company of the proper strength was only $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the whole.

MR. HOBHOUSE: Has the formation of the company been authorised to proceed?

*MR. WYNDHAM: This is one of the cases to which favourable consideration has been given.

CASUALTIES IN VOLUNTEER FORCES IN SOUTH AFRICA.

MR. THORNTON (Clapham): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether a complete record of all accredited volunteers outside the Regular Army who have been killed, wounded, missing or taken prisoners in South Africa reaches the War Office and is officially published; and if all such volunteers have a distinguishing number or mark whereby they can be identified.

*MR. WYNDHAM: All casualties in local forces in South Africa are published by the War Office as soon as reported by the general in command. We have no knowledge of the detailed arrangements of the local forces, but from the lists which have already appeared there would seem to be ample means of identification.

FORAGE CONTRACTS.

*MR. JEFFREYS (Hampshire, N.): I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether very little hay and straw grown in the United Kingdom is supplied to the troops in South Africa; whether he is aware that both hay and straw can be purchased in this country at abnormally low prices; and whether, in future contracts, opportunities will be given to producers in this country to tender for the required supplies.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE WAR OFFICE (MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS, Birmingham, S.): Producers of hay in this country have full opportunity of tendering for supplies, but they are not as a rule able to deliver hay sufficiently compressed, nor is home-grown hay ordinarily fitted to undergo successfully the heat of the South African climate and the conditions of the sea voyage. Moreover, the military authorities who are responsible for supplies in the present campaign require large quantities of certain descriptions of forage which cannot be obtained in Great Britain, and the Secretary of State is not prepared to interfere with their discretion in the matter. Straw does not form a part of the field service forage ration. The Department is not paying more for supplies of hay for the Cape than the prices at which home producers have tendered.

BAD HAY FOR THE ROYAL DRAGOONS.

SIR CAMERON GULL (Devonshire, Barnstaple): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether it is a fact that a large quantity of hay for the use of the Royal Dragoons was shipped on the "Manchester Port" in October last in a damp and dangerous condition, and whether such hay was previously passed by a Government inspector; and if so, whether any, and if so what, steps have been taken in the matter.

MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: A considerable portion of the hay referred to was bad. The greater part of it had previously been examined in the ricks and approved. It was not, when being shipped, properly examined by the person acting as local superintendent for the supply reserve depôt. This officer has been dismissed. The contractors have been struck off the list, and the officer generally responsible for inspection has been censured.

TRANSPORT RETURN.

MR. BUCHANAN (Aberdeenshire, E.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he will include in the promised Return of the Transports for South Africa the rate per ton per month, and other particulars contained in the similar returns of 1884 and 1886.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (MR. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): For obvious reasons it would be injudicious to publish the rates for ships taken up by the Admiralty while we have to continue to charter ships. The returns quoted by the hon. Member were not presented until the conclusion of the operations for which the vessels were engaged. When the transactions connected with the chartering of ships for the operations in South Africa are concluded, it will of course be our duty to furnish full particulars on the subject.

THE TRANSPORT "JELUNGA."

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether a number of invalids and 500 women and children, the wives and families of soldiers in South Africa, were landed at Southampton on the 15th December from the transport "Jelunga"; whether the women and children were in a destitute condition; whether any nurse was on board, and whether six children died of cold and exposure; whether 10 women and 36 children, the wives and children of the men of the 18th Hussars and 5th Lancers, on reaching London on disembarkation from the "Jelunga," had to pass the night in the railway station at Waterloo because there was no train to take them to Canterbury; and what explanation, if any, has the Secretary of State to give of this incident.

MR. WYNDHAM: About 500 wives and children of soldiers were landed from the transport "Jelunga." They were not in a destitute condition, but they were in a very neglected condition, owing to the want of a sufficient staff on board to look after them. It would, no doubt, have been difficult for the General Officer commanding at Cape Town to provide a sufficient staff, but the Secretary of State for War is of opinion that proper care was not taken, and a reprimand has been accordingly sent to Cape Town. No nurse was on board. Six children died in the course of the voyage; they did not die of cold and exposure, since they died in the tropics. The women were periodically asked throughout the voyage whether they had any complaints to make, and they made none on the subject of their accommodation. The staff officer at Southampton and the officer of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association made every effort to help the women on their arrival; all were asked if they wanted money, and all said they had it. Ten women and 36 children had to spend the night at Waterloo because the London and South-Western train arrived too late to admit of their catching the train to Canterbury. I have answered this question at length because the Secretary of State regards the incident as most regrettable, and is anxious that it should be fully explained to the House. As I have said, care has been taken to impress upon those concerned the necessity of avoiding such mistakes in future.

NAVAL WAR DESPATCHES.

COMMANDER YOUNG (Berkshire, Wokingham): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether any despatches have been received from the officers in command of the Naval Brigade describing the proceedings of that brigade at the battle of Graspan and the battle of Colenso; if so, when will such despatches be published in the same way as the military despatches relating to those battles have been published.

MR. GOSCHEN: Yes, such despatches have been received, transmitted through the Naval Commander-in-Chief. It is still uncertain whether copies were sent to Lord Methuen and General Buller, under whose orders the actions in question were fought, but I am trying to

ascertain this by telegraph. I have every hope that it will be possible to publish these despatches in the course of a day or two.

EXPENDITURE ON INDIAN TROOPS.

MR. BUCHANAN: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether the whole of the expenses of the Indian troops in Mauritius, Ceylon, Singapore, and elsewhere outside the frontier of India, owing to the South African War, will be borne by the British Exchequer.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord G. HAMILTON, Middlesex, Ealing): The whole of the expenses of the Indian troops in Mauritius, Ceylon, Singapore, and elsewhere outside the frontier of India will be debited to Imperial revenues.

AMMUNITION FOR VOLUNTEER PRACTICE.

MR. WARNER: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War if there is a scarcity of ammunition for practising purposes in this country; and whether the troops going to the front, such as Volunteers, Imperial Yeomanry, and other corps, have not been able to get enough to practise with while waiting in England for final organisation and embarkation.

*MR. WYNDHAM: There is no scarcity of ammunition for practice. Arrangements have been made for issuing to Yeomanry and Volunteers a sufficient quantity for practising before embarkation.

COAL SUPPLY FOR NATIONAL REQUIREMENTS.

GENERAL RUSSELL (Cheltenham): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether his attention has been called to the statement that a firm in Cardiff has contracted to supply a foreign Government with 400,000 tons of coal; and whether, in view of this large order, means will be taken to secure that a sufficient reserve of coal be retained in this country for any possible requirements of the British Navy.

MR. GOSCHEN: My attention has been drawn to the rumour that a firm in Cardiff has contracted to supply a foreign Government with 400,000 tons of coal, but diligent inquiries at Cardiff have so far

not resulted in any confirmation of the statement. I need scarcely say, whether the statement is correct or not, the subject of assuring to ourselves sufficient supplies of coal for naval requirements is one which is never out of the mind of the Board of Admiralty.

GIBRALTAR.

MR. STEVENSON (Suffolk, Eye): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is now able to communicate to the House the recommendations of the Committee of Investigation which collected evidence at Gibraltar in the summer of 1898 with respect to the insanitary condition of that town and fortress; and what measures Her Majesty's Government propose to adopt, in the interests of the health of the naval and military forces at Gibraltar, for the compulsory demolition of buildings which have been condemned by the local medical authorities, for the improvement of the drainage scheme, for the prevention of the granting of leases of Government land to syndicates formed by building speculators and rack-renters, and for the provision of recreation grounds for the use of soldiers and sailors serving at that station.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I informed the hon. Member on the 24th April last that the report of the Committee was confidential and that it was not intended to publish it. The health of Gibraltar is good; the death-rate for 1898 was only 17.79 per 1,000. The remodelling of the whole drainage of the fortress was concluded early last year, and I have no reason to believe that anything further is required. The Sanitary Commissioners have already sufficient powers for dealing with insanitary houses and are exercising them satisfactorily. I have no information as to any Crown leases having been granted to syndicates of building speculators and rack-renters. The practice has always been, if possible, to renew leases to the former holders, or if they were not applicants to put them up for public competition. There is no space available on the limited part of the rock not reserved for military purposes for the provision of further recreation grounds, nor, so far as I am aware, has any recommendation been made to that effect.

ALLIANCE RUMOURS.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he has any papers to lay upon the Table or any statement to make as to the progress of the negotiations for the conclusion of a triple alliance between Great Britain, the United States, and Germany, announced by the Secretary of State for the Colonies at Leicester on 29th November last.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No such statement was ever made by my right hon. friend.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: Is it with the cognisance of the Cabinet that the Colonial Secretary makes these absurd suggestions?

[No answer was given.]

WAIMA.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what progress has been made with the Waima arbitration.

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): Negotiations are still proceeding for arbitration on this and other West African claims, but I am not yet in a position to announce an agreement as to the terms.

ROYAL NATIONAL LIFEBOAT INSTITUTION. — TELEPHONIC COMMUNICATION.

SIR CAMERON GULL: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, whether a request has been made to the Post Office authorities by the Royal National Lifeboat Institution for leave to use the telephonic coast communication, if necessary, in connection with the usual practices of their lifeboats; and if so, whether any and what answer has been given to such request.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HANBURY, Preston): After a personal discussion between representatives of the Life Boat Institution and the Post Office, the Postmaster General replied on the 8th

ultimo that he did not see his way to transmit free of charge telegrams which were for purposes of practice only. The Secretary of the Institution acknowledged the receipt of this letter and stated that it would be submitted to his Committee.

TELEGRAPHIC CHARGE ANOMALIES.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, whether he is aware that recent instructions have been issued to telegraph masters and those in charge of telegraph offices to charge "M.P." as two words but "p.m." as one word, although the practice has been to charge "M.P." as one word; whether he is aware that "steamship" is charged as one word but "s.s." as two words, that "Saint Peter" is charged as two words but "St. Peter" as one word in inland telegrams, and that "St. Cloud" is charged as two words in foreign telegrams but "Saint Cloud" is charged as one word in foreign telegrams; and whether he will permit "Charing Cross" to go as one word in inland telegrams.

MR. HANBURY: All combinations of letters which are in the nature of cipher are now charged for at the rate of five letters to a word. In the case of all other letters not being words in any European language or in Latin each letter is charged for. M.P. is treated in precisely the same way as K.C.B., G.C.M.G., etc. The answer to the second paragraph is yes, and to the third no.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): Does the Postmaster General mean to imply that a Member of Parliament is only a cipher?

MR. HANBURY: No; it is because he is not a cipher that he is charged the ordinary rate.

TELEGRAPHIST'S SICK LEAVE.

MR. STEADMAN (Tower Hamlets, Stepney): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, whether he is aware that a female telegraphist of the Western District Office, London, visited Dr. Mason, the official medical officer, on 18th December, and, whilst admitting she was

suffering from a severe cold, stated she could perform her duties; that, on the same day, Dr. Oswald, of Brixton, who has been in attendance on the telegraphist for some time, certified she had bronchial catarrh and debility, and ordered her to remain indoors; and that, although Dr. Oswald afterwards extended the certificate till 28th December, the telegraphist has been reported and punished with the loss of two days' pay for remaining from office during this period; whether it can be stated why the Post Office official declines to accept the certificate of a well-known practitioner; and whether the Postmaster General will personally investigate the circumstances which have led to the telegraphist being condemned for malingering though only acting in obedience to medical instructions.

MR. HANBURY: In the opinion of the Medical Officer of the Western District, who saw the telegraphist in question on the 18th and 23rd of December, her state of health on those days was not such as to require her to remain at home; but as Dr. Oswald, who saw her on the 26th, was of a contrary opinion, the Postmaster General has thought it right to give her the benefit of the doubt, and her pay for the two days in question has been allowed.

ENNISCORTHY POST OFFICE.

MR. THOMAS J. HEALY (Wexford, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, what is the cause of the delay in commencing the building of the proposed new post office in Enniscorthy; and if he can state when the work is likely to be begun.

MR. HANBURY: When tenders were obtained for the new Post Office building at Enniscorthy, the lowest one was so much in excess of the authorised expenditure that it was necessary to recast the plans with a view to reducing the expense. The Board of Public Works express the hope that the new building will be begun in April next.

TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS REGULATIONS.

COLONEL PRYCE-JONES: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, will he explain why, at certain telegraph

offices, telegrams addressed to Newtown in accordance with the Postal Guide are refused unless the name of the county is added.

MR. HANBURY: The Postmaster General is not aware that telegrams for Newtown in the county of Montgomery are refused unless the name of the county is added. The name of the county is not necessary in that case, as there is no other head post office of the same name. If the hon. Member will bring to the Postmaster General's notice any case in which the addition of the name of the county has been insisted upon, inquiry will be made in the matter.

COLONEL PRYCE-JONES: I beg to tell the right hon. Gentleman I had a case this very morning.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member may put a question, but not make a statement.

DUBLIN MUSEUM—REMOVAL OF OBJECTS OF ART.

SIR T. G. ESMONDE (Kerry, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether a number of objects of art are being removed from the Dublin Museum by the Science and Art Museum at South Kensington; and if so, for what reason; and whether, in view of the expense incurred by the Dublin Museum in providing for the exhibition of these objects, they will be allowed to remain in Dublin.

***THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL ON EDUCATION (Sir J. GORST, Cambridge University):** I can assure the hon. Member that no objects of art are being or have been removed from the Dublin Museum except those referred to in my answer last week.

DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT.

COLONEL WYNDHAM MURRAY: I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education whether the terms of reference of the Departmental Committee appointed to consider the reorganisation of the Education Department and the Science and Art Department have been enlarged since its

appointment in July last; whether the present terms of reference cover the question of the organisation requisite for carrying out the new duties which in April next devolve upon the Board of Education under Clauses 2 and 3 of the Board of Education Act; and whether he will communicate to the House the present terms of reference of the Departmental Committee.

***SIR J. GORST:** The answer to the two first paragraphs is in the affirmative. In answer to the third paragraph, if the hon. and gallant Member will move I shall be happy to lay them upon the Table.

CONGESTED RELIEF (SCOTLAND) ACT.

***MR. HEDDERWICK:** I beg to ask the Lord Advocate what balance, if any, of the sums of money granted by Parliament for the purposes of the Congested Districts Relief (Scotland) Act is in hand; and what sums have been expended upon the principal objects of the Act—namely, the acquisition of cultivable land suitable for crofters and the extension of existing crofters' holdings.

***THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY, Buteshire):** The balance referred to by the hon. Member was on the 31st ultimo £62,678 17s. 10d. There are, however, large liabilities by the Congested Districts Board for grants promised, upon the recommendation of their Agricultural and Works Committees, on fulfilment of certain conditions, amounting to about £27,000. In respect of migration only £1,451 has been actually paid, but negotiations in regard to the purchase of land at Bowe Syre, and other places, are pending which may involve the Board in payments of £18,000. The Board may thus be called upon to find £45,000 out of the balance in hand. I may add that the Board consider that it is much better to proceed with caution than by precipitate action in disregard of economic conditions to risk the making of mistakes which would defeat the purposes for which the Board was established.

WELSH RAILWAY DISPUTE.

MR. MADDISON (Sheffield, Brightside): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether, in view of the continued refusal of the Taff Vale, Cardiff, Barry, and Rhymney Railway

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Companies to meet the accredited representatives of their employees or submit the matters in dispute to arbitration, he will take immediate steps to put the Conciliation Act in operation.

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. AKERS DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine) (for Mr. RITCHIE): I trust that no action on the part of the Board of Trade will be required in order to induce the railway companies referred to in the question to meet the accredited representatives of their employees.

WATERFORD AND LIMERICK RAILWAY DISPUTE.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Kilkenny): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that three men, named O'Connell, Murphy, and Halpin, were recently dismissed from the employment of the Waterford and Limerick Railway Company because of some action alleged to have been taken by them in opposition to the proposed sale of the Waterford and Limerick Railway to the Great Southern and Western Railway Company, a Bill for the completion of which is now before Parliament; whether he is aware that the offence of these men was instigated by the fear which they felt, in common with others, that the proposed amalgamation of these railways would cause the works in Limerick to be closed; and whether the Government propose to take any action to have the men O'Connell, Murphy, and Halpin restored to their employment.

MR. AKERS DOUGLAS (for Mr. RITCHIE): The Board of Trade are not in a position to take any action in the matter referred to, but I have received a letter from the chairman of the Waterford, Limerick, and Western Railway Company, which I shall be happy to show to the hon. Member.

GOVERNMENT METAL PURCHASES.

MR. WARNER: I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office if he could explain how the purchase of metals by tender has worked better than the old system of buying through a broker; and whether the Government have been obliged to give higher prices in consequence of the new system without

gaining any advantage in quality or otherwise.

***MR. J. POWELL WILLIAMS**: The answer to the second paragraph of the question is in the negative. The contrary is the fact. This statement disposes of the first paragraph of the question.

DINGLE PIER.

SIR T. G. ESMONDE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware that several accidents have taken place at Dingle caused by the insufficient accommodation afforded by the pier there, and when the Congested Districts Board intends to proceed with the work of widening and extending it; whether he is also aware that protection is badly needed by the fifty canoes engaged in the fishing industry in Smerwick Harbour, and if he will use his influence with the Congested Districts Board to have a pier or slip constructed there as soon as possible; and if he can state when the work of constructing the pier at Dunquin will be proceeded with.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.): In the absence of my right hon. friend I will reply to this and the subsequent questions which are addressed to him on to-day's Paper. With regard to the pier at Dingle, both the Harbour Board and the Rural District Council have been informed that before considering the application for a grant towards the cost of extending the pier, the Congested Districts Board wished to have definite proposals before them stating what local contribution would be forthcoming and what the entire cost would be. The Board have not yet received this information. As regards the slip or pier at Smerwick, the Board will be prepared to consider the question of a contribution towards the cost of that work upon learning from the County Council that they will carry out the work in accordance with the plans to be approved by the Board. With respect to the pier at Dunquin, the Board have not yet had an opportunity of having carried out the inspection which the hon. Member was informed was necessary in the Board's letter to him of the 9th May last, and no steps appear to have been taken in the matter of this work by the county authorities.

RELIGIOUS DISABILITIES IN IRELAND.

MR. DALY (Monaghan, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that on the 14th instant the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Justice Fitzgibbon, and the Master of the Rolls were sworn Lord Justices for the Government of Ireland during the absence of Lord Cadogan, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; whether he is aware that Sir R. Martin and the Right Hon. J. M. Meade were also present but were disqualified from acting owing to their being Roman Catholics; and whether he will advise the Government to legislate during the present session of Parliament to remove the religious disabilities under which Roman Catholics suffer in Ireland.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR): The facts are as stated in the first and second paragraphs. Under the provisions of Section 12 of the Act 10th George IV., c. 7, Roman Catholics are legally disqualified from holding the office mentioned. The Government cannot undertake to introduce legislation in the present session in the direction suggested in the third paragraph.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN: Considering that there is a Bill before this House to remove these disabilities, will the Government give it their support?

MR. ATKINSON: That question should not be addressed to me.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Were not the gentlemen who were sworn in as Lords Justices themselves Roman Catholics?

MR. ATKINSON: That question does not arise. By law, Roman Catholics are disqualified for the office.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Is not this disqualification under the Act which makes all priests felons?

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): Do not the Government profess in England to give equal rights to all men, irrespective of religion?

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN: Are not Catholics good enough to be shot down in South Africa?

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: What will Kruger say?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

IRISH HERRING INDUSTRY.

MR. FLAVIN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has received several resolutions, including one from the Kerry County Council, dealing with the question of Government brand for cured Irish herrings; and whether, seeing that the Government brand on cured herrings is used to great advantage in the English and Scotch fishing districts, and that fishing is one of Ireland's greatest industries, permission will be given to use the Government brand in that country, so as to place the Irish cured herring on the same level with that of England and Scotland.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR): The answer to the first paragraph is in the affirmative. Legislation would be necessary in order to authorise a brand for herrings in Ireland, such as exists in Scotland, though not, as is assumed, in England. It is desirable that the matter should be considered by the new Department of Agriculture before the Government can undertake to introduce such legislation.

MR. FLAVIN: Will the right hon. Gentleman make representations with a view to giving equal treatment to Ireland with other portions of the United Kingdom on this important question, or is this to be still another instance of unequal treatment?

[No answer was given.]

IRISH LOCAL GOVERNMENT RATE ALLOWANCES.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in the case of how many unions did the Irish Local Government Board increase the allowance to be made in respect of the standard rate by reason of special circumstances, and how many applications for increased allowance on the standard year were received.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR): The Local Government Board

increased the assessment of the standard year under Section 49 (1) of Local Government Act on account of exceptional circumstances in forty-nine unions. The number of cases in which definite application for an increase under this section were made to the Board were fifty-six, but in the case of about twenty other unions resolutions were passed of an indefinite character demanding general liberal treatment from the Local Government Board.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I am obliged to the right hon. Gentleman. Perhaps he will grant a return, as great interest is felt in this matter.

KERRY LAND APPEALS.

MR. FLAVIN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that sittings of the Land Commission for the hearing of appeals is arranged for several districts in Ireland up to the end of March, 1900; and whether he is aware that there are a number of appeals awaiting trial in Kerry; and if so, why is there no date fixed for that county by the Appeal Land Court.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR): The answer to the first paragraph is in the affirmative. There are ninety cases in which appeals have been lodged from County Kerry but have not yet been listed for hearing. In twenty of these cases the notices of appeal were received during last month. A sitting for the hearing of appeals from County Kerry will be arranged in due course having regard to the prior claims of other districts.

MR. FLAVIN: Can the right hon. Gentleman say why County Kerry has been so neglected in this matter as compared with other parts of Ireland?

MR. ATKINSON: I can only deny that it is neglected.

BELFAST UNION.

MR. MC CARTAN (Down, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the proceedings of the Belfast Poor Law Guardians at their last weekly meeting, when Miss Carson,

a female guardian, complained of having caught the niece of one of the employees carrying out in a basket beef, bread, tea, and other property of the guardians, without leave or permission from the authorities; and whether he can say if any report has been made to the Local Government Board, what are the details, and what steps have been taken in the matter.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR): The attention of the Local Government Board has been directed to the facts stated in the first paragraph. The matter has been finally dealt with by the guardians, who, on receipt of a report from the visiting committee, called upon the employee in question to send in her resignation.

SMALL HOUSES (ACQUISITION OF OWNERSHIP) BILL.

MR. AUSTIN (Limerick, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in view of extending the provisions of the Small Houses (Acquisition of Ownership) Bill to the rural districts in Ireland, steps will be taken to empower the district councils to carry out such a measure.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR): The meaning of this question is not quite clear. District councils are already empowered to carry out the provisions of the Act, and in November last the Local Government Board wrote to every county and district council explaining very fully the object of the measure and the powers of the council under it, as well as the procedure to be adopted in carrying it into operation. So far as the Board are at present aware, about forty district councils have adopted the provisions of the Act.

LIFFORD COUNTY COURT HOUSE.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that, on Monday last, Mr. Hardman, D.L., the High Sheriff of the County Donegal, with a posse of the Royal Irish Constabulary under District Inspector Dagg, turned out of the county court house at Lifford a contractor and his workmen who were employed in making some alterations in that building according to

the directions of the county council; and by whose directions were the Royal Irish Constabulary employed for this purpose.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR): The facts in reference to this matter have not yet been fully ascertained, and I must ask the hon. Member to defer the question until Thursday next.

REMOVALS OF IRISH MAGISTRATES.

MR. MANDEVILLE: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland will he explain on what grounds the Lord Chancellor recently removed from the Commission of the Peace for the county of Tipperary Mr. Kendal C. O'Brien, who held his commission ex-officio as Chairman of the Tipperary Rural District No. 1; is he aware that Mr. O'Brien subsequently resigned his chairmanship, but was again elected to that office; and will he explain why, when Mr. O'Brien on his re-election applied to be sworn in as a Justice of the Peace, the Lord Chancellor declined to issue the writ of dedimus, but issued a second writ of supersession.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR): In answer to the first paragraph of the question, the Lord Chancellor, in his letter of the 25th November sent to Mr. O'Brien, stated that he removed Mr. O'Brien from the Commission of the Peace for having been guilty of conduct inconsistent with his position as a Justice in having, at a time when the forces of Her Majesty were engaged in warlike operations in South Africa, at a meeting of the Tipperary (No. 1) District Council, put from the chair a resolution offering encouragement to the Boer enemies of Her Majesty and expressing a hope that they would have a complete triumph; and in having on a second occasion seconded, and supported by a speech, a resolution in the following terms, namely—

"That we congratulate the people of the South African Republic on what now turns out to be the victory of Glencoe over the same enemy that governs Ireland by force; and that we desire to place on record our admiration of those Irishmen under Colonel Blake and Mr. McBride, who are fighting for the Republic, and who truly represent Irish National opinion, notwithstanding the fact that some thoughtless, ignorant and dispirited young Irishmen are always to be found bearing

arms for England; and that we trust complications may arise which will mark their unjust and shameful attempt to destroy a free people as the beginning of the end of England's political career."

The fact is as stated in the second paragraph. The Lord Chancellor refused to regard the causes in respect of which Mr. O'Brien was removed from the Commission on the 25th November as being ended by the time which since elapsed, or by the form of proceedings to which Mr. O'Brien has had recourse. The Lord Chancellor thereupon again removed Mr. O'Brien from the Commission of the Peace.

CAPTAIN DONELAN (Cork, E.): Can the right hon. Gentleman say what object is gained by thus stifling public opinion in Ireland?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member is now arguing.

COMPULSORY HIRING OF LAND.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derby, Ilkeston): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether he will state the number of orders for compulsory hiring of land, under Section 10 of the Local Government Act, 1894, deposited with the Board during the year ending March, 1899, and whether there were any orders which the Board did not confirm.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (MR. CHAPLIN, Lincolnshire, Sleaford):

Two orders of the kind referred to in the question were deposited with the Local Government Board during the year ended March last. In one of these cases the order was confirmed by the Board. The other case was not proceeded with in consequence of the application for the land being withdrawn.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[FIFTH DAY'S DEBATE.]

Order read for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment [30th January] to Question [30th January], "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, as followeth:—

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament." — (*Captain Prettman.*)

And which Amendment was—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'But we humbly express our regret at the want of knowledge, foresight, and judgment displayed by Your Majesty's advisers, alike in their conduct of South African affairs since 1895 and in their preparations for the war now proceeding.'" — (*Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added."

Debate resumed.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Monmouthshire, W.): I shall not waste much of the time of the House in offering a justification for those who brought forward this Amendment. Those who object to an Amendment of this character, I think, must be persons who are absolutely ignorant of the history of their country and of the history of the Parliament of this country. The Prime Minister told us the other day that the situation in which the nation finds itself was one of humiliation not devoid of danger. Lord Rosebery, in a speech made not long ago, said that the prestige of this country had been shattered, and would require to be repaired. I should like to know, from any man who has read the history of his country, when in such a situation as that the House of Commons has failed to perform its duty as representative of the nation, in calling upon the Executive Government to give an account of their conduct which has brought the country into such a situation as that, performing that which is not only its right and its duty, but which is also in the interest of the nation. Have the people who object to this Amendment ever heard the names of Chatham, Fox, or Burke, whose fame depends on the eloquence and the determination with which, in the great war against the American colonies, they persisted in opposing the policy of the Government? Have they ever heard of the man whose name has descended to my hon. friend the Member for the Berwick Division—have they ever heard of the course that Lord

Grey and the Liberal party took in the great war with France? To come to more recent times, have they ever heard—I am sorry to say I am old enough to have heard it myself—of the course taken in respect of the Crimean War? There is one authority to which gentlemen opposite at least will pay some respect—that of Lord Beaconsfield. At that period, in the darkest moment of depression in that Crimean contest, what was it Lord Beaconsfield said when he was supporting an inquiry which was regarded as a vote of want of confidence in the Government? The words are practically those of the Amendment now before the House. He said—

"The designs of the Government have been hastily conceived, and have been attempted to be carried out by inadequate means; they have shown throughout the whole conception and the management of their scheme a want of foresight, of firmness, of depth, and of all those resources which it became a Government to exhibit that had entered upon an enterprise of such moment. If an inquiry were not held now it never would be held."

That has been the invariable tradition of Parliament, which has not been suspended for 200 years, and I hope that while Parliament exists, and while the British Constitution is not suspended, it still will remain the tradition of the House of Commons. But what a preposterous doctrine is this. It amounts to this—that the greater the disasters in which a Government involves the country the more certain ought they to be of impunity, and that true patriotism requires that they shall not be called to account. This Amendment challenges the Government to give to the nation and to Parliament an account; it challenges their policy in entering upon the war, and their capacity in its conduct. That is our right, and that is our duty. The object of the Amendment is to extract, if we can extract, from the Government more adequate explanation of the causes which have led to what Lord Salisbury calls "a state of humiliation." I hope that the Leader of this House, the First Lord of the Treasury, will not think I am guilty of any disrespect to him if I do not enter upon a minute examination of the explanations which he has offered in this House and elsewhere.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): Hear, hear!

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I am sure he will not. He does not accurately recollect his own speeches. He tells us he has not the least interest in them. It is true that the Prime Minister said that if he had had notice he would have laid a bound copy of those speeches on the Table of the House of Lords. I do not know that that is a publication for which the right hon. Gentleman is particularly anxious, or whether he claims copyright in those speeches. But I think the right hon. Gentleman, if I may say so without disrespect, must be satisfied by this time that that is not an explanation which the nation expects, or which Parliament ought to accept. But this Government, which is united in its action, has taken the advantage which we know in criminal courts is frequently resorted to by accused persons—they have thought fit to sever in their defence. The Prime Minister has given his account of what led to the condition of humiliation of this country, and he says that this Government has been the "victim of the British Constitution." The British Constitution may be very defective, but it has served the purpose for two centuries. It was sufficient for the Duke of Marlborough; it was sufficient, I may say, for the two centuries in which the British Empire has been created. It was sufficient for Lord Chat-ham, and even the Duke of Wellington got along with it. I never heard Lord Palmerston whining about the British Constitution, and I never heard that Lord Beaconsfield contemplated a constitutional revolution. But then the noble Mar-quess tells us it is not only the British Constitution, it is the financial system of this country which is the cause of the present condition of humiliation. It is Chancellors of the Exchequer—I mean the genus, not the species—it is the Treasury system which has brought us into the position in which we now find ourselves. That originally was to be put an end to. But then happened an explanation—I suppose I ought to call it an apology—and we were assured that it was not this Chancellor of the Exchequer, that it was not this Treasury which had embarrassed the Government; on the contrary, they had done everything that could be desired. Then what is the relevance of this attack upon the Treasury if they have done all that you wish? What trivialities! We are to have an

attack upon Treasury control. That is a matter of which I have had some experience, and this I will tell the House of Commons, that if you are going to abolish Treasury control, if you are going to allow Departments—the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office—to make war when they please without the control of Parliament, and to spend what money they please without the supervision of the Treasury, besides the many millions which this war will cost, the result of such a policy as that will be to reduce this country into a state of finance such as exists in other nations where Treasury control is not permitted. There is another cause given for this humiliation, and that is that the Government had not secret service money enough. What, Sir—with their majority they could not get what secret service money they wanted for the purpose of the defence of the Empire! Such a plea shows that they have very little confidence in their own supporters. They did not know anything, they could not know anything, because they had not secret service money enough; and then from his place the First Lord of the Treasury tells us that they did know everything. Is it possible that they can expect that the country will be satisfied with explanations of this character? No, Sir; they know very well that these justifications that have been offered have been received with blank astonishment, with disappointment, and I do not think it would be too much to say, they have been received with dismay. Those are the explanations which have been offered by the two principal members of the Cabinet. There is a third member of the Cabinet who has also offered his explanation, and I do not know that that contributed a great deal to our enlightenment. The First Lord of the Admiralty the other day explained the policy of the Government, stating—

"Then came the declaration of war by the Transvaal Government, and then, and not before, it was arranged that an Army Corps should be sent out."

The "man in the street" knows better than that. How can a member of the Cabinet be so ignorant of what has occurred, so ignorant of their own policy and their own action? The Royal Proclamation for calling out the Reserves took place upon 7th October, and the ultimatum of the Boers took place upon 9th October.

He said, too, it was never arranged that an Army Corps should be sent out until after the ultimatum of the Boers had been delivered. Then, when the right hon. Gentleman is informed of this, I suppose for the first time, he says, "Oh, it is a question of dates." Of course it is a question of dates. The relation of cause and effect is always a question of date. Of course, the ultimatum of the Boers was a reply to the proclamation for calling out the Reserves. What were the Reserves and the Army Corps called out for? It was to invade the territory of the Transvaal and to march upon Pretoria, and the ultimatum does not seem to me to be an unnatural reply to a measure of that character. These are the explanations which have been offered to the country by members of the Cabinet; but there was an explanation of a different character offered, not by a Cabinet Minister. I think a brighter light than any offered by the Cabinet was that contained in the remarkably brilliant speech of the Member for Dover, the Under Secretary for War. Old Members of this House always look with admiration and hope to such performances as that of the hon. Gentleman. A more remarkable exhibition of brilliant talent I have never heard, and I look forward with confidence in the House of Commons, when many of us will have passed away, to know that its great reputation will be sustained by such brilliant politicians. I was not very much consoled by the assurance that what has happened to us was the inexorable law of fate—that we must always be defeated in the first instance, and that we must muddle through afterwards. In these days when wars are short, when they last weeks rather than months, that is not a very satisfactory assurance, and for my part I think that the moral of the lesson is that the less you go to war the better. This Amendment challenges the conduct of the Government in reference to South Africa since the year 1895. The Prime Minister said—

"Why do you begin in 1895? The situation began much earlier: you must go further back. You must go to 1881 and 1884."

[Ministerial cheers.] I am glad to receive the assent of hon. Gentlemen opposite, because that is entirely my opinion. It is the fact that the policy of 1881 and 1884 lies at the root of the whole matter, that it was the situation with which this

Government had to deal in 1895 when they came into office. What was that situation, and what was the policy of 1881 and 1884? A good many gentlemen, some of whom were responsible for that policy, have tried their hands and their memories by giving an account of that transaction. I confess I do not think it is a very commendable thing for members of Cabinets, whether, like the Duke of Argyll, they stand in a white sheet or not, to attempt to give their own individual opinions on the policy of a Cabinet. The policy of a Cabinet ought to be known by the authentic account of it given to Parliament by that Cabinet. We know what the policy of the Cabinet of 1881 was. It was very definitely declared. The Duke of Devonshire's memory is not so retentive as I should have expected, because he said there were only three of his colleagues still extant. He forgot three who are still alive. I happen accidentally to be one of them; in 1881 I was, with him, a principal Secretary of State. But it is not my authority I am going to quote, nor my memory. I am sure the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary will remember that I was a colleague of his at that time, because I think I was perhaps his most earnest and constant supporter in the policy which was then pursued. I remember very well that a great honour was conferred upon the Colonial Secretary at that time, only lately a Cabinet Minister; he was selected to declare to Parliament what was the policy and what were the motives of the policy of the Cabinet of 1881. That is the authentic account, and the only authentic account that can be given, of that policy. I will read one extract, because it shows what lies at the root of the whole question of South Africa and the relations of Great Britain to that part of the world. I do not bring this forward as against the Colonial Secretary as an individual; I object altogether to attacks upon individual Ministers as distinguished from the Cabinet; the Cabinet is responsible; and, therefore, in reading this extract I am reading the declared policy of the Cabinet as stated by its authentic instrument, who is now the Colonial Secretary. This is what the right hon. Gentleman said—

"He did not doubt that with the large force placed at our disposal, we could have, if so minded, overrun the Transvaal and reconquered the country. Our difficulties, however, would

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not have ended there. We should have had to face probably the opposition of the Free State, and the Government would have been confronted with the agitation among the Dutch colonists of the Cape. They would have had permanently to maintain a large army on a European scale. They would have had to risk the best interests of South Africa and face an insurrection at any moment when any considerable portion of our troops were removed."

The right hon. Gentleman must have forgotten that when he questioned the statement by Lord Kimberley that that had been one of the motives which had governed the Cabinet of 1881. Those were prudential considerations. They have been stigmatised as cowardly. They are considerations that ought not to be left out of sight by any statesman, and they were in full view of the Cabinet of 1881. But that was not the only nor the principal ground of that policy, and here I hope I may be allowed to state in words characterised by all the force and lucidity which always distinguish the statements of the right hon. Gentleman what was the policy of 1881. The right hon. Gentleman said—

"But these were not the main reasons why, as he submitted, it was impossible for them to maintain the annexation of the Transvaal. He thought that course was impossible for any Government caring for the honour as well as for the interests of this country. It was contrary to their treaty engagements; it was contrary to the best traditions of a free country. When they found out that the wishes and sentiments of the Boers were entirely misunderstood—that they had gained the Transvaal on false pretences—they were bound in honour to withdraw from the position which they had unwittingly and wrongly taken up. He could not understand how those who talked so glibly of the honour of this country should fail to see that the greatest shame and humiliation would be in maintaining a high-handed breach of faith and destroying the independence of a people which they had solemnly engaged to respect. . . . They had the power in their hands, but they had not the will to use it. The strength of the giant was there, but it would have been tyrannous to employ it. If they had not so employed it, it was because they were not satisfied with the justice of their cause, because they did not think there was any end to be served commensurate with the sacrifice they would impose upon themselves and others, and because they had learned to recognise in their opponents qualities which were worthy of a free people. . . . As soon as it became manifest that to conciliate the Boers with any offer short of absolute independence was impossible, that the restoration of their independence was absolutely called for with regard to our treaty engagements and the honour of our country, to have continued to maintain the annexation would have been an act which he could only

describe in terms which had been applied by a high authority to a different subject—as an act of 'fraud, force, and folly.' . . . For his part he was not afraid or ashamed to appeal to the House of Commons, to appeal, if necessary, to the English people, to justify the course which the Government had taken, and above all to approve their action in preferring justice to revenge, and in restoring to a brave people the independence of which they ought never to have been deprived."

That was the policy of 1881 as declared by the Colonial Secretary. I do not know if he has altered his opinion on that subject. I adhere to mine, and I am as proud of that policy to-day as I was then. Remembering that, and remembering how we laboured together in that cause, and that the right hon. Gentleman had been chosen because he was the protagonist and the champion of the restoration of independence to the Transvaal—[Mr. CHAMBERLAIN dissented.] My recollection is that he was expressing his sentiments when he made that declaration, and my recollection is that he was selected specially to state the policy of the Government because he had been and was an earnest and eager supporter of that policy. Therefore I was a little surprised when, in the last session of Parliament, he spoke of that policy as one for which he had only a corporate responsibility. I do not know whether, when he remembers that speech, he will call it a little more than a corporate responsibility. I think he must have been an earnest believer in the policy, or he would not have addressed the House in language such as that. That was the policy of 1881, and the same Government with the same corporate responsibility, so far from restricting, expanded that independence in 1884. There have been several Governments since that time. There was the Government of Lord Salisbury, and it, through the mouth of Mr. W. H. Smith, declared that by the Conventions they were bound, and that they could not pretend, therefore, to interfere with the internal government of the Transvaal outside of the Conventions. The same thing was said by the mouth of my hon. friend the late Under Secretary for the Colonies in the Government of Lord Rosebery, and that was the situation in 1895, the period at which this Government undertook the management of things in South Africa. It may be said that a great deal happened between 1881 and

1895; that there had grown up the population of Johannesburg, that the grievances of the Uitlanders had become acute, and that the Conventions were no longer applicable to the situation. That is a view which some people may have taken, but was that the view taken by this Government in 1895? All the grievances of the Uitlanders were well known. The raid was just about to take place. Had they in any sense altered their view of the rights and obligations created by the Conventions, and did they attempt to say that they had been in any respect varied? In 1896, by a singular coincidence, the policy of the Government—and here again I do not speak of the action of an individual—was declared by the same voice that declared the policy of the Government in 1881. The Colonial Secretary was then again the organ of the party he had joined. He had been before the organ of the party he had left. But his view was precisely the same. What did he say when he addressed the House in 1896? I will give the important sentence in that declaration. He pointed out the infinite dangers and perils which would arise from a war to enforce internal reforms in the Transvaal, and he said that to go to war with President Kruger to force upon him reforms in the internal affairs of a State with which successive Secretaries of State had repudiated all right of interference would be a course of action as immoral as it would be unwise. The circumstances which had occurred had not changed the view of the Government up to 1896 in any respect from the policy of 1881 and 1884. And then he proceeded elaborately to explain to us what were exactly the relations between the British Government and the Transvaal created by these Conventions. He said that “the right, and the only right, is one of friendly representation,” and in a formal manner he also declared—

“In the next place it is necessary that I should state clearly and unequivocally what is the position which Her Majesty's Government claim to hold towards the Government of the South African Republic since the Convention of 1884. Her Majesty's Government have recognised the South African Republic”

—as what?—

“as a free and independent Government as regards all its internal affairs not touched by that Convention.”

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Thus it is quite plain that in 1895 and 1896 the present Administration regarded the situation in respect to the independence of the Transvaal, and, therefore, in the absence of any right on our part by force to interfere in their internal affairs, in exactly the same position as it was placed fifteen years before. The right hon. Gentleman, as we know, made proposals to President Kruger, and he stated at the time that if President Kruger found them not acceptable, of course, he was at liberty to refuse them. That is the policy of Her Majesty's Government up to the year 1896. Nothing could be more clear or more definite. But that policy was radically altered subsequently, and it is to the reversal of that policy, in my opinion, that this war is due. When Her Majesty's Government arrived at the conclusion that it was moral and wise to force by war upon the Government of the Transvaal reforms which they chose to prescribe, and which had been declared in 1896 to be immoral and unwise, it is difficult exactly to fix. But that determination has been the cause of this war. The matter was opened at the Bloemfontein Conference. President Kruger was invited to go to that Conference. It has been said that there was a conspiracy throughout South Africa on the part of the Dutch race to expel the British from South Africa. [An HON. MEMBER: Hear, hear!] I should like the hon. Gentleman who says “Hear, hear” to reconcile that statement with the initiation of the Bloemfontein Conference. At whose instance was that Conference brought about? It was brought about by the President of the Free State; it was strongly supported by the representatives of the Dutch party in Cape Colony, and President Kruger, who was not bound at all in reference to his internal policy to go to Bloemfontein, went to that Conference. When he went there he was not told, “You have come here to receive our orders, to receive conditions which are to be a minimum”; he was told, on the contrary, that, although the Government disclaimed any right to enforce by war internal reforms in the Transvaal, they were within their right when they attempted by negotiations to improve the condition of the Uitlanders in Johannesburg. That everybody admits. What happened next? The first thing that President Kruger did was to pass a Bill for a seven

years franchise. Well, that was declared to offer a most favourable basis of settlement, subject to examination. But subsequently, in the beginning of August, he went further than that, and he offered the very terms which had been laid down by Sir Alfred Milner at Bloemfontein. This was the offer of a five years franchise, subject to a condition. [Opposition cheers.] Yes, Sir, the whole thing turned upon that condition. And what was that condition? President Kruger said, "I have given you now what you have asked for. Will you give me an assurance that that is not to be a precedent for constant interference; will you give me an assurance that in future you will leave to me that independence in the control of my own internal affairs which you have guaranteed to me in the Conventions of 1881 and 1884?" That was the condition, and it was declared to be impossible. Of course, that revealed the attitude taken up by us, that under the name of suzerainty, or supremacy, or paramountcy, or what you please, the British Government claimed the right to dictate and prescribe, and to what extent they pleased, the internal policy of the Government of the Transvaal. I will not argue whether that was a right policy or a wrong policy, but it was a policy of war. It was a policy absolutely to wipe out the independence of the Transvaal. What is the meaning of "independence"? When you have the power to set it aside at any moment and prescribe what shall be done, there is no room for independence. Supremacy and independence are self-contradictory terms. The negotiations went on for a time until at last you abandoned all idea of negotiations, and you broke off negotiations. You said, "We will not discuss any more with you; we will inform you what our terms are," and you made it plain by the course you took in London that you intended to enforce those terms by war. Whether that was a right policy or a wrong policy, it was a reversal of the policy which preceding Governments had pursued for fifteen years. Then it has been said that you thought that peace was possible, and even probable, under those circumstances. How came you to think that peace was possible or probable under those circumstances? What could ever have induced you to believe that President Kruger or the Government of the Transvaal would ever consent without a struggle of

life and death to surrender their whole independence? A phrase was used, "We will respect your independence," but that phrase was misleading if you meant to thrust reforms on the Transvaal by force of arms. Well, you said you expected President Kruger to yield, and the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House said he held that opinion in common with all the best opinion in South Africa. Where did you collect the best opinion on that subject in South Africa? Who told you that President Kruger was a man who, if you only menaced him enough, would yield the independence which he and his people valued so highly? We have been told that we are to place implicit confidence in the man on the spot. The man on the spot was not the best South African opinion. He was a newcomer in South Africa; he had had little experience, or perhaps he might have taken the course that Lord Rosmead had taken before him, and have pointed out to the right hon. Gentleman the infinite danger of the course which he was contemplating to pursue. No, Sir, the man in the street—many men in the street—knew a great deal more about the situation than the man on the spot. The great misfortune was, and it was one of the causes of this war, that the only men who were consulted were men on one side of the street—yes, Sir, that side of the street which was inhabited by the authors of the raid. Then, Sir, there was another source of the best African opinion at home—the helots, I suppose, who inhabit Park Lane. In my opinion, Sir, it was not the best South African opinion which misled you.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham, W.): Does the right hon. Gentleman mean to assert that the persons to whom he refers were consulted by the Colonial Office, and that no others were consulted?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I have asked, what was the best South African opinion? and I say that was not the best South African opinion, that there was another South African opinion that was a great deal better. I will refer to that remarkable correspondence that the Prime Minister of Natal had begun in the month of May. He then talked about the alarm that was felt at the prospects of war and

the injury it would impose upon his own State, and entreated you, if you could, to avoid it. But did he think that President Kruger was going to give up his independence when he was menaced? No, Sir; he knew a great deal better than that. Then there are the still more remarkable protests of President Steyn, of the Free State. The First Lord of the Treasury had only to read these protests to see that the course you were pursuing was going straight to war. When you said you would negotiate no longer, but would prescribe your own terms, President Steyn said, "For God's sake, tell us what your terms are, and do not menace us by placing troops upon the frontiers of the Free State and of the colonies." You would not state your terms, and you did place troops on the frontiers of the colonies. The right hon. Gentleman asks me what people were consulted. Did Mr. Schreiner or Mr. Hofmeyr, who were the representatives of the Dutch in the colony, inform the High Commissioner that President Kruger would probably yield? The right hon. Gentleman said he thought, and, as I understood, the First Lord of the Treasury believed, it was possible and even probable. But the First Lord of the Treasury said he always knew that if President Kruger did not yield the consequence would necessarily be war. Well, the "man in the street" knew that as well as Her Majesty's Government. The whole spirit in which this thing was conducted—your military preparations and everything else—was one of contempt of the character and resources of the Boers. I believe these negotiations would never have been so conducted if you had appreciated the real situation with which you had to deal. You dealt with the Boers as if they were an inferior Power whom you had only to intimidate. Your experts told you of their military forces, and your experts could count their men and their guns. There seems to me to have been an element which British Ministers ought, above all, to have taken into account, and that is the indomitable energy of a free people fighting for their independence. That is a lack of imagination which ought not to have been wanting in the conduct of your negotiations. And so you broke off negotiations on September 22nd. The sands had run out, and you would deliver your own ultimatum. You prepared your military policy. You had a defensive

force. You prepared an aggressive force that was to be sent out, and the Boers replied by their ultimatum. That was the *finale* of the stage of negotiations. If you had been properly informed of the people you had to deal with and the situation that was created, it was from the first a policy of war, and I agree, therefore, with the Colonial Secretary when he said that, looking at the whole thing, war was from the first inevitable. From the moment you determined that you would impose when you pleased your will in the internal administration of the Transvaal, war was a necessity and a certainty. But it was a direct reversal of all the policy you had pursued, and all the pledges you had given, and all the guarantees in the Convention by which, up to then, you had been bound. I will say extremely little on the second part of the Amendment and your conduct in preparing for war. I take the authority of the First Lord of the Treasury against that of the Prime Minister, and assume that you knew everything. What were you told by your Intelligence Department? You were told that there were 60,000 Boers, who had about 100 cannon, and you were told, you say, that 25,000 men were a good deal more than were enough to deal with these 60,000 Boers and their 100 cannon in defending the frontiers of Cape Colony and Natal. Well, Sir, great is human credulity. I am not a judge of these professional matters. I am not even that ordinary person, an amateur strategist. But this I will say, that if all the field-marshal in the world had told me that 25,000 men were sufficient to cope with 60,000 Boers and 100 cannon I think I should have reserved my opinion. I think that even if the Astronomer Royal had told me that the sun went round the earth instead of the earth round the sun I should not have immediately acquiesced. You left 25,000 men to cope with 60,000 Boers. You did not know that there were mounted infantry, and, what is more, that if they were that was a matter of any consequence. That was the preparation you made. You had announced before October that you meant to send out a *corps d'armée* to invade the Transvaal. You told us that that could not be there for thirteen weeks. What did you expect would happen between the breaking off of negotiations on September 22nd and December 20th, which was the earliest moment your

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corps d'armée could arrive? That was a significant condition of preparation. Why were these vast preparations made by the Transvaal? The First Lord of the Treasury said you were not able to remonstrate against them or to make preparations against them—why? Because of the raid. Yes, Sir, the curse of the raid hangs round us still. It has been one of the principal causes of this war. The raid and its authors have ever since been the evil genius of South Africa. My right hon. friend the late Home Secretary said that the cause of the failure of the negotiations was that the whole atmosphere was poisoned with suspicion. Yes; but what introduced the poisonous suspicion? It was the raid. It was the conduct of the raid itself, and the manner in which the raiders were dealt with. In my opinion, one of the most serious questions raised by the Amendment which challenges the conduct of the Government in dealing with the affairs of South Africa since 1895 is their treatment of the raid. In my opinion it, in the end, made peace impossible. I am not going to enter into details upon this matter. But it is necessary I should make an observation on the attack my hon. and learned friend the Member for Dumfries made on the South African Committee. He charged the members of the Committee, of whom I was one, with a breach of their duty in not pursuing certain investigations. It has been suggested that members of that Committee had some object in not pursuing those investigations, that they deliberately hushed them up. Well, I speak for myself, but I believe no member of that committee ever had such an idea in his head or ever acted upon it. You will find the reason why they did not pursue those investigations stated fully on page 15 of the Report. It was impossible to pursue the investigations without adjourning the Committee to the next session of Parliament. That is the whole story, the sole and only reason. Witnesses could not be got whom it was necessary to examine. You might have sent Mr. Hawksley to prison. But it was the end of the session, and in ten days he would have been released. You might have adjourned the Committee. I know very well that the whole object of the suggestions which were industriously made by the authors of the raid, endeavouring to im-

plicate the Colonial Office, was to prevent a verdict being given by that Committee on the authors of the raid, and if the Committee had failed to report then and there, they would have accomplished their object. The authors of the raid had influence enough in this House and out of this House to have prevented the re-appointment of that Committee eight months later. [HON. MEMBERS: Oh!] There is nothing else in it. It would have been impossible to have delayed for eight months the Report of that Committee. I leave that question for the present; but what I have to ask is—was the manner in which the raid was dealt with one likely to remove suspicion from the people of the Transvaal, or, indeed, from anyone else? Almost all the persons who took part in the raid have been restored to their former positions. The principal author of the raid still retains all the former influence which belongs to the Chartered Company at the Cape. I do not speak of the inferior people who have been restored. There has been no compensation made. Was there not by this treatment of the raid cause for suspicion that the condemnation of the raid was not so strong as it might have been? There is one circumstance to which I must refer, and in the reference there is something personal to the Colonial Secretary. The Report of the Committee said as to the principal author of the raid, that he deceived the High Commissioner, the representative of the Imperial Government, that he concealed his views from his colleagues in the Colonial Ministry, and from the Board of the British South Africa Company, and led his supporters to believe that his policy was approved by his superiors, and that no doubt persons had been induced to join in the raid under the belief that it had the countenance and support of the Imperial Government. The consequences of that conduct are stated in the Report. The result for the time being caused grave injury to British interests in South Africa. Public confidence was shaken, race feeling was embittered, and serious difficulties were created in neighbouring States, and it might have had serious consequences in one or two other directions. Such was the statement, and it was unfortunate and surprising that, while the Report was under consideration, the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary thought it right to state that

in his opinion conduct of that character was not inconsistent with the personal honour of the man who was guilty of it. Why that statement was made at that time I do not know. No explanation has ever been given. I am sure it was an unfortunate statement; I am sure it has given rise to many evils, and to suspicions before we went into negotiations as to what our intentions really were. That standard of personal honour applied to such matters was one which only infused suspicion in the breasts of all concerned. It has done us great harm in the Transvaal; it has done us great harm, in my opinion, throughout the world. What, then, are we to infer from all these rumours, which I believe, myself, are slanders, by which the authors of the raid have throughout endeavoured, sometimes by actual statement, and constantly by innuendo and rumour, to persuade the world that the British Government connived at the raid? Sir, I believe, knowing what I do of the constant tissue of fraud and falsehood by which the authors of the raid carried out their criminal purpose—I believe that when that matter is probed to the bottom, it will be proved to be based on falsehood and fraud. Of this I am convinced, that until that is done we will never get rid of the suspicion and the mischief. The great and growing mischief will not be brought to an end by silence simply; it would be in the public interest, it would be wise and prudent that these slanders and these falsehoods should be rebutted and dispelled for ever. Sir, I cannot but believe that the right hon. Gentleman, not only in his own interest, of which he himself is the judge, but in the public interest, will agree that everything that can be done to refute these slanders should be done. Well, I have said what I have to say upon the policy of the Government which preceded the war, and the firmness, courage, and spirit displayed by all sections of the community have been such as might have been expected from the nation in the situation in which we find ourselves. The unequalled bravery of our troops, the unexampled loyalty and devotion of our kinsmen beyond the seas, are topics on which we can dwell with pride and satisfaction. Of the future what can be said? We feel that our military forces will triumph. Who can doubt it? Who can wish it otherwise? You will have 200,000 men in the field. Why, of course, as the right

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hon. Gentleman said in 1881, "the victory is in your hands; you can subjugate the Dutch race in South Africa." No one can desire that this terrible struggle should be prolonged. In these preliminary combats of a few months you have already had a loss of 10,000 men. But when you have conquered, what is to follow? I do not venture to predict; but the Colonial Secretary will not have forgotten the dangers which in 1881 he pointed out would ensue after victory. We are embarked on this unhappy war. We must fight it out to the bitter end, and secure victory for the British arms. It seems to me, Sir, very much like the situation of two men of equal courage and of equal honour who have been committed to a duel which they never desired by the imbecility of the manner in which their interests were conducted by their seconds. They found themselves in a position in which they must endeavour to take each other's lives. There is one other topic, and the last upon which I shall touch, and touch with a cautious hand. Much has been said of the hostility felt towards us by foreign nations. That is not an agreeable topic, but it is one which in our heart of hearts we shall do well to ponder upon. I know the tendency, the natural tendency of human nature, to believe that all the hostility felt towards ourselves is due entirely to our own superior virtue; but this hostility of foreign nations is a theme upon which you might well pause when you remember that you have drained your country of all its natural land defences. I know the wild talk of mobilising the fleet, and I was very glad to hear that wild talk repudiated. I was going to offer to the House the observations I desire to make in language much more authoritative than mine. Lord Salisbury is a man who puzzles and perplexes us all sometimes by an inexplicable cynicism, and at other times by sentiments which seem to belong to the highest plane of statesmanship. Not long ago he delivered a solemn warning against the vainglorious, boastful, noisy, bullying spirit which is too often cultivated as the only true patriotism. I saw the other day that the German Emperor had been quoting a saying of Prince Bismarck, to the effect that "the panes of glass which the press have broken we have to pay for." Yes, and the British people will have to pay for them in the same way. But, Sir,

the words of Lord Salisbury, delivered in the House of Lords in February, 1898, I wish to quote are these—

"I have a strong belief that there is danger of the public opinion of this country undergoing a reaction from the Cobdenite doctrines of thirty or forty years ago, and believing that it is our duty to take everything we can, to fight everybody, and to make a quarrel of every dispute. That seems to me a very dangerous doctrine, not merely because it might incite other nations against us—though that is not a consideration to be neglected, for the kind of reputation we are at present enjoying on the Continent of Europe, is by no means pleasant and by no means advantageous; but there is a much more serious danger, and that is lest we should overtax our strength. However strong you may be, whether you are a man or a nation, there is a point beyond which your strength will not go. It is madness; it ends in ruin if you allow yourselves to pass beyond it. And my Lords, I am sure that the noble Earl and his friends feel as we do the extreme gravity of the crisis in our country's history through which we are passing, and the extreme importance that we should not allow any party feelings to bias us in discovering and following the difficult, the narrow line that separates an undue concession from that rashness which has, in more than one case in history, been the ruin of nations as great and powerful as ourselves."

That is a lesson which we would all do well to learn. We have been told that we shall derive many lessons from this war, lessons in the art of naval and military preparations; but there is another lesson to learn which far more concerns the safety of this country, and that is—not to exasperate by an arrogant and insolent demeanour those whom we desire to make our friends, not to abuse and insult those with whom we have influence, and to carry ourselves with that moderation, prudence, and self-control which truly befits the dignity of an Empire which is conscious of its own greatness and of its own strength.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN : Every man who addresses the House in this debate must form his own judgment of what it is fitting and useful and patriotic to say on such an occasion, at such a time, and in such an assembly. The right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down has, no doubt, formed his own standard. I can only say that I think to-morrow the country will differ from that standard. What is the situation? We have reached a critical stage of the war. The situation is undoubtedly serious, although I hesitate to adopt the extreme language of

some speakers. I do not believe that the country is in danger. I think such a phrase is excessive, and I think it is unwise to give to others the opportunity of quoting us when we depreciate ourselves. But undoubtedly there is sorrow in many homes. [Cheers from IRISH MEMBERS.] Do you suppose that all of us are not sensible of it? There is anxiety in all our hearts, and there is, above all, in the mind of the people an overwhelming desire that every nerve shall be strained to bring this war to a triumphant conclusion. The country is in need of guidance and of encouragement from this House, not from one party alone. The country asks from all of us a recognition of past mistakes and a reassurance as to the future. The attitude of the country has been admirable. It has extorted the approval even of the most hostile critics. Throughout it has shown no desire to find scapegoats, whether among generals or among Ministers. It has shown that it expects all of us to work together, with a single mind, to discover the causes of our mistakes, to find out the remedy, to profit by those mistakes, and to co-operate heartily, without regard to persons or to parties, in securing the end which we all have in view. That is the situation, and what is the message that the right hon. Gentleman brings to his countrymen? Whom is he addressing to-night? This House? Yes; but what beside? He is addressing all those who have suffered in this war, all who have suffered in this country, all who have suffered in our colonies in Africa, in the Cape and in Natal, where the greatest sufferings have been loyally and readily endured in the confidence that this country will see the matter to the end. And he is also addressing those spectators abroad to whom he referred in his closing passages. And to them what does he say? He enters upon a critical examination—characteristic in this, that it omits almost everything that we think of importance, of all that preceded this war—and with what object? In order to indicate to all these people that the war is an immoral war, an unjust war, that all the sacrifices have been thrown away, that the splendid offers and assistance given to us by our colonies have been futile and wasted, even if they have not been absolutely injurious; and he finds arguments for those who gloat over the misfortunes of the

country. That is not all. He has embarked on a personal and historical retrospect of the situation, and of the events which led up to and accompanied the Majuba Convention. Unlike those of his colleagues at that time who still remain alive, he not only offers justification, which perhaps may well be offered, for the course which was then taken, but in the light of all that has happened since he gives us to understand that if he had influence and power he would do the same thing again, and in the middle of this war, while its fortunes are still hanging in the balance, that is the future which he offers to the people of this country and to our colonial fellow-citizens. One more remark I wish to make about the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, because he thought it appropriate to this debate and to this particular occasion to refer back to the Committee of inquiry into the raid, which was closed by his suggestion about three years ago, and to a speech which I made at that time, which also is now three years old, in order to base upon that a suggestion that that Committee should be reopened. All I say with regard to that to-night is that the matter is down for consideration on the motion of the hon. Member for Merthyr, and when that comes forward I will say whatever I may think it necessary to say upon the subject. The right hon. Gentleman will forgive me if, to-night at any rate, I fail to follow him, because I think I have a higher and a more important duty. How shall I deal with these criticisms against the policy of the Government previous to the commencement of the war? I might leave hon. and right hon. Gentleman opposite to answer one another. I might leave the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for South Shields to answer the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Dumfries. I might leave the hon. Baronet the Member for the Berwick Division to answer the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down. I might refer to the fact that those hon. Gentlemen who have taken this critical view of the proceedings of the Government have not added one atom, one iota, one new fact, or one new argument or suggestion to what they said at great length, and to which we replied at equal length, in the short session of October last. And why are we now, after this House has decided, after the country has decided, again to be

dragged into that issue when we have still more important and urgent matters to consider? But, although I am not inclined to any repetition, although I refuse absolutely to be drawn into a discussion of petty details, yet I do feel that those who are the losers by this war, those especially who have lost in person or friends or relatives, are entitled to have it insisted upon again and again, whenever the question is raised, that this war is just and necessary. I want the House for a few minutes to look at the matter broadly—not to stop to consider the shreds and patches of the subject, but the general drift of events and the general current of policy. We have to watch the river as it flows to the sea and not to waste time in paddling in the eddies which seem to, but do not, delay its course. Speaking from that point of view, I say that the issues between Boer and Briton, between this country and the South African Republics, are great issues, are real issues, are not technical issues—that they do not stand upon the trivialities of debate, and the matter is not to be considered as if it were a civil case in a civil Court. The right hon. Gentleman, I will do him the justice to say, said that these issues cannot be discussed, as they are sought to be discussed by the terms of this Amendment, by confining yourselves strictly to the year 1895, when this Government became responsible for South African affairs. No, Sir, these issues existed—the root causes of this disagreement were there long before 1895, even before 1881. The raid, the Bloemfontein Conference, the franchise question—all these are not, as the right hon. Gentleman appears to think they are, causes. They are only incidents and consequences of the disagreement. This difference, this vital difference, did not begin with Majuba, but it was intensified by the policy of Majuba. That, I think, most of us believe who, as the right hon. Gentleman says I was, were personally and particularly responsible for that policy—even we are unable to resist the evidence of history, the evidence of all that has passed since. We cannot fail to see that, as a policy, the policy of magnanimity was a mistake. What happened? The right hon. Gentleman jumped from Majuba to the raid, and he omitted all the intervening time. Why, before the ink of the Majuba Convention was dry the Boers began to try and break that Convention.

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Why, Sir, the whole history of our relations is a history of this continual effort to get out of the obligations which they had accepted, and which were the conditions of the magnanimity to which I have referred. How otherwise could it be when you think of the facts? Mr. Gladstone was not unfriendly to the Boers. Mr. Gladstone was the head of the Government which made the Majuba Convention; and yet, within three years of the signing of that Convention, Mr. Gladstone was obliged to take all those terrible risks upon which the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down dwelt—the risk of civil war, the risk of Dutch opposition, the risk of serious armament and cost to this country—and to send a military expedition to force and compel the Boers to observe the conditions of the Majuba Convention. That is only one illustration. What happened in the time of the late Government? What happened when Lord Loch went to Pretoria? The history of those proceedings has never been written, and perhaps never will be. But this, at least, is well known, that affairs at that time were in a most critical position, and that military movements were taking place in consequence. I come down to a later period. Only just before the raid, and after we had been only a few months in office, there arose the question of the drifts, and what happened then? We were advised and urged to send an ultimatum which must have led to war and all its consequences, if President Kruger had not given way. We were urged and advised and pressed to send it—by whom? By the Cape Government, in which Mr. Schreiner, the present Prime Minister, was then Attorney General, and not merely a consenting party, but an advising party.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S): Hear, hear, hear!

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The hon. Gentleman opposite will excuse me on this occasion if I think the subject is too grave to give him the notice which no doubt he expects. I have referred to the drifts. I want to refer to another incident which also occurred in the time of the late Government, to which I myself attach very considerable importance. I refer to that admirable dispatch of Lord Ripon's, a portion of which has already

been published in the Blue-book with his consent. I may be told that that dispatch was not sent. No; and if I wanted to make a controversial point I should ask why it was sent to Lord Loch, the High Commissioner, and why he was afterwards told to withhold it? But that is not necessary for my purpose. What I want to point out is that the late Government, just before we came into office, had found that it was necessary and right, in spite of the limitations of the Convention, to interest themselves in the internal affairs of the Transvaal. And I want to point out that their remedy for the difficulties which then existed and which I found confronting me the moment I came into office was a five years franchise. That was the remedy which we borrowed from our predecessors in office, and which I suppose was good enough in their hands, although it is condemned in ours. I think I have stated enough to show that the difficulties between ourselves and the Transvaal were not the work of one Government. Indeed, I should not myself say they are the work of any Government. They are inherent in the circumstances; in the great difference which exists between Boer character and British character; between Boer civilisation and British civilisation; and between Boer education and British education. There you will find the root cause of all that has happened. What has been the Boer policy? I am not talking of any conspiracy; but what has been the Boer aspiration from first to last? It has been to get rid of every shred and vestige of British supremacy, and to substitute for it a Boer supremacy. I do not say that at all times, or from the first, the Boers contemplated that this was to be obtained by force of arms, although they have never shrunk, in my opinion, from indicating that they were ready when the proper time came to resort to arms. But what the Boers hoped for was that what they could not get from the Government they would get from the Opposition. I am not speaking now of the present Opposition. But if any Government had the courage to meet their assaults on the Convention, the Boers trusted to the working of our party politics to give them the victory in the end. And this must also be marked. It was a contest for supremacy; but for what kind of supremacy? The supremacy of the Boers means, as we know,

the inferiority of every other race. Our supremacy, so far as we have been able to use it, has been used and will be used in order to secure the equality of the white races and justice for the black. Well, Sir, there was the issue. It was a contest for supremacy, dating back I know not for how many years, and for a different kind of civilisation. That issue had got to be tried; that battle had got to be fought; one or other party had to give way if peace was to be preserved. Does not the House think now that in this matter we may perhaps have drifted too long? It is easy to be wise after the event. But our hesitation—again I am speaking of no particular Government and of no particular period—has had the effect, year by year, of strengthening the determination and the power of the Boers to resistance. When we came into office we felt very quickly that a solution must be found. Things could not go on with a rapid and daily increase in the hostility between the two races. That was the worst feature of the situation—the growing feeling of dissatisfaction and irritation between peoples who ought to have lived amicably together, and who had, as a rule, previously done so. The time had come when in some way or other this long-standing difference must be settled. We believed then and we hoped to the last that a peaceful settlement could be attained. We hoped that when President Kruger saw how little it was we asked, and how determined we were to have it, he would give way. I take all the blame that the House considers is due for such a belief. If you say that our preparations were not sufficient, that we had not enough troops there when war broke out, that we had not a sufficiently large force there for defensive action, that no doubt is due to the fact that we hoped for peace, that we were determined to exhaust every means for securing peace and to do nothing that we thought would seriously endanger it. You may blame us, and perhaps rightly, that throughout this business we have been too anxious for peace. But no impartial man, no man who knows the facts, can truly and properly blame us for having been too eager for war. Our efforts were fruitless. Our objects were reasonable. They were the same objects that the late Government had. Our demands were moderate even to inefficiency. They were the same demands that right hon. Gentlemen opposite were prepared to

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make. The possibility of a settlement was open up to the last moment before the ultimatum was delivered, and the outbreak of hostilities; and the breach did not come from us. What more would you have had us do? What more would any friend of peace have had us do? There is only one alternative course to the one we pursued, and that is suggested in the speeches of some at least of the hon. Gentlemen opposite. What they say is this—"When you prayed, when you begged, when you supplicated, we were with you; we even looked on without opposition when you pressed, when you urged, when you insisted. But there we stopped. You may do all this, but you must not compel by force. The moment it appeared that President Kruger was not to be moved by your supplications, was not frightened by your insistence, at that moment you should have retired from the scene, you should have scuttled, you should have surrendered the interests for which you are the trustees—the interests, not of the nation alone, but of the Empire." A good deal has been said in this debate about Dutch opinion. I think the Leader of the Opposition said something—I do not know whether he referred to the Colonial Office, or Sir Alfred Milner, or the Government—but he said something about the coolness between ourselves and the representatives of Dutch opinion. I know of no coolness except so far as that arises necessarily from differences of opinion. But I will say this about the Dutch. I appreciate, as every one must do, most heartily and sincerely the difficulties in which our loyal Dutch fellow-subjects have found themselves placed in this situation. Their loyalty is more precious than ordinary loyalty, because of the strain upon them, because of the ties of race, and in some cases the ties of blood, which unite them with those who are now the enemies of the British Crown. I feel all that—I make all allowance for them. But I wish in return that right hon. Gentlemen opposite—and the Leader of the Opposition is a great offender in this respect—would not ignore the loyal British. If their opinion is taken we are told we are consulting the authors of the raid, and that the millionaires come home to reside in Park Lane. No, Sir, those whom we have consulted, whose opinion we value, are those who are now giving of their property, giving

of their children, giving their persons, in order to aid Her Majesty in this conflict. The strain and stress of war has been upon these men in Natal and Cape Colony, and they are bitterly injured and hurt by the neglect which is shown towards their views and by the sneers with which they are occasionally treated. Now, Sir, I say this is my proposition. The war is a just, a righteous, and a necessary war. The opinion of the Irish Nationalist members in this matter is nothing. Their situation is exceptional, and, therefore, I do not appeal to them. I appeal to the party opposite, and I ask them do they say that this war is just, is necessary, is righteous?

[AN HON. MEMBER: They are divided.]

We know they are divided. I venture on the opinion that those among them—I am speaking now entirely of what I may call the British members—who take the view that the war is unjust, unrighteous, are in a majority on that side of the House.

[AN HON. MEMBER: You mean a minority.] No, I mean a majority; and it is a thing to which I think we should not shut our eyes; and which I regard as a matter of great gravity. Sir, it is only because the majority of the Liberal party hold that opinion that they put before the House such an Amendment as this. When you deplore the want of judgment, the want of foresight, and the want of knowledge, you imply, if you do not say it in so many words, that the war might have been prevented if those qualities had been possessed by Her Majesty's Government in the same degree in which they are possessed by the Opposition. Yes, but a war that could be prevented is an unnecessary war, and I am not here to argue that an unnecessary war can ever be a just war. But, Sir, that being the case, I proceed to ask a question. Why have not these gentlemen who entertain these views the courage of their convictions? Why do not they vote against the war? They have no business to vote for this Amendment, any one of them. They should vote for the Amendment of the hon. Gentlemen from Ireland, which is to follow the present one; they should vote for the immediate commencement of negotiations with a view to peace. That is the only consistent and logical course. Instead of which, what they are doing is to vote that this war is unjust, unrighteous, and unnecessary, and then to vote for its vigorous prosecution. Well, but what about the minority—those whom I fear

are a minority—on the other side, those who agree with us that the war is just and was inevitable? I do not suppose that, any more than we, they thought always that the war was inevitable. I take it that, like us, having regard to what has happened, having regard to the proof, the evidence that we have been daily increasing as to the enormous preparations of the Boers, the evidence of a carefully prepared plan for the invasion of British colonies, the propaganda which we know has been going on among the Dutch subjects of Her Majesty, having regard to the conduct of the negotiations, having regard to the delivery of the ultimatum, and the invasion and annexation of British territory, having regard to the terms of the manifestoes that have been issued by the two Presidents—I take it that they feel, as we feel now, that the war could not have been avoided, except by an absolute surrender on the part of Great Britain of all those things to which we attach importance. Then, believing as you do that the war was inevitable, how can you vote for an amendment which says that the war ought to have been avoided? What an inconsistent position; how unworthy of those hon. and right hon. Gentlemen who appear to me to be in the position of accepting something to which they are utterly opposed, because they are allowed to vote for something else with which they happen to agree! A policy of that kind is said to unite the party; well, it may unite the party, but it serves in the face of Europe to throw doubt upon the union of the kingdom. I do not suppose that the country is at all interested in the logical position of statesmen on the other side. I believe, as I have already said, that the one thing which is in their minds is their desire to be assured that the war shall be vigorously prosecuted, and that the results shall be commensurate with the sacrifices which have been made. We have suffered checks, we have made mistakes; I am not anxious to dispute the blame. Let the Government bear the brunt of it until, at all events, the time is come, under happier auspices, when we can see how far that blame is to be apportioned between the system and those who have to administer it. In the meantime blame us by all means. What is urgent is to retrieve those checks, and to repair those mistakes. As to what we are doing in that respect I must refer

again to that admirable speech by my hon. friend the Under Secretary of State for War, which, I am glad to hear from the right hon. Gentleman opposite, excited as much admiration for its manner and ability on the other side of the House as it gave pleasure to his personal and political friends on this side. How do we meet this charge of mistakes? Not by denying the mistakes, but by saying what we have done since, and what we are doing. You say we sent too few troops; we are pouring troops into South Africa—you have been told that in a few weeks you will have an Army thereof about 200,000 men. You said we were forgetful of the need for mounted men; we have been increasing the number of horse infantry until in a very short time the number of mounted men in the British forces will be almost as great, if not quite as great as the total of mounted men in the Boer army. You say our artillery was insufficient, and that it was not heavy enough; we have sent battery after battery until now you have an unexampled force of that arm, and we have at the same time added a number of the heavier form of guns. When the war began no doubt the needs of the war were under-estimated, and at that time—it is part of the same mistake—we failed to respond as we ought to have done to the splendid offers which came to us from our colonies. We accepted enough to show how much we valued their assistance, but we hesitated to put upon them any greater strain than we thought was necessary. What is happening now? They are multiplying their offers, and every one is gratefully, promptly appreciated and accepted. Sir, we shall have in this war before it is over an army of colonials called to the aid of Her Majesty which will outnumber the British Army at Waterloo, and which will be nearly equal to the total British force in the Crimea. It is said, I hope not correctly, that in the first instance the services and special knowledge of these colonial troops were not properly appreciated by the authorities. I hope that was not true; but, at all events, Lord Roberts, with that kindly instinct which makes him so beloved by all who serve him, has selected from the colonial force a guard of honour which he takes as his personal bodyguard. Then we are told that a strategical mistake was made when a

large portion of the Army was diverted to Ladysmith. I will not argue a question which is outside my competence; but if that be a mistake it is rapidly being corrected, and Lord Roberts will shortly have, if he has not already, under his command an army larger than that with which we intended to carry out the original plan of campaign, and upon which we based all our calculations, all our estimates, all our hopes, and which we still trust and believe will fulfil them. Meanwhile the spirit of the nation is absolutely unbroken. There is no sacrifice which they are not willing to make, there is no sacrifice which we will not ask of them if we think it necessary to success. We must go further than this, we admit it. Here is a war under new conditions, in a new country, with new arms, and with a people whose tenacity and courage are as admirable as those of our own soldiers. It has proved to require larger forces than anything that ever was estimated in any scheme that was ever framed by any previous Government in any previous war. That shows us, that convinces us, that the scheme which involves territorial defence as well as offensive action must be reconsidered in the light of recent events. A statement has been promised to the House on this subject, and with regard to it I will only say two things; I will say, in the first place, that one of the lessons of this war is the enormous defensive power possessed by irregular or volunteer troops when fighting in defence of their own country. To that lesson we are widely awake, and it must not be lost sight of in any review of the situation; and I hope that steps will be taken to take advantage of that splendid material which is always at our disposal in this country, and which, with proper assistance, with liberal support and consideration, and perhaps with a great deal of money, may be made the most effective defensive force that the world has ever known. The second point is this: When we propound this scheme we shall do so, not as a party, but as humbly endeavouring to represent the wishes of the nation. We invite suggestions, we invite criticism, we invite assistance to make that scheme perfect; we shall welcome co-operation, and shall not be satisfied unless the whole House joins in what is so important in the interests of the nation. I think that I have been frank with the

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House. I have not spared the Government; I have admitted mistakes: but do not let us make perhaps a greater mistake than any, do not let us exaggerate. We have not told the whole case with regard to these matters. I think that those hostile critics who keep sharp eyes upon our performances might be led by what has been said in some quarters to justify their statement that this Empire is bleeding to death, that our prestige is all gone, and that we lie a helpless wreck at the mercy of our enemies. No, Sir. The situation is really very different from that. What other nation in the world could have put 180,000 men into the field 7,000 miles from its shores—a volunteer army—in so short a time? Where else could the transport have been found for such a huge force, working with such precision, such speed, and such safety? When we talk of defects in the administration, defects on the part of those on the spot and defects on the part of the Office here—I speak in the presence of military men—it appears to me that never before has so large a force been manœuvred, and at the same time the commissariat and the medical service worked so smoothly. There is something, then, to put on the other side. Has any other nation a better right to be proud of her soldiers? Englishmen, Irishmen, and Scotchmen have vied with each other in heroic efforts, and have performed what have been admitted to be almost impossible feats—impossible to any other infantry. May we not for one moment, forgetting all personal and political differences, stand on common ground in admiration of those who have added to the renown which already belonged to the historic regiments in which they served? I speak of the troops from this country, but, of course, I speak with equal praise of the colonial soldiers, who have been shoulder to shoulder in every conflict in which they have been engaged, and who have shown, besides, a special knowledge and aptitude which have made them almost invaluable. All alike are worthy; and I think that whatever we may feel—humiliation if you please—at the defects which have been disclosed, that humiliation must be accompanied by the deepest pride. I have dealt rather by way of summary than by way of argument with the measures by which we are trying to correct

our deficiencies, and by which we hope before long to secure complete success. But when we have secured success, what then? It would be presumptuous, it would be premature, to talk now of the details of settlement. But the nation upon whom we are calling has a right to know, when a vote of censure like this is moved—which, if successful, would change the Government—what the Government think and what their would-be successors think upon the subject—what is, not the details, as I have said, but the general principles upon which we have proceeded. We have had utterances from several right hon. Gentlemen on the front bench opposite. They have been divided. As to such a declaration as that which was made by the hon. Baronet the Member for the Berwick Division, I do not wish to quibble about words, but I say it appears to me that we are in substantial agreement with him. The utterances of other right hon. Gentlemen—the Leader of the Opposition in especial, I single him out only because of his representative character—the hon. and learned Member for Dumfries, the noble Lord the Member for Cricklade were cryptic, but as far as I understood them, profoundly unsatisfactory. I say, speaking for the Government, that in so far as in us lies there shall be no second Majuba. Never again, with our consent, while we have the power, shall the Boers be able to erect in the heart of South Africa a citadel from whence proceed disaffection and race animosities. Never again shall they be able to endanger the paramountcy of Great Britain. Never again shall they be able to treat an Englishman as if he belonged to an inferior race. I have said I do not come forward as an apologist for the Government. If the House thinks that our mistakes are unpardonable, we submit ourselves to their judgment. But, although I will not apologise for the Government, I should like to say one or two words on behalf of this nation. We were asked the other day to dispel the gloom which it was said had settled upon the nation. I do not accept the phrase. I know of no such feeling. I know, as I have said, of anxiety, of regret, and even of a certain perfectly natural irritation, but I know of no hesitation, no vacillation; I know of nothing which approaches to fear or to gloom. Reverses try the temper of a nation, and our people have

borne the test ; and every reverse has only been the signal for new offers of patriotic assistance from this country and new offers from our fellow-subjects across the seas. That, indeed, is a fact of the situation which I hope we can never forget. Never before in the history of our Empire has it so realised its strength and its unity. The splendid and, above all, the spontaneous rally of the colonies to the mother country affords no slight compensation even for the sufferings of war. What has brought them to your side? What has brought these younger nations of Greater Britain, induced them to spring to arms even before you called upon them?

SIR JOHN BRUNNER (Cheshire, Northwich): Liberal policy.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: It is that Imperial instinct which you deride and scorn. Our colonies, repelled in the past by indifference and apathy, have responded to the sympathy which has recently been shown to them. A sense of common interest, of common duty, an assurance of mutual support and pride in the great edifice in which they are all members, have combined to consolidate and establish the unity of the Empire; and these peoples, shortly—very shortly as time is measured in history—about to become great and populous nations, now for the first time claim their share in the duties and responsibilities as well as in the privileges of Empire. Accordingly you have to remember now that you are the trustees, not merely of a kingdom, but of a federation, which may not, indeed, be distinctly outlined, but which exists already in spirit, if not in form. You are the trustees: they look to you as holding the headship of the race; and we owe to them an infinite debt of gratitude for the moral as well as material support that they have given us. This is a question in which their interest is indirect. They see with a clearer vision than we do. Their eyes are not distorted by party politics. Sir, I will never believe that these free communities would have given their support and approval to any cause which was not just and righteous and which was not based on the principles on which their own institutions have been founded. Whatever may be the future, I say we have to congratulate ourselves on the compensations as well as upon the evils of this war. In Africa, these two races,

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so interesting, so admirable each of them in their own way, so different in some things, will now, at any rate, have learned to respect one another. I hear a great deal about the animosities which will remain after the war. I hope I am not too sanguine when I say I do not believe in them. When matters have settled down, when equal rights are assured to both the white races, I believe that both will enjoy the land together and settle in peace and prosperity. Meanwhile, we are finding out the weak spots in our armour and trying to remedy them; we are finding out the infinite potential resources of the Empire; and we are advancing steadily, if slowly, to the realisation of that great federation of our race which will inevitably make for peace and liberty and justice.

*MR. MOULTON (Cornwall, Launceston): Mr. Speaker, I desire to make my position with regard to the war and to this Amendment clearly understood. I regret that in this case I differ from the views held by many of the most respected members of my party. I find I have to go down in the estimation of one I respect and esteem so much as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouth, but I consider that this vote of censure, under existing circumstances, should never have been moved. I do not wish it to be supposed for one moment that I am speaking as an apologist of the Government. My own personal view is that the war is a calamity, and that it is due to the many grave errors that have been committed. I hold the view entertained very largely in the country that the Government deserves blame. This blame the Government have received wherever men have met together apart from party politics to discuss the war. It is blame based not on an elaborate review of the history of England since 1895, but on the broad and simple ground that the country has been allowed to drift into a most serious war with full knowledge that troops to the number of 60,000 were ready to operate against us, and without having an adequate force to protect the colonies that were threatened; and, further, that the Government permitted the general of a stop-gap army to take a course of action which has changed the whole campaign. But what has the country done under these circumstances? Instead of agitating against the Govern-

ment, or showing every sign of disapprobation and restlessness, the country has remained silent—it has maintained what I must term a magnificent silence. In spite of this, now that we are met here in Parliament we are told by all the authorities on our side of the House that it is the duty of Parliament to commence its deliberations not by discussing what is necessary to be done in regard to the war, but by a vote of censure on the Government for the events which have led to the war. When one inquires why this is necessary, one is told that it is due to precedents established by our fore-runners in Parliament. I have a great respect for the great God Precedent; it is sometimes cited with great power, but I do not think we all worship at its shrine nowadays as we did of old. But unfortunately for the argument from precedent, but fortunately for our country, the position in which we stand has no precedent. If I look back into the history of England I know of no case in which England ever stood in its present position. And therefore before we are bound to act on these so-called precedents, we ought to inquire what is the position of England, what is its gravity, and what is the duty thereby rendered incumbent upon us now? The gravity of the situation no one can deny. We see a small nation, half the size of Glasgow, holding the whole of our armies in a state of immobility. And we see that with all the disasters that we have already suffered, it is quite possible that more serious disasters may come; and before the end of this session, which has begun in so ill-omened a way by dissensions, it may be that we shall see fifteen or twenty thousand of our fellow countrymen prisoners at Pretoria. It has been shown also to those who do not love us amongst the other nations of the world how a large portion of our army has been pent up in a distant portion of the world, and how this country has been left almost depleted of troops. Therefore, it becomes necessary that action and action alone should be our watchword. In such a moment we, as a consultative body, can do little. Action is so absolutely in the hands of the Executive that a consultative body is almost powerless. It can stimulate or it can paralyse action, but it cannot direct it. If we believe that action is all important to England at the present moment, that on the events of the next

two or three months depend largely the position of England among the nations of the world, it follows that we, as a deliberative Assembly, should realise that what we can best do as an Assembly is to strengthen and help that portion of the Government which has in hand the action of the nation. Now, that portion of the Government, the Executive, is not of the choosing of those who hold the politics that I hold. It is a Government neither of our choosing nor of our liking, but it is the Government of the day, and every practical man must realise that it is the Government which will wield the whole forces of England for the purposes of this war. Hence we have no way of assisting the nation in this war excepting through the Government. The Executive is the personal part of the Government, which has to act with rapidity in all those things in which a deliberative assembly is wanting. Therefore I myself see that the only possible way for us to assist England at the present moment is by making the existing Government more capable of calling up and using the resources of England. If that be so, it is not enough for us to say that the Government shall have all the sums of money and all the forces it demands; we are bound to assist the Government in all matters that relate to the continuance of the war just as fully and in the same way as if this Government were a Government holding our opinions. Now I am perfectly aware that many people are afraid of such a doctrine as that, because it appears to them that it is an abdication of the position of a deliberative assembly. It is quite true that it is a recognition by a deliberative assembly of the limits of its power. But in olden days, in the time of the Romans, when action became imperative, a dictator was appointed, and the whole of the constitutional government deliberately abandoned its position in order that the dictator should be able to act with decision. Of course, these times have passed away with the forms and expedients which they adopted, but the need still remains, of which those forms and those expedients were the expressions. In a moment like this, we must do for the Government just the same as they had to do—namely, we must render the Executive influential, powerful, and capable of rapid and certain action. Now, my friends beside me will say, if we give to the

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Government the same assistance, support, and consideration in matters relating to the carrying out of the war that we would give to men of our own persuasion, does not that amount to an approval of the war, and will it not be so understood? Sir, the nation is not so stupid as not to be able to distinguish between approval of the war and a right sense of its gravity. The gravity of this war is the justification for our united action; but the question of our approval or disapproval of the war is quite immaterial at the present moment, because we all recognise that the war exists and that if England is to hold her place amongst the nations it must be prosecuted to a successful termination. But it may be said if we follow this course is it not granting an amnesty to those whom we think guilty of so many grievous errors in the past? This appears to me to be a consideration of far inferior importance. I would let all the guilty ones escape if by so doing we should preserve England. The question of punishing the guilty is a trifling one compared with the saving of our country from further disasters. But it is idle to talk in this way at the present moment when you cannot get a hearing, and ought not to get a hearing, in regard to the past. The nation is thinking of the present and of the future; and it is giving a very slight hearing to diatribes as to the causes of the present lamentable state of things. If you want to make a nation realise that it has been badly handled, wait until a calmer time comes, and then your arguments will be fairly heard; but to think that you can get a hearing now is to shut your eyes to the obvious facts. But there is a further matter which I cannot pass by without a word. There are many who would say that before accepting the view of supporting the Government in all things so far as relates to the carrying on of the war, we ought to consider what will happen after victory is achieved. Let us wait till that victory has been attained. We are a long way from that yet. But as soon as that victory comes the imperative necessity of supporting the Executive will have ceased, and then the duty of acting as advisers in this House will have come back again. All that we have got to do now, when the country is casting longing eyes upon us to see how we can be helpful in this time of trouble, is that we should assist those who have

command of the resources of the nation, in order that these resources may be used to the best advantage. But it must not be thought that I hold that we cannot assist otherwise than by a blind support of the Government in a crisis like this. I think that a watchful House of Commons, devoted to saving this country, may be of the greatest possible strength and the greatest possible value in guiding the Government. Let me give an example. Although the country may be willing to spend money, the Government may shrink from making the people feel the expense. Now, if there be such a tendency—if the Government is going to play the part of the merchant who waits till his bills are protested before he collects the money to pay them—nothing would prevent so disastrous a policy so much as a watchful House of Commons. We can stimulate the Government to make its appeals to the nation with due promptitude if we give to it the sanction of our authority. But that is not the only advantage of united action. One of the worst consequences of a motion of this kind is that as long as it is before the House it reduces to silence the only effective criticism of a Government—that of their own followers. So long as we are in a hostile attitude towards the Government, their supporters must be silent out of loyalty to their leaders, but if there is an amnesty with regard to the measures for carrying on the war this will cease. And remember, that if we on this side abstain from party attacks on the Government, the Members opposite ought to abstain from party support of it. It has been rightly said that we ought to have no sham fights, but we ought also to have no sham friendships. If we realise the need of our country, and that the country is looking to us to help it, we should see that while we on this side of the House abstain from embarrassing or worrying the Government we ought to receive from those on the opposite benches all possible help in guiding them so far as it is possible to do so. We ought all to aid the Executive through which we alone can work for England at this moment of national trial, and by this I do not merely mean that we ought to vote supplies, but that we should save it from all annoyance that would hinder its efficiency in the conduct of the war. If reverses come I do not want to add to the labour and

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anxiety of combatting them the feeling, "Oh, now we shall have new worries in the House of Commons." It appears to me that we ought to realise that our relations with the Government are much the same as the relations of the Government with the generals at the front—we have to give them a free hand and bear patiently the reverses which we have suffered or may suffer. There are people abroad who are keenly watching to find the first signs of weariness in this war on the part of England, that they may raise the cry "England is beaten." If you want to make the hearts of these enemies of England sick, you cannot do it better than by letting them see that so far from our reverses producing weariness or dissension, their only effect has been to make the Government step from the position of commanding this House, by a strong party majority, into the far higher position of an Executive which has behind it the willing, resolute, and hearty support of a united House of Commons.

GENERAL RUSSELL (Cheitenham) said he would not attempt to follow the noble Lord who moved this Amendment, or some of the hon. Members who had supported it into the academic discussion regarding the negotiations which preceded this deplorable war. He would not attempt to discuss the grievances of the Uitlanders, the Jameson raid, the Edgar case, or whether it would have been better if this or that despatch had not been written or published, or such a speech had not been delivered. He did not believe that at the present moment the British nation cared one penny piece for their threadbare topics. He would, however, say that, although he could not agree with the measures of these gentleman he was at one with many of them as to their conclusion. He believed with them that war might have been avoided, or if not avoided at least postponed. But how could it have been avoided? It would have been avoided had we consented to hand over our South African possessions to the domination and paramount influences of President Kruger and his followers. It would have been avoided had we agreed to abandon our loyal fellow-subjects to the tyranny and oppression of the lowest and worst type of corrupt Dutch Afrikaner. It would have been avoided had the people of this country been so mean and so untrue to their plighted

word as to hand over the native races whom they had pledged themselves to protect to a rule and a tyranny which had been opposed to the traditions of the British people for many generations. He could not but regret the unpatriotic tone of some of the speeches delivered on this Amendment. He referred more especially to Sir R. T. Reid, Mr. Bryce, and Sir E. Clarke. No doubt these gentlemen believed that they were only attacking the policy of the Government, but in doing so they had in this instance been injuring the nation. These gentlemen had placed a weapon in the hands of the enemies of their country which they had not been slow to use. This was specially the case with the utterances of the Member for South Aberdeen, whose writings had given his opinions an influence, more especially in America, which they did not possess in this country. He believed nothing had done more to prejudice foreign press opinion against this country than the utterances and writings of the right hon. Gentleman as they were continually being quoted. The same was the case with the hon. Member for Plymouth. It was well known that his silvery eloquence had beguiled many a jury and persuaded many a judge, and that he was a supporter of the Government. Why, therefore, in this instance should he have turned against them unless they were in the wrong? The hon. and learned Member had informed them that his constituents did not approve of his action. He (General Russell) was glad to hear that this was also the case with a large number of the former supporters of the Member for South Aberdeen. He only trusted that at the next election it might be proved by a large majority. He believed that when the majority of the House and of the country had considered the whole case they would come to the conclusion that the mistakes that had been made were the fault, not of the Government or of the Executive, but of the system. He could not believe that the First Lord of the Treasury had been correctly reported as having said at Manchester on 11th January that in debates on the Army Estimates he had never heard the statement made that our artillery was not equal to that of other powers. He (General Russell) did not think there ever had been a debate in which the inadequacy of our artillery had

not been brought forward. Moreover, a committee of Service Members considered this very point only last session. The proper proportion of guns was five to every 1,000 men. We had 180,000 men in South Africa, and therefore, instead of 410 guns, we ought to have 900 guns in the field. The proportion at present was only two and a-half guns per 1,000 men. The Government had been asked why they did not send out troops earlier. That again was the fault of the system. If in September the Government had sent out all the troops they could lay hands on, it would have upset our whole plans of mobilisation. Service Members had urged repeatedly that it was absolutely necessary as a matter of precaution that the Government should have in its hands an army corps of at least 30,000 men, which they could send anywhere at any time without calling out the reserves. He hoped when we came to set our military house in order that this would not be forgotten. It had been complained that colonial troops were not employed early enough. It was well known that this had caused heartburnings among our Colonial subjects in South Africa. They could not tell where the fault lay, but he trusted that in the course of the inquiry which the Government had promised, this matter would not be overlooked. With regard to the lack of a map, it was the fault of the military authorities in Natal and not of the Government that no military survey had been made. No explanation had yet been given with regard to the accumulation of stores at Ladysmith, for he could not imagine any place less suited for defence. It was in 1881 his duty to draw out a scheme for the defence of Ladysmith, and he had never had in all his military experience a harder task. The whole essence of the mistakes that had been made lay, not in ignorance of the numbers of the Boers or of their armaments, but in a disbelief in their fighting powers. Sir George White had been blamed for holding Ladysmith. But he thought that every impartial person would admit that if Sir George White—seeing that he had an enormous accumulation of stores to guard, and had no means of ascertaining accurately the strength of the Boers—had retired to the Tugela he would have been condemned for not making a stand. General White had, at all events, prevented the

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Boers from over-running Natal. No doubt our Generals had made mistakes, but he had never heard a complaint against the commissariat or the hospital arrangements. He might say, in conclusion, and he felt certain that in speaking for himself he echoed the feeling of a large number of the Members of this House, that he heard the brilliant speech of the Under Secretary for War with feelings of intense relief. Then, for the first time, he felt assured that the Government realised the extreme gravity of the present situation—a crisis caused by reverses and defeats such as we had not suffered since we lost our North American colonies. He now knew that the Government, whatever might have been the shortcomings and the failings of the past, were determined that so far as human foresight could provide and so far at least as they were concerned, our gallant troops would be furnished with every means to bring this horrible war to a speedy and triumphant conclusion. He was now convinced that they appreciated those feelings of earnest resolve, calmness, determination, and confidence in the righteousness of our cause which had moved the nation to its depth in a manner almost without parallel in history.

*MR. ATHERLEY-JONES (Durham, N.W.): We have listened to very remarkable speeches to-night which have greatly appealed to our patriotism, but which have not answered the questions which have been raised against the Government by this Amendment. In the speech which the First Lord of the Treasury made at Manchester a few days ago he stated that the Government had nothing to apologise for, but the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary to-day has been a speech *ad misericordiam*. Over and over again he said, "We have made mistakes; we failed to send enough troops; now we putting 200,000 men in the field; we failed to send out enough guns," and so forth, admitting to this House that mistakes had been made and faults had been committed. Now the right hon. Gentleman thinks fit to express amazement that men like myself who contend that the policy of the Government in creating this war was wrong are going to vote for this Amendment. He speaks in terms of derision, and says, "You, who say this war ought

never to have been entered into, how can you have the audacity to come forward and say, Prosecute this war to a successful issue? What I should do would be to say, "Stop the war," which I do not believe to be just. Now I have no conscientious feeling on the point. We entered into the war because the right hon. Gentleman put the quarrel on us, and we are bound to prosecute the war until a point is attained when we can properly enter into negotiations for peace. The thing at which I am amazed is that hon. and right hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House who, at the commencement of this war, when they had reason to believe, and did believe it would be a triumphal procession from Cape Town to Pretoria, were the aiders and abettors of this policy of the Government, through the baleful influence of whom the war was brought about, should, in the hour of disaster to the Government and the country, ask the House to join in a resolution which condemns that policy. If it is a just and necessary war, it does not matter whether the Colonial Secretary has learned or not to be a polite letter writer, or whether he has made speeches here which are more worthy of Bingley Hall than this House. I am conscious of what fell from the hon. and gallant Member for Torquay, when he said that the country is looking to this House of Commons to devote its energies to bring this war to a speedy and successful conclusion. I agree with him that the first part of the Amendment is ill-conceived, and serves no useful purpose. I go further, and say, as an humble Member of this House, who feels acutely the position in which the country is placed, it is painful to me to listen to the recriminations from one side of the Table to the other as to speeches made four or five years ago, which were never read by four-fifths of the people, and only read by the other fifth to forget. It is not worthy of the House. With regard to the second part of the Amendment, which deals with our military preparedness, it has been urged against the Government that in the year 1895, or, at the latest, 1896, they knew that these armaments were proceeding on a scale which was totally incompatible with the necessities of frontier protection from savage tribes, but they neither moved hand nor foot to prevent them. It is the humiliation of the House of

Commons that the responsible Ministers of the Crown should offer such an excuse as that they knew the Boers were arming after the Jameson raid, but they did not then dare to say to the Boer Government, stop the armament. Now that that armament has taken place and hostilities are proceeding, it is costing us the expenditure of millions of money and thousands of troops. That being so, I say that the Minister who shrunk from stepping in and coercing the Boers from obtaining further armaments because a band of buccaneers had invaded the Transvaal is unworthy of the confidence of this House, and as a Minister has betrayed his trust. That is a count in the indictment which the Colonial Secretary has not answered, and that is what the man in the street demands an answer to. It is not too late now for the Government to give some explanation which could be construed as a legitimate answer if they so desire. Turning to another point, Why did not the Government send out more than 20,000 troops to the Transvaal when they knew that war was inevitable? Did they know war was impending? If they thought it was not, why were the troops sent at all. They must have known it would only aggravate the Boers. These men were sent out because Sir Walter Hely Hutchinson contemplated the inevitable necessity of war, and represented to the Government that it was necessary to put 20,000 men in the field. The Government acted on his suggestion because they thought war was inevitable. With regard to the Ultimatum, I consider the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary's despatch was the real Ultimatum, and having sent these 20,000 troops, the Government say they did not send more because the Governor-General told them they were enough; and the First Lord of the Treasury said they did not accurately estimate the number of men required, because they did not know how many Uitlanders would fight for the Transvaal Republic and how many for the British, and they did not accurately estimate the Boers because they did not know how many would go to Swaziland and other places to escape commanding. If there was a doubt, why not give the benefit to the British public. What a disparity of numbers. A few months ago 20,000 men were enough, now the right hon. Gentleman put it at 200,000. When it comes to be written

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there will be no more deplorable chapter in our military history than the action of the War Office on this occasion, and the unpreparedness of the Government. The matter does not commence in 1895. Since 1852—forty years—we have been in continual friction with the Boers; we have had little wars with them and threatened little wars; we have had to send out troops, or threaten to, owing to the aggression of the Boers, and yet the Government never took the trouble. [Laughter.] Sir, it is no laughing matter when 20,000 men have fallen victims to the insensate folly of the Government, or to the widows who have lost their husbands, and mothers who have lost their children. Yet would it be believed, those men went into the field of battle to take most difficult positions unprovided with a single effective plan of the country. General Buller, as he tells us, sends his troops under General Warren to take Spion Kop, and he takes Spion Kop, and what does he tell us? That the perimeter of that mountain was larger than he had reason to anticipate, which meant that while he occupied one position on the top of the mountain the Boers occupied another; and because Warren had not a proper map of the character of this mountain, 300 odd graves are on that hill whose rude stones are the standing records of the insensate folly of the Government. The position now is that Great Britain is depleted of its soldiers. How many effective battalions have we in the country? You have had to call on the Volunteers, and send them to serve 7,000 miles away from home, and those that are at home at the present moment have no ammunition with which to practise. It has been called in. We are no doubt safe so far as our shores are concerned, but if we are threatened by a Great Power in the North West of India where are our troops to send out. Then in the Sudan there is the danger from an army of 120,000 semi-civilised well armed men on its borders. I sincerely hope that if overtures for peace are made the Colonial Secretary will not slam the door in the face of President Kruger.

*MR. MALCOLM (Suffolk, Stowmarket) said: As the Leader of the Opposition seems to have decreed that this debate shall continue till to-morrow night, I may be permitted to say a few words to dispel the illusion that the

country thinks the present Government incapable of carrying on the present war, or that it imagines the hands of the Executive Committee would be strengthened by a reconstitution of the Government. I agree with what has been said by the Under Secretary for War that the one thing which the people can't understand is that this debate should continue from day to day whilst much graver matters are waiting to be disposed of. They cannot understand how a party like the party opposite, whose one distinction in African affairs has been regularly and egregiously to mismanage them in every quarter of that continent, should advertise itself in this way to be ready to take the reins of Government, and to compose difficulties in a quarter where hitherto they have only made them. I think the House is being blinded and the country is being misled by a false issue. By the present Amendment we are discussing and are asked to condemn the policy of the present Government in South Africa since 1895; and at the same time we are invited to recollect the sacred doctrine of Cabinet responsibility. By all means blame the Cabinet which was responsible in '84 for the edifice of wrong which was then erected. Blame if you like successive Cabinets and successive Colonial Ministers who have been indifferent and slack in the administration of South African affairs since that date, but do not blame the one Cabinet of the last twenty years which has unmasked the true state of affairs in the Transvaal, which has exposed the growing humiliations of the Uitlanders, and has revealed the corruption of the Transvaal Government in all its nakedness. Of course, the new diplomacy is the thing blamed as the *fons et origo* of all these difficulties—a scarcely veiled attack upon the Colonial Secretary. I make bold to say that we are indebted to the new diplomacy. For twenty years the old diplomacy has failed; for twenty years this country has indulged in a sleek contemplation of its own magnanimity, referred to by Lord Rosebery as the "sublime experiment of Majuba," whilst all the time the Boers have been silently and cunningly arming to the teeth within the four corners of that hateful Convention; for twenty years this country has been content to wear the velvet glove, but now that it has been cast away and the iron hand of the

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Empire has been revealed to all, it appears to you a fitting opportunity to blame the new diplomacy—to blame Her Majesty's Government for achieving that which you yourselves were unable to accomplish. Further, complaint is made that the power of our Empire has been exercised in all its might against two little States. But it is not denied that the corruption and the wrongdoing of these States have been great. We have yet to learn that wrong can be measured by the size of the wrongdoer, or that punishment should be meted out according to the stature of the prisoner. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Aberdeen said in the course of his remarks that our Conventions should be strictly observed with small States, and I could not help interjecting at the time that "such obligation should be reciprocal," an observation with which he was good enough to agree. Then I asked myself whether we should have stood from France or from Russia for one moment such infringement of Conventions as we have endured in the Transvaal. I am convinced we should never have stood them, and I make bold to say that what we could not endure from Paris or St. Petersburg we should not tolerate from Pretoria. And at the same time that we are informed that we are bullying little States by the Member for South Aberdeen, the honourable and learned Member for Dumfries suggests that whilst negotiations were going on we should have been piling up arms in Natal against the day of battle. That is a bullying suggestion, if you please! I asked myself again—would any great State have tolerated it from us? When we were engaged in arranging treaties with France upon the Niger or in the Soudan, with Germany regarding Samoa, or elsewhere, would offensive exhibitions of the massing of forces have facilitated the passing of such conventions? Would they not have been regarded as intolerable by the other contracting parties? Undoubtedly they would, and we have no right to resort to these demonstrations of force against a small country which no great country would have tolerated from us for a moment. I agree with the hon. Baronet the Member for the Berwick Division, who said that the Under Secretary for War had, by his speech, lifted a gloom from the heart of the country. It is true he told us much that was relieving, but he

intimated that he would tell us more, and we are only waiting until the close of this futile debate to learn what steps are to be taken by the War Office for the further defence of the Empire. That this statement which is promised to us is in a condition of suspended animation is due entirely to the Leader of the Opposition, who might have stopped this debate four nights ago if he had so chosen. But he preferred, sadly to his discredit, to invoke the Parliamentary traditions of battledore and shuttlecock instead of considering the interests of the country in this present crisis. I have said that this Amendment is a clever Amendment; it will surely enough scoop into the lobby all those who have forgotten their life-long motto of "Grievance before Supply." Those who have shelved the old Liberal watchword of "no taxation without representation"; those legal gentlemen who seem to think that we in England have a monopoly of that clause in Magna Charta which declares "that justice shall not be sold, denied or delayed to any man," as well as by those who consider us too aggressive in our present policy or not aggressive enough. But the Amendment is not too clever to prevent Members on this side of the House joining together upon this occasion, whatever their feelings may be upon one detail or upon another of the policy of Her Majesty's Government. We recognise it as being a vote of censure upon the Government, and therefore I believe we shall stand together because we disagree *in toto* with the letter and the spirit of the Amendment. We at least will record to-morrow our trust in the governing capacity of the Executive of the day in this time of stress and of battle, and we shall thank heaven that we have a Government which has at least disclosed to the world the true inwardness of this Transvaal rebellion.

*MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.): It seemed to me somewhat painful to hear the right hon. Gentleman boasting in eager and almost extravagant terms of the enthusiasm of the country in sending out an Army of 200,000 men. I am one of those who do not share the hysterical disbelief in the capacity of the British race to deal with any problem that is placed before them. But I do think that, if the right hon. Gentleman and his colleagues had invited the House of Com-

mons and the country last June to consider this enormous scheme of sending a force of 200,000 men 7,000 miles away and incurring a liability of perhaps hundreds of millions sterling; if they had gravely proposed such a policy as that in order simply to enforce the granting of a five years retrospective franchise to the Uitlanders, I venture to think that this House and the country would have refused absolutely to consider proposals so enormously disproportioned to the end to be attained, and would have promptly rejected them with scorn. The right hon. Gentleman added strength to my contention, because he said "our objects are reasonable, our demands are moderate," and that the proposals of the Government were the same as those made in the well-known despatch of Lord Ripon, when Colonial Secretary in 1894, which was not actually sent to the Transvaal Government. The right hon. Gentleman says to us, "Your proposals have been the same as our proposals are, and yet you say, 'We must compel acceptance of these proposals by force.'" That came strangely from the right hon. Gentleman, because four years ago, in August, 1896, he ridiculed the idea of sending an army "to force President Kruger to grant reforms," and said: "That is not my policy, and it never will be my policy." It seems to me that there is a fundamental inconsistency here, as elsewhere, in the statements of the right hon. Gentleman. But I rejoice that the right hon. Gentleman has again defined the limits and the objects of his policy in the definite terms he did in his speech to-night. I think that relieves us from some difficulties in dealing with this question. The right hon. Gentleman takes the footing that this war is a just and a necessary war, and he seemed to regard as a reproach to the Opposition that some of them held that this war was an unjust and a needless war. But we do take that view, and I pin the right hon. Gentleman to his contention that his objects are reasonable, that his policy was the same as the despatch of Lord Ripon, and with that contention in his mouth the right hon. Gentleman has no right to say that we are not justified in arguing, on the facts and on the merits, that this war is a needless and an iniquitous war. We have had recently put in our hands a new Blue-book on this question. I will only refer to one passage in that Blue-book which seems to me to add force

to the unanswerable contention of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bodmin and the hon. and learned Member for Plymouth in the debate of October 19th. The passage I wish to refer to is in a despatch from Mr. Conyngham Greene, in which he dwells upon the second telegram sent by the Transvaal Government on August 21st in connection with their proposals for a five years franchise. He says that he is compelled to regard this second telegram—in which the Transvaal Government reminded the British Government that the conditions which they had merely alluded to in the first telegram were conditions which were absolutely essential to the acceptance of the five years franchise—as making the transaction a bargain pure and simple, and Mr. Conyngham Greene remarks that this additional telegram made it clear that the negotiations "were meant to be off" and therefore he had come to the conclusion, and advised the High Commissioner that it was not worth while to pursue the negotiations further. But what the Boers thus stipulated, most reasonably, was only to have an assurance that the Convention should be maintained, and to insist on the freedom and independence we had again and again promised them—a consideration for granting the franchise to the Uitlanders. This despatch must have reached the Colonial Office, and how can we reconcile those words with the statement of the Colonial Secretary last October in reply to the hon. Member for Plymouth—that he fully intended to accept these very conditions and limitations which are in this despatch said to have closed the negotiations. The Colonial Secretary has said that this is a great natural issue which ought to be dealt with without regard to party. That is exactly the feeling with which I wish myself to approach this subject. I must say that I have been deeply pained at the ignoble and unfair taunts which have been levelled at us not only in this House but in the country—that because we criticise the policy of the Government, and because we say that policy has landed us in an unjust and unnecessary war, that, consequently, we are lacking in patriotism, that we do not appreciate the grave peril in which this country now stands, and that we are not showing proper sympathy for the Army. The man hardly exists who does not feel from the bottom of his

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heart the fullest sympathy with our troops who are struggling so magnificently, and who does not feel the most passionate sympathy with those who have suffered of high and low degree the loss of friends and relatives in this war. If we are sincere in our belief that this war is unjust—and I am speaking my own honest conviction—that fact merely deepens our indignation against those whose folly or misconduct has involved this country in the war. The Colonial Secretary has referred to the magnificent display—I won't call it loyalty, but of the devoted, eager spirit to help to the utmost—by our colonies, and nothing could be more splendid and more praiseworthy. But what was the real reason for that? When Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Canadian Premier, was over here in the year 1897, he said: "We are loyal because we are free." The real principle which underlies this colonial support is that they have been granted freedom and the power to manage their own affairs. They are acting not in obedience to the orders of martinets in Downing Street, but of their own goodwill they have resolved of their own choice to send their own troops in their own way. That is the secret of this Colonial loyalty. That is the natural reward which this country receives for granting freedom and for showing our confidence and goodwill to these people who are allied with us all over the world. Nothing could condemn the Government policy more than this. Had we treated the Boers as we have done our Colonies—if we had shown the same confidence and goodwill—such a policy would have gained for us the sympathy and perhaps, at some time, even the active support, instead of the hostility of the South African Republic. I should just like to refer to one other passage in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman. He said that this war is likely to lead to the two races respecting each other when it is over. But what did he say three years ago? He said that such a war "would leave behind it the embers of a strife which he believed generations would hardly be long enough to extinguish." The one speech, as usual, contradicts the other, and the whole case of the Colonial Secretary from beginning to end could be answered from his own multifarious and not very satisfactory speeches. We have had the official apology in the

speech of the First Lord of the Treasury at Manchester—an apology not improved upon in either House. That defence has been the worst impeachment of the Ministry. I do not want to dwell upon the military side of this question, for that has been dealt with by many speakers, notably by the Member for the Berwick Division of Northumberland in a speech of critical analysis and pulverising power. That speech is one which, in my opinion, shows that the Ministry have been really playing with the country. I would turn to the more serious side—what the Ministry have done to secure peace. What is the essential test whether this is a just or unnecessary war? This war has sprung out of the negotiations since last spring. We are therefore entitled to ask what is the interpretation which the First Lord of the Treasury and Her Majesty's Government put upon that chapter of our diplomacy. We know very well in what way those negotiations commenced. Sir Alfred Milner, at the Bloemfontein Conference, described the franchise as a policy which would place in the hands of the Outlanders themselves the power of enabling them, by becoming citizens of the Transvaal, to remove gradually by their own efforts the grievances which they suffered. That is a policy with which many of us on this side of the House have heartily sympathised. We know how that policy was pressed home again and again. We have heard the statement of the Colonial Secretary that what he demanded was the immediate and substantial representation of the Outlanders in the Volksraad of the South African Republic. Was this proposal ever honestly and sincerely made by Her Majesty's Government? The First Lord of the Treasury, at Manchester, says—

"The probability was that we should obtain such rights for the Uitlanders in the Transvaal as should at least tide over the present year, and the present difficulty until, perhaps, some period arrived when, either by accident or design, it might suit the Boer leaders to precipitate a struggle."

It seems to me that one can put no interpretation on those words other than this—that the First Lord of the Treasury was compelled to anticipate a terrible war such as we have upon us now, at some time or other, and that the franchise proposals were merely of the nature of a

stop-gap, an expedient to gain time, and not a solution of the question at all. Well, then, I will just put this question to the House: Suppose that through the principle laid down by the Colonial Secretary we should have had immediate and substantial representation of the Outlanders: suppose that had been sincerely meant and accepted by President Kruger; suppose they really wanted the franchise and that it had been effectively carried out. Why, that representation would have added from 20,000 to 40,000 citizens to the South African Republic who would have been bound in honour, if there is honour in any of these transactions, to fight against us in the event of the war which the First Lord of the Treasury expected. Could anything be more fatuous than that? If it was not meant seriously how can we be surprised that an acute and vigilant people like the Boers should have their suspicions intensified and became convinced that the whole of this policy was tainted with duplicity, and that they were being marked out as the victims of the ambitious policy of Mr. Rhodes and the Colonial Secretary from the beginning, and that there was no honesty or straightforwardness in the whole business from beginning to end? When we thus left the Boers to choose whether our policy was one of imbecility or duplicity, I ask if either of those policies is worthy of a great nation? What can be less creditable to a great, intelligent, and supreme people like the English, dealing with a humble, simple people like the Boers, who are less enlightened and less progressive, and whom we ought to have taken by the hand and shown the right way to develop their future? Instead of this we had convinced them that they could see nothing ahead but a policy of war, and was it any wonder then that they could only regard this country with suspicion and dislike? We have often heard in this House and elsewhere that the Outlanders are unanimously in favour of these proposals, but I could occupy the time of the House far longer than I should be justified in doing if I attempted to quote in full from the many statements I have here mainly from miners from Northumberland, Lancashire, and South Wales, who have returned to England from the Transvaal. They are men who all state that they went out there because they could get good wages, and after spending a few years there,

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return to England with considerable sums of money. These miners state that there was no agitation for these reforms, that there was no demand for the franchise, and that the greater part of the working men believe that the result of the transference of the Government of the Transvaal from the Boers to the English will be a rapid and decisive diminution of their wages. They are statements not from capitalists and speculators, but from men who have gone out there to work in the mines, whose statements are absolutely trustworthy. They say the Outlander petitions were got up by deliberate threats, that if they did not sign they would have to leave the mine. They were got up by endless floods of beer which had to be resorted to in order to obtain signatures. I could quote passages to show that the names of hundreds of those appearing on the petitions knew absolutely nothing about them. The real secret of this war is the absolute sense of distrust and lack of confidence which English policy has created in the Transvaal. I notice that Her Majesty's Government have now adopted the raid as a legitimate and complete excuse for the position in which they stand. They have adopted apparently the wise and weighty words of a man who is, I regret to say, no longer in this House, and whom I always looked upon as one of the most straightforward men I have seen in Parliament—I allude to Lord Charles Beresford. Speaking upon this subject he said—

“Blame should be attached almost entirely, if not entirely, to that lamentable and contemptible raid. Many of his friends were in that raid—but the question of the honour of one's country was very much bigger than the question of personal friendship. No one who had anything to do with that affair, directly or indirectly, ought to have anything to do with the administration of the Transvaal in the future.”

As I have said before, the Government have adopted the first part of that statement made by Lord Charles Beresford as an excuse for their position, while the hon. and learned Member for Plymouth, in a most eloquent and statesmanlike passage in his speech, urged Her Majesty's Government to adopt Lord Charles Beresford's second point, namely, that those who by implication or suspicion had been associated with the raid and its policy should be withdrawn from dealing further with these problems. The right hon.

Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs made a most important admission in his speech, and that admission practically establishes our case out of his own mouth. He said that the raid had practically destroyed the reform movement in the Transvaal, and that if the raid had not occurred the progressive movement in the Transvaal would have put an end to the domination of President Kruger in a very few years. What more could we wish to have than that statement in order to establish our case, for it admits that a policy of fair play would have stamped out all these conspiracies, would have secured peace, and would have maintained peace throughout the country. The House, no doubt, remembers the well-known words of Mr. Froude in regard to the transfer of the Kimberley diamond mines from the Orange Free State to British control. He described it as "the most discreditable transaction in English Colonial history," and stated that "from that day no Boer in South Africa has been able to trust to English promises." But what was the very first step taken by the Colonial Secretary in dealing with the Transvaal after the raid? Instead of conciliation, instead of meeting President Kruger's magnanimity to the prisoners by concessions, he made a proposal to detach the Rand from the rest of the Transvaal, to give it self government, and to make it a separate community. Could the Transvaal Dutch put any other interpretation upon that proposal than that it was intended to rob the Transvaal of the Rand goldfields as the Orange Free State had been robbed of the Kimberley Diamond Mines?

MR. GEDGE (Walsall): It was only a proposal to create a separate municipality.

*MR. CHANNING: The proposal was quite clear; it gave Home Rule to the Rand with the prospect of gradual detachment from the Transvaal, and it deepened and intensified feeling in that country against the policy of Her Majesty's Government. If the Government were in earnest in pledging themselves to maintain the independence of the Transvaal, why did they not deprive the South Africa Company, which entered into this piratical enterprise, of its charter? I believe the position of the company is exceedingly unsatisfactory, but some

of its directors are men of enormous wealth. Why did not the Government instead of shuffling with the question of indemnity, and helping the company to wriggle out of its liability, force it to pay adequate compensation for the outrage it had committed on a country with which we were at peace? Why was the inquiry into the raid shirked and burked, and why was Mr. Rhodes allowed to escape the natural penalty which his participation in the raid justly brought upon him? His resignation of the position of Prime Minister of Cape Colony was wholly insufficient; his name ought to have been struck off the roll of the Privy Council, and he ought to have been put on his trial like Dr. Jameson and his other subordinates, when, on his own admission, he would have to suffer a similar penalty to them. What natural effect had all this on the minds of the people of the Transvaal? A few days ago there was published in the *Daily News* a striking and interesting interview with Mr. J. B. Robinson, who has special knowledge on these questions. He described in detail a succession of conversations which he had with President Kruger in reference to the raid. I will not quote all the interview, but I will refer to that part of it which is germane to the argument I am advancing. The last occasion on which Mr. Robinson saw President Kruger was after the notorious speech of the Colonial Secretary, in which, with an audacity which I have never seen in any other Member in this House, ventured to state after the Committee had declared Mr. Rhodes guilty of conduct which every honourable man considered dishonourable, that he was free from any suspicion that could affect his personal honour. At that interview President Kruger said—

"Do you mean to tell me as an intelligent man that you accept these statements, and that you believe in them? Do you think we are fools? Do you think for a moment that we do not know the true working of this raid? Do you mean to tell me that you do not know that the men who organised and engineered this raid, organised it for their own benefit, and that they had decided how they would divide the Transvaal, how each of the parties was to have certain interest in this country, and that many of the reformers who were put in gaol were perfectly innocent and ignorant of the schemes of the men who were in the inner circle? There are only twelve men in that inner circle, and they were to share the spoils and divide the Transvaal amongst themselves. They and their companies found the money for the rail. Do you think that we are so innocent as not

to know that Mr. Rhodes, metaphorically speaking, held a pistol at the heads of certain men in England and said to them, 'If you do not support me I will denounce you and your complicity in the raid'?"

That showed that President Kruger and his friends firmly believed in the complicity of the Government with the raid. I will not enter into that topic now; it is a topic which hon. Members opposite are obviously extremely reluctant to discuss, but if they had paid close attention to the evidence given before the South Africa Committee they would be able to say, as I say without hesitation, that that evidence has produced an impression upon my own mind which nothing but an absolutely full and adequate inquiry, with convincing disproof of these presumptions, can remove, of the probable complicity of the Colonial Office in the raid. No one can say that the gravest suspicion does not rest upon the Colonial Office, and it is, in my opinion, the moral duty of the Colonial Office, if in its power, to remove that suspicion by further inquiry and absolutely convincing proof. The argument which I am advancing is that the whole of these proceedings after the raid intensified and deepened suspicion in the Transvaal. I am one of those old fashioned people who think that if the raid was illegal and infamous and discreditable for an individual, or a group of individuals, it would be not less infamous and discreditable if carried out by a nation. I believe that a nation and an individual are alike subject to the moral law, and it seems to me it is not an extravagant conception of the present war to hold that it is an official reproduction of the policy of the raid. We have heard a great deal about the Transvaal armaments, but I should like to know, has not a nation the same right as an individual to self-defence? If we are threatened by burglars we have a right to defend ourselves, and if a nation is threatened with extinction, it also has the right to organise its defences. A very striking letter, written by General Joubert to a foreign correspondent, and published in December in one of the foreign papers, refers to this question of armaments, and as, perhaps, it is the most authoritative statement on the subject, I should ask to be permitted to quote it. He writes—

"Since the Jameson invasion, which we happily repulsed in January, 1896, our Government has been convinced that England, under the pressure of not very creditable influences, would sooner or later declare against the Boers

a war of extermination. We were likewise persuaded that we could parry this danger only by considerable armaments, and while well aware that the war in question would be severely condemned by all the European peoples, we anticipated that none of them would intervene effectively because they would be so strongly impressed by the loud threats of England and by the armaments of her formidable fleet, that the Great European Powers would not venture to protest against the insatiable thirst of the English for aggrandisement, even if their own interests were thereby to suffer. In these circumstances we had mainly to rely on our own strength. To arm ourselves unremittingly, and to hide these armaments from the English: such was our object."

I think in dealing with these momentous issues of peace and war, and life and death, we ought sometimes to place ourselves in the position occupied by our antagonists. That letter was only to be expected when the Boers had witnessed a long series of events pointing distinctly to a conspiracy to crush their independence. I regret my hon. and learned friend the Member for South Shields is not just now in his place. I have great admiration for his brilliant ability and we all delight in his eloquent expression of the opinions he holds, but I regret to observe in him a disposition to enter into that limited and singular competition of some distinguished lawyers on this side of the House, for the questionable honour of acting as leading counsel for the Colonial Secretary. I envy him neither his case nor his defendant. I was somewhat surprised to hear him develop in this House a number of fallacies which I had the pleasure of exposing to my own satisfaction and to the satisfaction of others in letters to *The Times* last November. I will not deal with that correspondence, but would illustrate, by one or two points, the unfairness of his contentions. In the first place my hon. and learned friend quoted a speech of President Kruger for the purpose of showing that he had no intention whatever of giving the franchise. The date of that speech was the 30th May, and the final consideration of the seven years Franchise Act was in the last fortnight in July; and—as Mr. Conyngham Greene stated, and as the Blue Books ought to have made known to my hon. and learned friend what were the amendments introduced into that Act, it would have been more reasonable to have quoted what Mr. Greene reported of President Kruger's and General Joubert's speeches

during those debates, which showed that President Kruger had the firm intention of giving full and complete action to it. My hon. and learned friend ignored all this, and treated franchise and naturalisation as being at the pleasure of the field cornet; but that again is an error, because the law as finally passed made it compulsory to give the franchise and naturalisation when two responsible citizens had shown by affidavit that the residence was sufficient and that the person concerned had not broken the laws of the Transvaal. In other words, the conditions of naturalisation were pretty much the same as in this country. Another extraordinary theory of my hon. and learned friend was that there was a joint right of occupancy on the part of the Outlanders with the original Dutch—they were not aliens at all. It is obvious that they are aliens exactly as aliens anywhere else, except that rights to reside and trade, and rights to equal taxation were secured to them. But my hon. and learned friend holds that the Convention of 1884 contemplated handing over the Transvaal, not to the Dutch population, with whom Mr. Gladstone was in treaty, but to the whole total population. That I considered an insult to Mr. Gladstone's memory. It is as great an insult as the comparison of the financial motives of the Beits and Ecksteins with the resistance of Hampden and Pym to Ship Money, or the American Colonists to the stamp duty. I do not know whether my hon. and learned friend remembers the history of the annexation of Texas to the United States. That transaction was carried out in a manner somewhat similar to what he suggests, and it was condemned by all men of honour and character in the United States at the time, and remains one of the blackest pages in the history of the aggression of the slave-owning interest in America. My noble friend the Member for the Cricklade Division has been well justified in moving this Amendment. I do not myself wish to treat this question from a party point of view, and I have not so treated it. My remarks have not been party remarks, and I have tried to argue the question on its merits. With regard to this Amendment, however, I think it is not altogether satisfactory, and I agree with much that has fallen from hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite as to the illogical and un-

satisfactory support it has received from certain sections of the Liberal party. I do not wish to challenge or condemn the views which other men doubtless hold with sincerity, but it seems to me difficult to understand the position taken up by the hon. Baronet the Member for the Berwick Division and my hon. and learned friend the Member for South Shields. We all know that these hon. Gentlemen and others take their opinions from Lord Rosebery—perhaps that may be an offensive phrase—I will say they are in general agreement with the policy and actions of Lord Rosebery. I think that Lord Rosebery's conception of what he calls Liberal Imperialism—the doctrine of unlimited expansion and that England had a certain moral duty to take the whole world under its control—is a dangerous and disastrous policy for this country. I think that the sober and wise policy which prevailed throughout the century in the times of Sir Robert Peel and of Mr. Gladstone, and until Lord Beaconsfield came forward as an eloquent and almost poetic exponent of this gospel of annexation, was more worthy of support. What is the attitude of Lord Rosebery and his friends with reference to this Amendment? No one has used stronger arguments to hound on the Government into this war than Lord Rosebery, and I cannot understand how that attitude is reconcilable with the support of this Amendment. The hon. Member for the Berwick Division said that he did not wish to reverse the policy of the Government. But if this Amendment means anything it means the condemnation of the whole policy of the Government since 1895, as having led up to and brought about the present disastrous and unsatisfactory war. I care little about the failure, conspicuous enough, of the Government to make proper military preparations and to conduct the war effectively—that is a matter which could be remedied. But the question of policy is the essential issue raised. What I wish to do with the deepest sense of responsibility is to touch what seems to me the real kernel and core of this question. The charge which I have to make is that the policy of the Government in dealing with the grave and serious problem of mixed races in South Africa—a problem tenfold more grave and serious where jealousy, suspicion, and hatred have crept in—has

failed. Where I quarrel with the Government is that they have totally failed to grasp and deal with the conditions of that tremendous problem. We know very well the forces that are at work in South Africa. We know what happened with regard to the Kimberley Diamond Mines; they were turned into a strict monopoly, and enormous power was concentrated in the hands of a small syndicate of millionaires. They stretched their power over the goldfields in the Transvaal as soon as they were discovered, and year by year the gold mining interest is more and more concentrated in a few hands. It seems to me a scandalous misuse of the term to refer to the poor unfortunate Government of the Transvaal as an oligarchy. Is a Government an oligarchy which is supported by every man, woman, and child under it with the last drop of their blood? No, Sir; the real oligarchies are these dominating financial syndicates who have far too much power not only in South Africa but in this country. They are a great and terrible danger, and the gravest charge which I bring against the Government is that they have thrown the weight of their influence on the side of this financial oligarchy who are not content with an economic control but now wish to grasp also the whole political machinery of South Africa. We can see the political results in the demand for the suppression of self-government in Cape Colony, a demand which deliberately plays into the hands of the conspirators who desire to dominate South Africa in the interests of capital and not in the interests of the races concerned.

*CAPTAIN PHILLPOTTS (Devon, Torquay): I cannot congratulate the Opposition either on their policy or their patriotism. As to their policy there can be no doubt that the country is heartily sick of the wrangle which is going on in this House, and is anxiously looking forward to the time when the House will proceed to more important business. As to their patriotism, the official Opposition know very well that they cannot turn out the present Government even if they had the will, and the only result of this Amendment will be to make the enemies of the country think that it is divided on the question of the war. In some parts of the country it is the practice to set up a calf's skin stuffed with straw in order

to make refractory cows give their milk. The noble Lord who has moved this Amendment occupies that position; he has been set up to attract votes into the lobby, and it would seem from some of the speeches that that operation will be successful. The hon. Baronet the Member for the Berwick Division taunted the Government with having brought forward the excuse that they were wise after the event. Here is an extract from a speech made by one who was wise before the event, the Leader of the Opposition, on the 17th of October, in this House—

"Now, Sir, I am glad that the Government are at least not falling into an error that has not infrequently been made by our countrymen in the past times, and that they are sending out—after some delay, it is true, an ample force for the purpose of effectually prosecuting and concluding this enterprise. The difficulties there are such that they will try to the utmost both the courage and endurance of the soldier and the skilled general. We have the most complete confidence in our men and our officers, and we know that these difficulties will be successfully encountered."

Having delivered that speech, the Leader of the Opposition will now, I suppose, deliver a speech in support of this Amendment and vote for it. On former occasions the right hon. Gentleman has spoken in one way and voted in another. The Opposition are taunting Her Majesty's Government and their supporters with having made insufficient preparation for the war. A taunt of that kind can only be compared with Satan reproving sin. What has been the policy of the Liberal party for generations past but to cut down the defensive armaments of the country, and to the sacrifice of efficiency to expediency whenever they had an opportunity of doing so? The Government undoubtedly made mistakes, but the greatest mistake they were ever guilty of was that they did not, when they came into power, come down to the House and tell the country the lamentable state in which they found the defensive forces of the Empire, and the defective condition of the artillery. It has been said that if you allow weeds to grow one year it takes seven years to eradicate them, and I say that for one year that the last Government was in office it would take several years to correct the mischief they have done. Certain members of the Government have

been accused of making rash speeches. Well, the members of Her Majesty's Government are not the only people who make rash speeches. Many of the supporters of the Government have done so, and I for one plead guilty to making a rash statement, in addressing my constituents. I praised up certain members of the Opposition for their patriotism and statesmanlike support of the Government in their difficulties; and I was rash enough to name the hon. Baronet the Member for the Berwick Division amongst others. I know better now. I do not think that all those hon. and right hon. Gentlemen who have spoken in favour of supporting the Government will stultify themselves by going into the Opposition lobby. I hope they will not prove that if you scratch a patriotic Liberal Imperialist you will only find an unpatriotic partisan. Some Members opposite have offered to Her Majesty's Government conditional promises of support. No doubt Her Majesty's Government will be properly grateful for that support, but I hope at the same time that the Government and the Whips will not rely too much on it, for if they do they may find that though the political flag of truce has been hoisted, that they are exposed to a galling fire. I trust they will look out, and not be caught napping in that respect. It has been said that the result of the war will be to accentuate the differences that exist between the Dutch and the British races in South Africa. I do not believe in that for one moment. The Dutch have been opposed to the British mainly because they held them in contempt, although there were other reasons also; but after this war, whatever else may happen, they will have learned to respect Englishmen. If the Government of this country had not come forward to support the undoubted rights of the English in South Africa we should have lost the support of our colonies, and led to the breaking up of the British Empire. The effect of this Amendment can only have a bad influence on the country, and lead our enemies to believe that we are disunited. They will look at what has occurred in the House, and at the result of the division if a division takes place. But the heart of the country is sound, and I think that hon. Members opposite will find in the time to come when they go before their constituents that in making these

Little Englander speeches they have made a political mistake. The hon. Gentleman opposite who spoke last seemed to find some difficulty in pronouncing the word "loyalty." I am not surprised; I would be very much surprised if I thought he had any experience of that sentiment, judging from his speech.

*MR. CHANNING: What I said was that the colonies did not render their help merely from the sentiment of loyalty, but spontaneously and of goodwill.

*CAPTAIN PHILLPOTTS: That is my case. Loyalty was the mainspring of their action. I think the hon. Gentleman gave the whole of his case away when he showed the vast preparations that had been made by the Transvaal Government for the present war. I think it is necessary for everyone of us who has the welfare of the country at heart to support the Government in the arduous task that they have undertaken.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): The Amendment which this House has been engaged in discussing since Tuesday last is a somewhat peculiar one, and I have been requested by the Irish Nationalist Members to explain why it is that they find themselves unable to vote for it. It consists of two portions. The first part proposes to censure the Government for the want of knowledge, foresight, prudence, and judgment in the conduct of the negotiations in South African affairs since 1895. Although I should have wished to have seen that portion of the Amendment so drafted as to raise a clearer issue as to the justice and necessity of the war, still, as far as I am concerned, and as far as most of my colleagues are concerned, had the Amendment been confined to that portion we would have gladly supported it. But when we turn to the second portion of the Amendment, we see that while it is proposed to censure the Government for their want of knowledge, foresight, and judgment in their preparation for the war now proceeding, we are constrained to interpret the second portion of the Amendment into practically a declaration that the Government ought to have made better preparation, and that the war ought to be prosecuted to victory. Believing as we do that the war is unjust—one of the cruellest and

most unjust ever undertaken in history—believing, as we do, that it is an unprovoked war, and a war of aggression, we find it impossible to support the Amendment. I think the overwhelming majority of our Irish people regard this war as unjust, and entirely unnecessary, and we are convinced on the evidence, and on the merits, that this war has been the work of a ring of unscrupulous capitalists, that the reasons and pretexts which have been put forward to justify it have in truth nothing whatever to do with the cause of it, and that the inmost purpose of this narrow ring of capitalists is to rob a people against whom this country has no just right of complaint, and to rob them because in their territory, unhappily for them, there has been discovered the richest goldfield in the world. Holding that belief firmly it would be impossible for the representatives of Ireland with any show of honesty to vote for an Amendment which seems to blame the Government for not making greater preparations to carry on the war to its iniquitous and cruel termination. I might almost conclude without further explanation, but there are two points which have not been much alluded to in the course of the debate to which I desire briefly to refer. Last autumn and spring the chief explanation put forward as a justification of the war were the grievances of the Uitlanders. But we hear very little now of these grievances. They have vanished into the background. I remember hearing the Colonial Secretary declaring that this country was fighting to set free from their grievances not only the British Uitlanders, but the Uitlanders of every nationality of Europe. I challenge the Government to say to-day whether it is not the fact that in the army of the Transvaal and Free State Republics, there are not twice as many Uitlanders fighting as on the British side. [An HON. MEMBER: Four times as many.] Yes, perhaps, four times as many. It is no wonder that the grievances of the Uitlanders have disappeared from the case of the Government when they find that there are Scandinavians, French, and German Uitlanders spilling their blood in defence of the country, to which the British Government, we were told, was going to give freedom. I have not the least intention of going into details on these matters, but I emphasise the fact that, up to this hour, no honest, straight-

forward answer has been given to the question often propounded in this House and the country—"What are we fighting for?" Different answers have been given. I will only quote one, because it appears to me one of the true causes, as well as a sinister statement. Speaking in London on the 18th December the First Lord of the Admiralty used this language—

"The appeal comes to us from the Cape, sweep back the invader; let it be known throughout South Africa that it is the British race which is the predominant race, and intends to remain the predominant race."

[HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear!] I am glad the First Lord of the Admiralty stated that in an unguarded moment. Yes, that sentiment is cheered, and that is what you call liberty and equal rights for all. We know from long and bitter experience what that means. Predominant race! that is what you are fighting for—to put the Dutch under your feet in South Africa; but allow me to tell you you will never succeed. It is an infamous object; the conscience of humanity will be against you in this struggle, and although for a time you may beat down these people by overwhelming numbers, you are but creating for yourselves, as a result of this war, far away in the Southern Seas, 7,000 miles from your shores, another Ireland, which will be infinitely more difficult to hold down than the Ireland which is so close. Now, I desire to say a few words on a subject on which I feel very keenly, namely, the attacks that have been made on Sir W. Butler. This subject is closely concerned with the principles on which the Amendment is based, and I shall honestly endeavour to approach the consideration of it from the point of view, not of an Irishman, but of a member of the House of Commons, who desires to see fair play done to everybody. Now what is the exact state of the case in regard to Sir W. Butler? He, a distinguished soldier of the Queen, was in military command in South Africa when war became imminent. His resignation from that command was accepted by the Government, and it is idle to tell me that the acceptance of the resignation of a commanding officer in a distant country, on the eve of war, is not a very serious matter for that officer, all the more especially if there be truth, as I believe there is truth, in the statement that his resigna-

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tion was in consequence of communications, more or less in the nature of a censure, which reached him from the Colonial Office or from the War Office—but from the Colonial Office, I think. When a question was put the other day to the Secretary of State for War why it was, when Sir W. Butler had been made the object of an unheard-of torrent of abuse and vituperation, that he had not defended his subordinate—we should all remember, and British officers opposite should remember, that the position of a soldier is particularly cruel, because his mouth is shut by the rules of the Service; and it is the bounden duty of his political superiors to defend his character when attacked, or, if they cannot defend it, to retire him—what was the answer of the Secretary of State for War?—

“All I can say is that if the head of a department which, as the noble Lord knows himself, is somewhat hard-worked, even in ordinary times, were to take upon himself in a time like that through which we have been passing, to reply to every attack in the press on himself, or on his subordinates, he would not have much leisure left for the legitimate work of his office.”

I say that was a mean and evasive answer. His Lordship levelled the case down to an ordinary criticism of subordinates who are not resigning their position—to the ordinary kind of criticism to which we are all subject in the press of the country. Is that a fair answer in regard to a soldier placed in the peculiar circumstances in which Sir W. Butler was situated, and who, when he resigned, was subjected to a tempest of outrage absolutely unparalleled in my memory? What were the charges made against him? He was said to be superseded because he had betrayed his duty as a soldier, and allowed his political opinions to overcome his sense of duty to the Queen and to the Army; that he had not sent to the Government proper information as to the condition of affairs in South Africa and the resources of the enemy; and furthermore, that he had used his position in South Africa to block and obstruct the defences of the frontier of the colony. Now we have had a statement from the Under Secretary for War in this House that there is not a shadow of a shade, not a shred of justification for all this storm of vituperation and insult, for we are told that the Government had all the information they desired to guide them, that they

believed it to be quite true, and that not a single word had been uttered by the Government that they had any cause to complain of Sir W. Butler in regard to the defences of the colony. Is it the way in which a soldier should be treated by his superiors, to be left unsheltered against the outrages hurled against him for three or four months, and no justification given by his superiors, until that justification is dragged out unwillingly in the House of Lords? And then we see the noble Lord the Secretary of State for War comparing the case of the resignation of Sir W. Butler to that of any subordinate, or even to the Marquess of Lansdowne, who if he had resigned would not have had his mouth shut, though a Member of the Cabinet, but would have been released from his oath of secrecy, when he could come down to the House of Lords to give his explanation. Further, there is a matter which requires very careful consideration and investigation. We were told by the First Lord of the Treasury that the sole cause of the acceptance of Sir W. Butler's resignation was a difference of opinion with Sir Alfred Milner in regard to politics. It may be said, “What business had Sir W. Butler, who is a soldier, to interfere in politics? He ought to have left politics alone.” But we know perfectly well that owing to the peculiarity of his position in the Cape, he was transferred from the position of a simple soldier to that of High Commissioner, and it became his duty then to send home political despatches. What was done with these despatches? The history of the treatment of these despatches is one of the most infamous things connected with the whole of these transactions. While voluminous quotations from the *Cape Times*, occupying whole pages of the Blue-books, were sent home by Sir A. Milner in support of the alleged conspiracy against England, Sir W. Butler was denied a hearing for his despatches, which are still suppressed, with the exception of one, giving his opinion of the operations of the South African League. That is to say, the hell-hounds of the South African League were set against Sir W. Butler, while his arguments were completely suppressed, and his mouth shut. There are one or two questions which ought to be asked, which have not been pressed by Irish Members, but by certain of the newspaper press, al-

though I notice these have become pretty silent since Parliament met. I think, however, that we are justified in pressing for some further details as to the plans of defence which Sir W. Butler laid before the Government before he gave up military employment in South Africa. The Secretary of State for War said in the House of Lords—

“There were despatches, no doubt, containing plans of defence for the Colonies—plans of considerable minuteness—and for that very reason I object to presenting to Parliament Papers containing very confidential matter, and which, moreover, it is not usual to present to Parliament.”

If that is so, the whole press of the country ought not to have been allowed unchecked and unproved by the Government to charge this soldier with betraying his country by his arrangements for the defence of the Colonies. It has been asserted, and it is believed by many people, that one of the recommendations of Sir W. Butler was that, in the case of war, no attempt should be made to garrison the colony of Natal north of the Tugela river. We are entitled to know whether that is true or not.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): No such thing. It is not true.

MR. DILLON: One of the causes of the “entanglement” at Ladysmith, which the First Lord of the Treasury says was the source and root of all the disasters to the British, was the reckless promise given on the 25th May, 1899, by Sir Alfred Milner to the Government of Natal. When the Governor of Natal spoke to the Prime Minister, and asked him to pledge himself to a policy of war, the Prime Minister said he was afraid to do so, because it would militate against the interests of Natal if the British Government withdrew after all. Then Sir A. Milner wired—

“You can tell Minister that it is out of the question that any invasion of Natal should be tolerated by Her Majesty's Government. Such an event is highly improbable, I think, but Natal would be defended with the whole force of the Empire.”

And that promise was endorsed by a special telegram from the Colonial Secretary. That most reckless promise was given for the purpose of conciliating the military authorities after-

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wards. Is it not time for Ministers to cease saying that there has been no interference between the military and political authorities? That promise was given for the purpose of obtaining from Natal the support of the war policy, which up to that time the Government of Natal had refused to give. They were in favour of peace. On that reckless promise the Government of Natal declared for the war policy. That promise has not been kept, and could not be kept. It was given for an evil purpose, but in the attempt to keep it all the disasters which have overtaken the British Army have been brought about. That was the first of these movements which appear to me to have been made in pursuit of the same evil policy. The second of the movements was made on 22nd September last. To the astonishment of all South Africa a large body of troops moved out to Glencoe, in the teeth of the advice of the most skilled military advisers of the Ministry, and with this result, that on the day after these troops were moved commandeering was commenced in the Transvaal. On the 22nd September the Governor of Natal, Sir W. Hely-Hutchinson, telegraphed to Sir Alfred Milner that according to the best information he had received the Boers would not invade Natal or declare war unless the troops were moved to Glencoe; but if troops were moved to Glencoe the Boers would accept the challenge. On the evening of the 23rd a message came from the Colonial Secretary giving the text of the dispatch of September 22nd, and in the teeth of his own opinion given on that very day, and on the advice of our representative in Natal, on that very day they accepted the despatch of September 22nd as a declaration on the part of the Home Government that war was certain. And *The Times* correspondent on that day declared that “the movement of troops to Glencoe gave to the war party in Pretoria the excuse they were looking for and decided the balance in favour of war.” Well, there may have been a war party in Pretoria; but from all my reading of this transaction I am convinced that neither President Kruger nor his advisers belonged to the war party. I am certain that there was a war party nearer home. That movement of troops was intended by those who pulled the strings to force the hands of the Boers. If there were any doubt as to

the existence of this war party in Pretoria I would just quote from a private conversation between Mr. Smutz and Mr. Conyngham Greene—

“When we parted he (Mr. Greene) entertained a strong hope that a settlement would be arrived at on the proposed basis, and strict secrecy was alone necessary, as the party would be against a settlement if they came to hear of it.”

And they did come to hear of it. That conversation took place a fortnight before the troops were moved to Glencoe, and they immediately took steps to frustrate a possible settlement. If it had not been for the position of Sir William Butler I would not enter into this question at such length. This is a shameful war and the conscience of all civilised mankind is against it; and although it is considered on that Bench to be fashionable to speak with contempt of the opinion of Europe, they will find in the long run that it is an expensive position to occupy. They will find when the opinion of Europe is unanimous in a matter of this kind the issue may be serious. Already England has suffered defeats and disasters greater than any in her history since the revolt of the American colonies. The military prestige of England is irretrievably ruined. [Laughter.] You laugh at that sentiment. You laugh at the opinion of military experts; but I say it will take you two generations to recover your military prestige. When I heard the Colonial Secretary describe the military preparations, and that you were putting 200,000 men into the field to conquer what you put at the outside as 50,000 farmers, I think it is a pretty condition of things that you have brought England to, for you are publishing to the world that it takes four Englishmen to meet one Boer. The international position of England is worse and lower than it has been at any time throughout the century. You watch now without a word of protest while Russia calmly absorbs Persia, a state of things which last year would have been regarded as a national crisis. Suppose after enormous sacrifices you bring this war to a successful issue—and I have no doubt it will be possible for you to do so—suppose you break down the resistance of this small people, where will you be then? You will have to maintain an enormous army in that country for a long period. The Colonial Secretary says this war will produce peace,

and love, and mutual respect; but in the meantime we are realising, by the many desolate homes in England, that it is going to be a very expensive luxury. You are trying to trample these people down and to deprive them of that liberty which they have won through two generations of blood and tears, and which they prize more highly than life itself. I would remind you of examples in the history of the world where small peoples have brought great empires into difficulties which have influenced the whole tide of their future, and animated by some lofty impulse, it has served to inspire them, and the generations which have come after them; and I tell you now, as I believe it firmly, that it is beyond the power of this great and mighty Empire to deprive these people of their liberty, because by the splendid stand they have made they have asserted a claim to liberty and freedom which no amount of brute strength will ever crush. You may trample them down by your innumerable hosts; but the conscience of mankind will be against you. These people will rise and rise again, and my conviction is that even if you conquer the Transvaal the ultimate result will be the loss of South Africa to England.

*MR. COURTNEY (Cornwall, Bodmin): No one who heard the speech of the Colonial Secretary this evening could have helped admiring its force, its ability, and its effectiveness. Never, I think, has he addressed this House with such energy; never has he displayed such debating power. And it is no wonder, Mr. Speaker, that he should be moved to a great effort on this occasion. He had to vindicate the nation; he had to vindicate the Government; and, above all, he had to vindicate himself. He expressed in eloquent terms the sense of responsibility that is upon him, and no one who has any human sympathy can deny some fellow-feeling in reflecting what a burden now lies upon the Colonial Secretary. Be it for glory or for condemnation this is his war. It may be, as he says, that it was inevitable. I shall deal with that presently. I do not believe it. Putting aside the statement and looking upon this as a matter of statesmanship, which might be dealt with as any other question arising in the course of our history, I ask hon. Members to consider candidly for themselves whether, in their own minds,

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they do not confess that if any other member of the Cabinet than the right hon. Gentleman had been at the Colonial Office, there would have been no war. We had a Conservative Ministry in power from 1885 to 1892, with the exception of a few months in 1886, and the Colonial Minister of those years maintained peace in South Africa. There was no peril of war pending then. It may have been a mistake on the then Colonial Secretary's part not to accept the inevitable; but he at all events staved off the evil hour which the present occupier of the Colonial Office has chosen to accept. I am not saying it is his fault, or that history will record it to his condemnation. But the responsibility for good or evil—for the present war, rests upon himself. The right hon. Gentleman takes comfort in the reflection that at the present time he is supported by the mass of the nation. I do not question the accuracy of that statement. Most sorrowfully I admit it to be true. But is that any final criterion of judgment? Lord North was supported by the mass of the nation, but what do we think of Lord North now? To come down to our own time the Crimean War was also supported by the mass of the nation. Prominent members of Parliament who opposed that war lost their seats in consequence, and were exposed not infrequently to personal insult. I believe Mr. Bright's effigy was burned in Lancashire for his opposition to the national will, and yet the present Prime Minister has told us that the nation then put its money on the wrong horse. That the nation supports the Government at this moment may be a great comfort to the Colonial Secretary, but the fact offers no abiding security. That glory may pass away as many similar glories have passed away, and the statesman who is idolised by his generation may be regarded by subsequent generations as a man who made a colossal mistake and exposed his country to a colossal misfortune. The right hon. Gentleman said that the war was an inevitable war, and he seemed to hint that some of his predecessors had been weak in attempting to postpone the calamity. Boer and Briton exist side by side in South Africa. In no other way than by war could the difficulty be solved which should be uppermost. Other suggestions have been tried, no doubt, from time to time; other policies have been adopted

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by other Ministers. The Colonial Secretary said they had failed, as they were sure to fail. This necessity of a contest, of a bloody contest of war, arose as the only way of solving the question which should be supreme. I do not recognise the necessity of either being supreme. Then, it is said, the policy of magnanimity failed. Magnanimity! The very word betrays an underlying fault. The Boer, I am told by those who know him best, teaches us this lesson. Treat him as a friend and an equal, and he will be staunch and true to you in all the relations of life. But let him suspect that you are endeavouring to be his superior, let the knowledge of your intended mastery be made manifest in your action and you will find him not the friend you might have made him, nor the servant or inferior you wished him to be. That is the case here. But as to this policy of magnanimity, Mr. Speaker. Let us clear our minds of cant. Hon. Members think it is our noble action after Majuba. ["Gladstone!"] Oh, I am not going to let Mr. Gladstone, any more than the Colonial Secretary, alone. We took away self government from the Transvaal in 1877. The Transvaal remonstrated, and their wrongs were taken up in England by the Liberal party. Mr. Gladstone went down to Midlothian and denounced the occupation of the Transvaal. He said in words which must be weighed to be realised and understood, that "if the Transvaal was as valuable as it was valueless he would have nothing to do with it." I could not, if I would, search all the speeches of the Colonial Secretary, but I suspect that those who take the trouble will find that in the speeches, before 1880, he denounced in the same way the seizure of the Transvaal. What happened? The Liberal party came into office in the spring of 1880, and the Boers looked for the redress of this wrong they had suffered. They got no redress, and in December the Boers rose in arms. Then it was that this policy of magnanimity prevailed and the Transvaal was restored. What is the magnanimity of restoring that which has been stolen, which was not restored on grounds of justice, but only after we get a knock on the head? There is no magnanimity in it. The Colonial Secretary said that the policy of magnanimity had failed. If there was no magnanimity in it the policy of magnanimity could not have

failed. But even in the end when the Government did make restitution they did not restore exactly what they took away. They put qualifications in the restitution which the Boers at the time protested against, and said they would never sit down quietly under; and they attempted from that time downwards to recover the position they held before the seizure of the Transvaal, and to be put back in the same position as the Orange Free State. Incomplete and tardy, as it was, the policy which was carried out in the restitution of the Transvaal had not failed. On the one side there had been resentment, and on the other side presumption. These feelings survived amongst some in South Africa, but they were never shared by responsible men in authority. One of the last declarations made by Mr. Kruger last summer with reference to this act of Mr. Gladstone in restoring the Transvaal was a recognition of the admirable, statesmanlike, Christian spirit [ironical laughter] which was shown in restoring the Transvaal, when the English Government had it in its power to withhold it by force of arms. I noticed that an hon. Member laughed when I suggested that Paul Kruger had spoken of this restitution as an illustration of Christian spirit. Is it the feeling that Paul Kruger is nothing but a canting hypocrite. ["No, No!"]

*CAPTAIN PHILLPOTTS: I laughed because I thought it was very ridiculous to suppose that Mr. Kruger ever imagined that the Transvaal was given back from any Christian motive.

*MR. COURTNEY: It is not worth while pursuing the discussion on that point; but what can be ridiculous in supposing that an act of Mr. Gladstone was animated by Christian spirit? Well, I was saying when this diversion took place that the restitution of the Transvaal did not fail; because for years the Transvaal went on without causing us any real disturbance; and as far as these vital elements of conflict upon which the Colonial Secretary dwelt are concerned, be it observed they are not confined to the inhabitants of the Transvaal State. They are between the Boers and the British, and not the Boers of the South African Republic alone. They extend to the Boers in the Free State, Cape

Colony, and Natal, as well as to the Boers in the Transvaal. I say that the whole history of the movement is foreign to the suggestion that there was any diversity of races such as to make it inevitable that a war between the two peoples should ensue. Look at the facts upon which he relies to prove his theory. The Colonial Secretary has cited the incursion of the Boers from the north which had to be repelled by Sir Charles Warren. But did the action on the part of the British Government excite any resentment on the part of the Dutch in Cape Colony and Natal or on the part of the Free State?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: Yes, certainly.

*MR. COURTNEY: I should like to see the evidence of it.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: As the right hon. Gentleman appeals to me, I am obliged to inform him as to the historical fact. It is the fact that there was a serious agitation in the colony, and Sir John Brand, who was at that time President of the Orange Free State, informed Her Majesty's Government that, if the operations proceeded, there would be the greatest difficulty in restraining the Orange Free State.

*MR. COURTNEY: Sir John Brand was President of the Free State, and that is why he acted in the way he did, and showed that there was no irreconcilable feud. Well, now, I pass to the next point. The right hon. Gentleman has quoted the question of the drifts as another evidence of that irreconcilable feud. But in that question the Dutch Ministry at the Cape was on the English side; and so was the Free State. They were both on our side, and the influence of both brought about a peaceful settlement of that dispute. I do not want to go through the painful history in detail, but who can deny that at all events the recent negotiations presented again and again opportunities of peace incompatible with the notion of a war, which might be postponed, but could not be averted. Throughout the summer the Cape Ministry, Mr. Steyn, Mr. Fischer, and Mr. Hofmeyr did their best to maintain peace, and I will go further and assert that Paul Kruger himself did his best to maintain

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peace. The hon. and learned Member for South Shields, in that ingenious speech the other day, argued that President Kruger could not have meant to make any concession, because he had told his provincial burghers that he would not give up the control of the State to foreigners. If the effect of the changes which statesmen inaugurated were to be judged by their statements to some of their supporters before the changes were made, what was to be said of Mr. Disraeli and the Franchise Act of 1867? Before his Bill had made any progress Mr. Disraeli and the late last Lord Derby made declarations exactly similar in spirit to that quoted by the hon. and learned Member for South Shields. But Mr. Disraeli and Lord Derby were statesmen whose action was shaped and moulded in relation to the forces with which they had to deal, and, before they had gone far, they had so far departed from their original statements that Lord Salisbury seceded from the Government and moved entirely away. Paul Kruger is a statesman, and whatever he may have said beforehand, he found himself constrained to agree to a seven years franchise, and the Act was passed and is now the Law. And when we are told that this war was inevitable, I ask how the Colonial Secretary can reconcile it with the Act that was passed in which he himself saw a basis for further action, and in reference to which he proposed a commission of inquiry. The failure of that Act as a settlement cannot be charged against Paul Kruger, and cannot be charged against the Transvaal Government, but is due to the abrupt termination of the negotiations by the Colonial Secretary. And again, in respect to the five years, what is the mystery of the acceptance which was no acceptance? The hon. Member for East Mayo has spoken of a sinister influence being at work to prevent the negotiations begun being successfully carried through. However that may be, I do remember that when the negotiations broke down, and the opportunity for peace was lost, *The Times* newspaper rejoiced that the peril of peace had passed away. That was the view of the organ which on this subject represents public opinion. I do not deny it. That was the avowed opinion of *The Times*. ("No.") There is no use denying it; the file of the paper is in the library. So far from accepting the theory of the Colonial Secretary that there is a feud which

cannot be reconciled, that there is a struggle between the two races which was bound to end in war, I say that war has been precipitated through the miscarriage of diplomacy in the Colonial Office. It is upon that that the fatal issue of war has arisen. Those who have come to that conclusion are bound to proclaim this truth. Though they may be in a minority in the House and in the country, this proves nothing as to what the opinion of the future will be. And whether in a minority large or small, those who have this conviction deep within their hearts as to the origin of the war—who recognise the awful destruction of life and property, international peace, and the terrible future that is before them in South Africa—cannot remain silent under that conviction. It is our bounden duty to endeavour to convert the country to our view of the war. In one thing I do agree with the Colonial Secretary, who said—and I think that it was very significant—that he believed the majority of the Liberal Members opposite held this war to be unnecessary and, therefore, unjust. I agree with the Colonial Secretary in thinking that that is the view of the majority of the Liberal Members; and I believe, when the time comes for testing the question, it will be found that the majority of the electors also hold that view. Holding this opinion I am not enamoured of the present Amendment. I think the Liberal party have not done themselves any good in the course which they have taken in adopting it. They have weakened their own position in order to co-operate with a minority holding views absolutely opposed to their own. We have the hon. Member for the Berwick Division holding that the war was most necessary, when the majority of the Liberal party held the view that the war was unnecessary and unjust. Yet they have joined together, with the result that the majority are really held back by a minority. But it may be said that this is a domestic matter, and I admit that it might be said that these criticisms of mine should be resented as impertinent. But it is the view which I hold, and it touches upon the vital question to which I have devoted myself—the cardinal proposition that the war is unnecessary. By speeches in the House and out of it, and by writings, we should try to bring home to the people the conviction, which I am sure

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in the long run will prevail, that this war is an unnecessary calamity. It is bad enough to have to realise the evil as it is, but what is that which is going to follow? We are in a dreadful position—a position which the Prime Minister spoke of as one of humiliation. We have the spectacle of Britain's military arm being used not only for an unnecessary and therefore also, as the Colonial Secretary would say, an unjust war, but being used to such little effect that the reputation, force, and value of the military arm is, for a time at least, diminished. "Then," the Colonial Secretary said, "you are in favour of stopping the war at once." I am in favour of seizing the first opportunity of stopping the war upon a secure basis, but I recognise what the Colonial Secretary apparently refused to recognise, that there are many elements in the bringing about of war. Although I think this war is unnecessary, although I think the responsibility is upon my right hon. friend, and that it is to be attributed to his diplomacy, not even that diplomacy could have brought it about without some contributory elements on the other side. The position of the enemy in our colony is, of course, one which must be repelled; but let this be done and then the first care of those who are convinced that the war is unnecessary must be directed in action, as it is now in thought to the methods by which peace could be re-established. I do not accuse the Government or the Colonial Secretary of having brought about this war for the love of war. Far from it. The great reason for the military mess into which we have got is that they never expected war. They thought a mere show of force would be sufficient. They were betrayed into the mistake because the Colonial Secretary especially had taken as his authority—Sir Alfred Milner had helped to confirm him—the opinions of Mr. Rhodes as the man best acquainted with the conditions of life in South Africa. Mr. Rhodes's want of knowledge of South Africa is strange after so many years of residence there.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The statement which my right hon. friend makes has been made again and again and has been again and again contradicted. Since the time of the raid I have had no communication with Mr. Rhodes in reference

to political affairs in South Africa, either directly or indirectly.

*MR. COURTNEY: I have not the least hesitation in accepting that statement. It does not affect what I say. I do not say that he had an interview with Mr. Rhodes and got his instructions from him. I never dreamt that. I was saying that Mr. Rhodes, with all his knowledge of South Africa, showed his intense ignorance of the character and the tenacity of the Boer in that raid which he started. Mr. Rhodes has again, in the course of this year, shown his intense ignorance of the character of the people amongst whom he had dwelt by saying in the Cape Parliament that Mr. Kruger would climb down, that he would not fight, and that the Republic would be soon a thing of the past. And, if I am not misinformed, Mr. Rhodes showed his ignorance of Boer character and action by being at Kimberley at this moment; for he did not go there to show how a millionaire could stand the siege, but on his way to Bulawayo, which he thought he would reach without interruption. Now what I am suggesting is that my right hon. friend, studying as he must, with the assistance of Sir Alfred Milner, the probabilities of the war in South Africa which has broken out, was misled by such public utterances. He is misled in the same way now. He believes, fortified by the same authority, that if the Boers are once beaten they will live afterwards in the most quiet and friendly fashion with those who have beaten them. Mr. Rhodes has made another public utterance that the Boers would sit down quietly after defeat. This last opinion is, however, not what may be called the opinion of the English party in South Africa. They have shown by their articles in the newspapers and in the letters and telegrams sent home, and by correspondence in the papers that they do not believe in the idea of working out the redemption of South Africa, at all events for a long time to come, by the theory of equal rights. You can do either one thing or another. You may govern the Republics as Crown Colonies, or you may disfranchise the majority of the Dutch, or you may try to jerrymander the electoral divisions, somehow or other the end must be secured so that the British section shall have political predominance over the Boers. They tell you that unless that is done there can be

no peace. It is idle to think the problem can be solved on the simple theory of equal political rights, because, as the Natal newspaper says, short of extermination you will never be able to alter the fact—for a long time to come, if ever—that the Dutch are more numerous than the English inhabitants of South Africa. Then you are landed in this proposition, and this is the threatened future which may well stimulate those who hold the belief that I do as to the unnecessary character of this war. If you attain military success, which you may doubtless do if you are not interrupted, and spend all your labour in the effort, the end of it all will be the government of South Africa by an English garrison. We know by bitter experience what that means. We know what it has been in Ireland.

MR. DILLON: Why did you oppose Home Rule?

*MR. COURTNEY: For nearly a century we have been trying to undo the evil system of governing Ireland through an English garrison. We know what it was in Canada. In Canada it has been given up, entirely abandoned, and peace is established. The attempt to govern South Africa through an English garrison will mean endless trouble and endless evil, and the consummation of the wrong of the war will be complete if it precipitates the establishment of such a system, from which I, at all events, recoil.

MR. BECKETT (Yorkshire N.R., Whitby): I wonder, Sir, if the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down is quite satisfied with the cheers which greeted him on rising. He said perfectly truly that popular opinion in England was on the side of the Ministry, and from historical precedents he seemed to imply that the opinion of posterity would be on his side. I venture to doubt whether the opinion of posterity is more accurately reflected in the voices of those who cheered his speech than it is in view of the mass of the people of England. The right hon. Gentleman is the champion of lost causes and unpopular policies, but though his advocacy of President Kruger is able, eloquent, and courageous, I doubt very much whether it is an omen of the ultimate success of the cause he supports. He has compared this conflict with that

which we undertook against our American Colonies. But the two wars were totally different. At that time, England went to war to compel the American Colonies to submit to a state which, in the words of Lord Chatham, would have been a state of servitude. We are now engaged in a war to release our fellow-subjects from a state of servitude. He further said that the policy of restitution had not failed, but in an earlier part of his speech he said with perfect truth that since that policy of restitution—he did not use the words, but since 1884—we had never ceased to have trouble in South Africa. These troubles were undoubtedly due to the policy of restitution which we adopted in 1881. Everybody who has followed the course of this debate will see that all that has been said resolves itself into two charges against the Government. One charge is that they made a war which might have been avoided, and the other is that they did not sufficiently prepare against the chance and possibility of war. As to the first of those charges, I think the discussion absolutely barren and fruitless, because no matter how much we may debate it it will always remain a matter which cannot be settled by argument. It is purely a matter of opinion, and by this time each man has formed his opinion, and is not likely to change it. We have to recognise that it is now our duty to deal with things as they are and not with things as they might or might not have been. As to the war being inevitable, I do not suppose that anyone would say that either President Kruger or the Colonial Secretary, in his most bellicose mood, would look upon war except as a means to an end, and would not if he could gladly secure that end without resorting to the force of arms. Two facts arise unmistakably out of the mass of argument and assertion which has this matter for its subject-ground, the first being that the Bloemfontein Conference was hailed with acclaim by all parties, and the second that at that Conference the negotiations were set on foot which ultimately resulted in war. From those two facts we draw three conclusions. The first is that the differences between the British and the Boer Governments had arrived at so critical a stage that it was the general opinion that some extraordinary means of dealing with them should be devised. The second is that everybody hoped and many expected

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that by this means a peaceful settlement would be arrived at. The third is that as a peaceful settlement was not arrived at it is reasonable to conclude that there was, underlying the differences of opinion, a principle which both sides believed they could not concede with either honour or safety. These negotiations failed. They failed, and we are at war because we demanded equal rights and fair treatment and just government for British subjects in the Transvaal. The Boers are at war because they believed they could not grant these things without forfeiting their independence. If they are justified we are justified, because each of us believed we had in view an end that was righteous and just in itself, and of supreme and vital importance to our continued existence in the positions we respectively occupied, the one as an independent State and the other as a paramount Power. The more pressing question is this. Is it true that the Government did not make sufficient preparations against a war which seemed the possible if not the probable outcome of the negotiations upon which they were engaged? What is the duty of a Government engaged in negotiations which are not unlikely to end in war? They call for their military advisers; they ask them to prepare a plan of campaign; they ask them to decide the number, equipment and disposition of the forces, so that if war should break out it would not find them unprepared. A further duty of the Government is to place all the resources of the country at the disposal of the generals, and to take every means in their power to assist the operations in the field. In these important, essential, and vital matters can anyone say that the Government have been guilty of any delinquency? It is true that when things went wrong they began with one accord to make excuses, and that was the time when they made their mistakes, because it was their excuses that made a vote of censure possible and provided their enemies with the means for an effective attack. Until the eloquent and notable speech of the Under Secretary of State for War the country was not aware of the strong case that could be presented on behalf of the Government. What is more, some Ministers treated this question, of the greatest possible importance, with a calm indifference that shocked and offended the country. If the First Lord of

the Treasury were present I would earnestly entreat him to remember that if, as he told us the other night, he takes no interest in his speeches himself, the country does, and at such a crisis as the present it looks to him for light and guidance and counsel and encouragement. Whatever the Government may have said, they undoubtedly did the right thing. They scrupulously followed the advice of their military advisers, and left their generals an absolutely free hand in the field. Even as regards this "unhappy entanglement" at Ladysmith, from which all our difficulties and troubles have sprung, what is the position of the Government? A most able and competent general said that to hold Laing's Nek, not Ladysmith alone, and the whole of the country safe from invasion, we should require an addition to the present strength of troops of a total of about 5,600 men. The Government sent not only 5,600, but double that number, and therefore they might reasonably conclude that the country was safe from invasion. Neither the Government of Natal nor the Prime Minister of Natal ever expressed the opinion that Sir William Symons's estimate was below the mark. As it turned out the estimate was ludicrously wrong, but surely the Government are not to blame for that. What more could they do than take the opinion and advice of the most competent men they could find—the men actually on the spot? If we leave the question of Ladysmith and refer to the total number of forces in South Africa, the Government are not on such firm ground. We know that the Intelligence Department advised that the two Republics could put into the field a total force of 59,000 men. We had therefore to deal with an army of 59,000 men, and there was always the chance, which I am afraid the Government did not sufficiently take into account, of a Dutch rising in Cape Colony. Here I cannot help asking hon. Members to contrast the attitude of Mr. Rhodes, the Imperialist, with that of Mr. Schreiner, the Afrikaner, who strove to preserve peace by correcting misrepresentation, and who, since the outbreak of war, has used all his influence to mitigate the hostility of the Cape Dutch and to prevent their joining their forces to those of their brethren in the Transvaal. That conduct on the part of Mr. Schreiner seems to me to be the true

Imperialism, and worthy of the gratitude of this country. I am afraid that sometimes the English people are too apt to be guided by the opinion of Mr. Rhodes on South African affairs. That gentleman has, more than once, shown himself to be profoundly wrong. I do not wish to say much about the raid now. I will simply say that had it not been for Mr. Rhodes there would have been no raid. I will not say that but for the raid there would have been no war, but I do say that that stupendous folly has certainly been one of the chief subsidiary causes that contributed to the war, and has been the element which has told most against us. The British public would be well advised to pay less attention to Mr. Rhodes and not to be led captive by the tinkling phrases of his empirical Imperialism. An army of 59,000 men, equipped and acting in co-operation in their own country, with every advantage such as the Boers possess on their side, ought to have been met by a larger number of troops than a single army corps, unless, indeed, the Government were under the delusion, shared by the War Office and the generals, and, indeed, by the whole country, that one Englishman was able to fight successfully against three of any other nation. That delusion has not been borne out; it has soon been knocked on the head. Warfare is not like politics; armies cannot exist under banners of their own self-glorification. The banners are soon threatened when we come face to face with stern realities. The delusion on this occasion has not been evident since the war began. Since the beginning of October the Government has never ceased to pour reinforcements into South Africa, until we are told that at the end of this month we shall have 180,000 men there. It is said that these forces were sent in dribblets. How else could they be sent? You cannot march an army across the ocean. The men have to be sent in ships, and since the outbreak of war a huge fleet of transports have been engaged in steaming between South Africa and England. It may be that this is good as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. Why was not an army corps sent to South Africa at the time of the conference? The Government have sufficiently answered that. They have said that had we behaved as if war was inevitable it would certainly have vitiated the negotiations. I accept that, but I ask this

question, Why were not troops sent out long before the conference? Because, say the Government, our hands were tied by the raid. That is true as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough. The Government could not object to any reasonable increase in Mr. Kruger's armaments, but there was a time when the Government could have said to Mr. Kruger, "You are now sufficiently armed to secure yourself against any repetition of the raid. If you continue to arm we shall look upon it as a menace to ourselves, and we on our side shall strengthen our forces in South Africa, so as to secure ourselves against any act of aggression on your part." If they had done that I think the present war would have been avoided. That is a legitimate method of action. What do we do when any other nation increases its fleet? We do the same. What does France or Germany do when the other increases its army? It does the same. We ought to have acted on that principle with President Kruger when we saw that he was turning the Transvaal into an armed camp. I also think that the Government have gone too far in pretending ignorance of what was going on. I do not believe they were ignorant; if they were they certainly ought not to have been. As a matter of fact they could not have been ignorant, because it is a fact that the most formidable item of armament consists in Maxim guns, and Maxim's firm informed the Government of every single Maxim gun despatched by them to South Africa. I am afraid the Government ignored that information, and I should like to see eradicated that tendency to ignore anything that is at all disagreeable or unpleasant. For instance, I do not think it is wise to ignore the present unfriendly attitude of Europe. I do not mean that we should throw ourselves into a state of frantic alarm on that account, but at the same time it is not a thing to be dismissed with a mere shrug of the shoulders. Wise statesmen at such a moment would endeavour to conciliate European opinion by every means in their power; at any rate, they would carefully avoid anything that could embitter it. I should like to see—perhaps we shall see on Monday—some more indication that the Government are aware of the considerable loss of prestige we have suffered in this war. It is absurd to say, as did the

hon. Member for Mayo, that that prestige is irretrievable. It will be retrieved, and before long, but it will have to be retrieved by the proper means, and certainly it will be courting aggression, if not the destruction of our Empire, to imagine that we can afford to run our Empire with the same small army that has hitherto sufficed. You may say what you like, you may skrink from the word and from the thing, but I firmly believe that sooner or later you will have to adopt some form of conscription, or else you will have to diminish your possessions and responsibilities, and play a smaller part in the world. These are lessons I should like the Government to take to heart. The last attitude they should adopt at a time like the present is an attitude of complacency. Whether the Government are to blame or not, there is no question as to the fact that the nation bewails the loss of a number of its bravest soldiers and most promising officers. Much blood has been spilt, and money has been poured out like water. We have had to endure reverses which have touched our pride. We shall have to endure sacrifices which will touch our pocket. But the nation does not falter or hold back; it begrudges neither men nor money. Never was it more eager to do anything required of it, never more determined to snatch victory from the jaws of defeat. But it expects one thing in return. It says to the Government, "Give us a strong lead; let us know your mind; speak out boldly; do not shrink or hesitate or hold back: say what you want, you shall have whatever you ask." But the nation is not in a mood for trifling. When an officer was asked how many troops he required, he replied "5,000." The answer he got to his request was, "Take 12,000, and fail at your peril." That, I feel sure, would be the answer of the nation to the Government, no matter what the request might be. One tremendous fact that we cannot get over is that we are at present at war, and it is our business to bring this war to a speedy and successful conclusion. I cannot see how that business, on which we all agree, is to be promoted by the Amendment before the House. I am a student of the paper associated with the hon. Member for Northampton, and I sometimes find in it most excellent advice. The other week I read in it that no sensible man in his vote in this House should consider the mere

wording of a motion; he should also look at the consequences which would follow the carrying of the motion. Those consequences with regard to this Amendment have been dwelt upon *ad nauseam*, and I am not going to repeat them. We are told that the Opposition are practically divided, and would be utterly unable to take up the task of government if it devolved upon them. But I should like the Government to take higher ground than that. I should like them to say, "You may cavil against us as much as you will, but you have no monopoly of patriotic feeling. Our one object is to secure a speedy, honourable and permanent peace, and compared to that object office is nothing to us. It does not matter in the least whether we or you sit on these benches, but it does matter a great deal that we should bring this war to such a finish as will consolidate and strengthen the Empire, restore peace and prosperity to South Africa, and re-establish our position in the eyes of the world. If you will show that you have men or measures that can secure such a result, we will be glad to accept the one or make room for the other, but if you can produce neither it is your bounden duty to assist us in carrying out the task to which you have confessed yourselves to be unequal." Such an answer would satisfy the country and would be somewhat difficult for the Opposition to meet. Finally, when we have to decide which way to vote, we must think not only of the war but of the peace which is to follow. When the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs asked the Opposition the other day what was their policy, the reply was, "To make peace." There are gentlemen opposite ready to make peace even now, at this particular moment. [An HON. MEMBER: Why not?] We have tried that once before, but the teaching of events has made no impression upon the minds of some hon. Members; they would repeat the same old blunders in the same old way. We have tried the peace which these gentlemen would make, and the taste of it is exceedingly bitter in our mouths. This war, amongst a great many evils, has at least this good, that it will enable this nation to purge its system of peace of that quality for ever. We do want peace, speedy peace, but we do not want such a peace as brings forth war. We want a peace from which spring the fruits of peace—

good government, order, liberty, and justice. There is no doubt that at this present crisis our interests and our duty are perfectly clear. They both run on the same lines, and can best be expressed in the words of Longfellow:—

“ Look not mournfully to the past ;
Cast not back again ;
Go forward ; meet the future
Without fear, and with a manly heart.”

*SERJEANT HEMPHILL (Tyrone, N.) : As an Irish Member I feel it a duty to my countrymen on the other side of the channel to state the grounds on which I differ from some of my colleagues below the gangway, and why I mean to vote for this Amendment. I read this Amendment as bearing a totally different construction from that put upon it by my hon. friend the Member for East Mayo. I look upon it as embodying a censure upon the Government for the want of knowledge, foresight, and judgment displayed in bringing about this war, and after they had betrayed the country into embarking upon this war not being fully prepared for it. I do not look upon this Amendment as necessarily involving any necessity on the part of those who support it to carry on the war to the bitter end. That I regard as a matter for future discussion and consideration, but I think it is the bounden duty of every Member of this House—who must individually partake of the responsibility, more or less, for the course taken in this, the most momentous crisis of the country that has ever occurred—to put on record his protest against the war. I agree with those who have said that this war was unnecessary and unjust, for it is unworthy of the greatest Empire that ever existed to embark upon an expedition for which there is no parallel in ancient or modern history, that of sending out an army of nearly 200,000 men with all its equipments, 7,000 miles from the centre of the Empire in order to cope with two small insignificant republics, the population of which is not as large, I believe, as that of some of our considerable provincial towns in this kingdom. It requires some very strong reasons and some very cogent arguments to justify such a course as that, and a war involving such a loss of life as has already occurred in every rank from the highest to the humblest, and an expenditure which I should be sorry to put at less than £100,000,000 at a time when there is

such a great necessity for the expenditure of money in order to relieve the poverty and destitution of the masses of this country. Such a war as this cannot be lightly undertaken, and I will venture to consider what excuses have been afforded by that eloquent speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for the Colonies, whose war this has been justly stated to be. The Transvaal, by the solemn treaty of 1884, was made an independent State, as independent as any other State in the world, with one simple qualification, namely, that it could not enter into foreign treaties without the consent of the Sovereign. That treaty involved necessarily that the Transvaal was, in all other respects, independent and free. By the Convention of 1884, on every principle of international law and justice, we are bound—and the burden also lies upon the present Government and upon those in their service—to justify the violation of so solemn a compact as that. Now what is the excuse or the pretext offered for such a violation? The object of the Conference at Bloemfontein, and of all those negotiations which occupied so many pages of the Blue-book, was mainly to give a franchise, not merely to the citizens of the Transvaal, but to the Uitlanders, whether Irish, English, German, or people of any other nationality who had gone out there in order to work the mines. This House should never forget the fact that Johannesburg did not come into existence, and the mines were not discovered and put into working order, until after the Convention of 1884. The putting forward of that pretext of the extension of the franchise was a sham and a pretence. Assuming that there was any grievance in the Transvaal; according to international law, a State has no right to interfere with the domestic policy of another country. What would this country say if there was a great agitation for manhood suffrage or any other popular measure of that kind here at home? Would that justify France or Germany in going to war with England for not extending manhood suffrage to all the inhabitants, including the natives of France and Germany who might be living in England? Would it be considered an excusable pretext for a foreign war if, when this Parliament withheld Home Rule from Ireland, any of the European States were to make this a *casus belli* with England because it was an act of injustice to deny

this to the Irish people? It is obvious that no grievance such as the extension of the franchise or the existence of the dynamite monopoly, or any of those complaints made by the English Government, could constitute a legitimate *casus belli*. If there had been a proper and temperate remonstrance made with President Kruger, and if the course of diplomacy had, instead of being of an exasperating character, as anybody who reads the Blue-book must see it was from the very first inception—if those remonstrances had been couched in the ordinary language of courteous diplomacy I have not the least doubt that President Kruger would have conceded every single point that was put before him in a reasonable manner. He did concede the franchise in a reasonable way, and he declared to the end that he was willing to concede the five years franchise. I do not think gentlemen opposite, who take the opposite view of the conduct of the Transvaal Government in regard to the Uitlanders, exactly understand the question. Of course the franchise could not be given to the Uitlanders unless they became subjects of the Transvaal. There is no such instance in any country of aliens having a right to vote, no matter how long they reside in a place. President Kruger was willing to give a vote after five years residence and good conduct, and that period would have enabled the Uitlanders to obtain letters of naturalisation and also the franchise. Exactly the same law prevails in this country and in Ireland, for aliens here cannot obtain letters of naturalisation until they have been resident for five years in the country. That is the very case of the Uitlanders. Hon. Members opposite talk of equal rights for all whites, and they seem to think that the moment a white man appears in the Transvaal he should have the franchise, and at the same time remain a subject of the British Empire. They claim for the Uitlanders all these advantages in a country in which they have no permanent interest, and from which they will probably emigrate the moment they get sufficient money out of the mines to enable them to return home. Therefore, the idea of the franchise, in my mind, has always been a most unfortunate pretext to put forward, as the ground for picking a quarrel with so quiet and simple-minded a people as the residents of the South African Republic and the Orange Free State. But President

Kruger was willing to give the franchise, and submit to arbitration any legitimate differences that existed between him and this country, and that state of things continued up to the end of September. Consequently the responsibility of this war rests upon the Government. It does not rest upon their generals or upon the Commander-in-chief, but it rests upon the Cabinet, who are the trustees for the public, and the trustees for the safety of the Empire. The Cabinet never formulated, up to what is called Kruger's ultimatum, what were the various demands they were making, and what they required in order to be satisfied. Up to the very last moment, nay, up to this hour in this protracted Debate, we have not yet heard what demands would have satisfied the right hon. Gentleman the Minister for the Colonies. There has been absolutely no statement formulated of the various demands which would have satisfied the Cabinet, and which would have averted this war. The truth of the matter is they were determined to overwhelm President Kruger and to outwit him in diplomacy, and having failed in that they put him in such a position as to leave him no other alternative but to issue an ultimatum. It is absurd to say that the South African Republic were the aggressors in this war, for the negotiations put the Transvaal Government in such a position that they had only two courses to pursue—either they must remain quietly and submissively until the 180,000 British troops were sent out, or else take the course which they did, and that was to invade the colony of Natal. It is exactly as if a burglar had entered your house and was about to shoot you; are you to wait until the burglar shoots, or are you justified in taking such steps as will prevent him getting the better of you? I say it is a mere playing with words to say that the South African Republic were the aggressors in this case. It reminds me of the report of a case which I read in the newspapers where a man had treated his wife in such a manner that she could not live with him, and had to leave the house. The man, when charged with desertion, said he did not desert her, but she deserted him. The judge, however, was too wise to accede to such a suggestion as that, and as the wife had been put in a position which was intolerable to her, the judge ruled that it was not the wife who had deserted the husband, but the husband who had really

deserted the wife. I have looked over and over again into this question, and I cannot discover what would have satisfied the Government short of complete submission. Paramountcy has been introduced, but it is clear that there was no paramountcy recognised by the Convention of 1884. It is clear that the Convention of 1884 made the Transvaal an independent state subject to the qualification that they could not enter into foreign treaties without the sanction of our sovereign. I say that was the only difference between the status of this country and the South African Republic, and in every other respect the Transvaal was a separate and independent state. The least that could have been done would have been to have put upon paper in plain and simple language what it was that the Government complained of. The franchise was put plain enough, but there were five or six other things which even up to the 9th of October were not formulated, and what immediately led to the ultimatum was the statement in the previous despatch from the British Government announcing that they were not just yet in a position to put on paper what the other demands were which they made against the South African Republic. Therefore it is, I say, there was a want of knowledge, foresight, and judgment, if there was not something worse, in the whole conduct of the Government in their preliminary negotiations with the South African Republic. I am quite satisfied of this, and although I do not expect any words of mine, or of the ablest and most eloquent orators on this or the other side of the House, to alter the preconceived determination of Gentlemen opposite, I have not the slightest doubt that if some Cabinet Minister had gone out from this country to the Cape, or if we had sent out some Commissioner or Ambassador with plenipotentiary powers, they would have settled in a very short time this war, and this terrible waste of life and treasure would never have sullied the last expiring year of the nineteenth century. My hon. friends below the gangway state that they do not agree with the latter part of the Amendment, but I wish they would reconsider their position. The meaning of the words is that if the Government had made up their minds that war was inevitable, as the Secretary for the Colonies now admits, if the Government knew

Serjeant Hemphill.

that then they ought to have taken proper steps, not after the declaration of war but before it, to make sure that it should be brought to a hasty conclusion, and that there should not have been this dreadful waste of life, of happiness, of everything that is dearest and most valued, and this treasure, the loss of which will for ages to come rest upon the people of Great Britain and impede the progress of Liberal legislation, the Government could have avoided this war. The late Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury went themselves to the Berlin Conference. They did not consider it above them to go to Berlin, and they came back with what they described as "Peace with honour." Why could not the right hon. Gentleman or some of his colleagues have gone out to Pretoria to negotiate with President Kruger such terms as would secure to the Uitlanders every right and privilege to which they were entitled, and then come back and announce to this Parliament that they had settled once and for all the South African trouble? There was no such effort as that made, and the correspondence of the Government was couched in the most insulting terms, and this correspondence was backed up by the insulting speech of the Colonial Secretary at Highbury. Such a tone as that was not calculated to reconcile the Government of the Transvaal, who were naturally suspicious and afraid of being overpowered, as it were, by the big brother of the British Empire. That was not the course to pursue if peace had been the object, but I believe war was the object. We ought never to have had this war at all, for it will leave a stain upon our name. It has already carried mourning into many homes, from the noblest and highest to the poorest peasant in the remotest districts of Ireland. It is a war which will be written in blood upon the pages of English history in the present generation, a stain which will never be effaced for generations and generations to come.

Debate further adjourned till Tomorrow.

ADJOURNMENT.

Motion made and Question, "That this House do now adjourn"—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour*)—put, and agreed to.

Adjourned at three minutes before Twelve of the clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

*Tuesday, 6th February, 1900.**RETURNS, REPORTS, &c.*PUBLIC ACCOUNTS AND CHARGES
ACT, 1891.

Treasury minute, dated 26th January, 1900, directing, in pursuance of Section 2 (3) of the Public Accounts and Charges Act, 1891, that where any sum is by order of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland under section 80 (2) of the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, deducted from moneys payable from the Local Taxation (Ireland) Account to any Council in respect of a debt due from such Council, and where the amount due from the Council would, if paid in ordinary course, have been applied as an Appropriation-in-Aid of the Vote for the Royal Irish Constabulary, the sum deducted in lieu thereof shall be similarly applied as an Appropriation-in-Aid of that Vote.

SUPERANNUATION.

Treasury minute, dated 31st January, 1900, declaring that Samuel Nevitt, viewer, Royal Small Arms Department, War Office Department, was appointed without a Civil Service certificate through inadvertence on the part of the head of the department.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

PETITION.

THE VACCINATION ACTS.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (The Earl of HALSBURY): My Lords, I rise to present a Petition from the Guardians of the Poor of the Wandsworth and Clapham Union, in the County of London, praying that the provisions of the Vaccination Acts may be amended, and that it may not be in the power of vaccination officers to institute proceedings under the Acts at the expense of the rates without first obtaining the sanction of the Guardians. The Petition is respectfully worded, and, though I entirely disagree with its object,

there is no reason why I should not present it to your Lordships.

Petition read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—THE IMPERIAL YEOMANRY — SUGGESTED APPOINTMENT OF CHAPLAINS.

*EARL EGERTON: My Lords, I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he will reconsider his decision not to appoint any chaplains to the Imperial Yeomanry; and whether he will, in the first instance, attach a chaplain to the Imperial Yeomanry Hospital of 500 beds, which has received the sanction of the War Office, and is being established at Capetown. I ask this question as an old Yeomanry officer of thirty years standing, and I may say that I have sent a contingent from my own estate in the Yeomanry Force which has just left these shores. I understand that the War Office handed over to a committee of Yeomanry officers the duty of raising and equipment of the Yeomanry force. That I believe they have done very successfully. In the very short space of a month they have turned out a force of 5,000 men, mounted or ready to be mounted, and I believe there are others of equal force ready as soon as the equipment is prepared for them. But when the Yeomanry Committee had offers from clergymen who were anxious to serve as chaplains in South Africa, and when they had submitted to them the names of two or three chaplains as fit and proper persons to act for the Yeomanry, the Adjutant General sent an unconditional refusal to allow any chaplains to go out. I understand, from a communication the War Office was good enough to send to me, that one of the reasons why they were not so appointed was that the Yeomanry are to be attached to different divisions or brigades and are to have the benefit of the chaplains of those divisions or brigades. That, no doubt, from a military point of view is very satisfactory, but there is a feeling in the country that the Yeomanry, having been sent out, should have some special chaplain to look after their spiritual needs. It is not merely a military question, but it is one of principle, and is also, as some think, one of sentiment. Therefore I think I may fairly ask that the Yeomanry should be considered not merely as an integral part of the Army, but as a special force

sent out under special circumstances, with a staff of their own, and that their claim to have a special chaplain attached to them ought to be recognised. I can see that it would be impossible to appoint chaplains to all the units of the regiments in South Africa, but the suggestion I venture to make is that there should be someone, when they land in South Africa, to attend to their spiritual wants, and told off for the Yeomanry, and who, if necessary, should be attached to the Yeomanry Hospital which has been founded so liberally by the gifts of friends at home. I think it is not unreasonable to ask that something of that kind should be done. Lord Roberts has, I understand, stated that there are sufficient chaplains in South Africa already, but in my opinion the percentage of chaplains to the men is not large, especially when you consider the accidents of war and the various duties a chaplain has, under the circumstances, to perform. I do not know whether any actual addition to the number of chaplains is contemplated to be made to meet the wants of the forces to be sent out, but I hope that one chaplain at least may be attached to the Yeomanry in the way I have indicated in my question. I feel certain that if that is done it will give great satisfaction to the Yeomanry force which has been raised in the most rapid and loyal way to meet a great emergency, and I trust that the War Office will reconsider the absolute refusal they have given, and entertain some proposal such as I have ventured to suggest.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (The Marquess of LANSDOWNE): My Lords, in a matter of this sort nothing would be more agreeable to me than to meet the wishes of the Imperial Yeomanry, to whose patriotism the noble Lord has referred in terms not at all too eulogistic. But the difficulty of carrying out his suggestion is a practical one. It is this, that the Imperial Yeomanry will not be employed as a distinct and separate force of mounted men, but they will be distributed amongst the various brigades. Therefore, it is impossible for any one chaplain to minister to the whole force. I am afraid if a chaplain were designated for that exclusive purpose he would very probably find himself, wherever he was, in the position of having no congregation of Yeomen to minister to. The noble Lord referred more particularly

to the Yeomanry hospital which has been so generously equipped for the care of the sick and wounded men belonging to the Yeomanry. In regard to that I am glad to say that it has been found possible to make an arrangement which, I think, meets his suggestion. A chaplain has been designated particularly to attend to that hospital. The noble Lord was quite correct in saying that Lord Roberts had, a few days ago, expressed his opinion that the supply of chaplains was already sufficient. We had asked him whether it was desirable to send out any more. Since that intimation was received from Lord Roberts five clergymen who had offered their services as chaplains have been accepted.

THE IMPERIAL YEOMANRY—TRANSPORT.

VISCOUNT GALWAY: My Lords, before asking the question standing in my name, as to the transport of the Imperial Yeomanry to the Cape, may I be allowed to mention, as one who had advocated the claims of the Yeomanry for many years, the great satisfaction it gave the Yeomanry force to be called upon to take their share in the defence of the Empire abroad? The Yeomanry force some years ago was threatened with extinction, but, despite every discouragement, we persevered and endeavoured to make ourselves more efficient every year. We kept up our organisation, and the result has been that when an appeal came we were able to answer it in what I hope the noble Marquess will agree has been a highly satisfactory manner. In view of what has been said in the country I think it is only fair that I should state that the companies which have been sent out comprise thoroughly qualified horsemen and certified marksmen. While nobody grudges the unstinted praise which has been given to all our colonies, who have so loyally come to our assistance, I think one word from those in authority of commendation of the patriotic spirit displayed by the Yeomanry and the Volunteers would have the result of greatly encouraging us in our efforts. I am not raising this as a personal matter, because the company I sent out left England ten days ago, but I desire to call attention to the disappointment which is felt by the Yeomanry on account of the delay in conveying them to the front. This delay causes not only great disappointment to the men, but also entails heavy expense upon those connected

Earl Egerton.

with the force. I desire to ask the Secretary of State for War whether it is correct that no further Yeomanry will leave for the Cape for another three weeks, and to urge upon him the desirability of expediting the sending out of this force to the front.

***THE EARL OF CORK:** My Lords, before the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War answers the question which has just been put, I wish entirely to endorse the remarks of my noble friend as to the great disappointment with which the Yeomanry heard the announcement that they would not leave for the Cape for another three weeks. I can speak more positively of the west of England, but there are a great many companies in many parts of England who have been mobilised for three weeks or a month. Most of them have been billeted in towns, and cannot, therefore, be in such a satisfactory condition as if they were quartered in barracks. I hope the noble Marquess will be able to assure us that the delay will not be as long as three weeks, and that he will do all he can to hasten the transport of the Yeomanry Regiments, or, at all events, that pending their embarkation steps will be taken to provide accommodation in barracks for those companies which are at present billeted in many parts of England.

***THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE:** My Lords, the position in regard to the embarkation of the Imperial Yeomanry is as follows:—Ships have been already allotted for 3,000 men and 2,000 horses, and the whole will have embarked by the 11th of this month. I am afraid it will be at least a fortnight before we can expect another embarkation to take place. I will certainly do all I can to expedite matters, but my noble friend must be aware that the provision of horse ships is not a very simple or easy matter. I am very sorry that there should have been any disappointment in the case of the companies to which he and the noble Earl opposite have referred, but I am afraid that the disappointment was inevitable. I may, perhaps, tell the House briefly what the procedure is with regard to the provision of transports. The Yeomanry Committee, to whom reference has already been made this evening, reports to the War Office from time to time the number of companies likely to be ready to

embark on a given date. The War Office then at once places itself in communication with the Admiralty. In the case of the companies who have been referred to this evening, the Yeomanry Committee advised us on the 29th of January that a certain number of companies would be ready to embark on the 8th February. My noble friend will, I am sure, admit that the margin of time was not a very liberal one, but I think something might have been done for them had it not been that at that very moment we had to ask the Admiralty to find ships for the cavalry brigade which had been ordered at rather short notice to go to South Africa. That absorbed all the available ships, with the result, I am afraid, that several companies of Yeomanry who had been looking forward to an early start for the seat of war were greatly disappointed. I deeply regret the disappointment to those companies, but, as I said before, I am afraid it could scarcely be avoided under the circumstances. I think I have told my noble friend all I have to say about the matter. He expressed a wish that some word of encouragement should be spoken on the part of Her Majesty's Government showing how greatly we appreciate the manner in which this call for assistance from the Yeomanry has been met. I have already said this evening how deeply we appreciate it; and I can assure my noble friend that this is the feeling of my colleagues, and that we do very readily acknowledge the obligations under which we are to the force with which my noble friend has been so long connected.

House adjourned at a quarter before Five of the clock, to Thursday next, Two of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, 6th February, 1900.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

STANDING ORDERS.

Ordered, that the Select Committee on Standing Orders do consist of Thirteen Members:—Mr. Buchanan, Sir William Coddington, Mr. John Edward Ellis, Sir Thomas Esmonde, Sir Edward Gourley,

Mr. Halsey, Mr. Humphreys-Owen, Mr. James Lowther, Mr. Mount, Mr. William Redmond, Sir Mark M'Taggart Stewart, Mr. Whitmore, and Mr. Wodehouse were accordingly nominated Members of the Committee.—(*Mr. Halsey.*)

SELECTION.

Ordered, that the Committee of Selection do consist of Eleven Members:—Mr. Blake, Mr. Sydney Buxton, Sir John Dorington, Sir William Hart Dyke, Dr. Farquharson, Mr. Albert Spicer, Mr. Philip Stanhope, Sir Mark M'Taggart Stewart, Mr. Wharton, Mr. Wodehouse, and the Chairman of the Select Committee on Standing Orders were accordingly nominated Members of the Committee.—(*Mr. Halsey.*)

NEW WRIT.

For the County of Mayo (South Mayo Division), in the room of Michael Davitt, esquire (Manor of Northstead).—(*Sir T. G. Esmonde.*)

PRIVATE BILLS.—DIVISION BETWEEN THE TWO HOUSES.

The CHAIRMAN of WAYS and MEANS reported, That, in accordance with Standing Order 79, he had conferred with the Chairman of Committees of the House of Lords, for the purpose of determining in which House of Parliament the respective Private Bills should be first considered, and they had determined that the Bills contained in the following List should originate in the House of Lords, viz. :—

1. Army and Navy Investment Trust.
2. Aston Manor Tramways.
3. Barnsley Corporation.
4. Barry Railway (Steam Vessels).
5. Bexhill and Rotherfield Railway.
6. Birmingham Corporation (Stock).
7. Birmingham (King Edward the Sixth) Schools.
8. Birmingham University.
9. Bournemouth Corporation.
10. Brewery and Commercial Investment Trust.
11. Bristol Water.
12. Burnley Corporation.
13. Bury and District Water (Transfer).
14. Caledonian Railway.
15. Cardiff Corporation.
16. Church's Patent.
17. Cleethorpes Gas.
18. Clyde Navigation.
19. Commercial Union Assurance Company.

20. Cork, Bandon, and South Coast Railway.

21. Cork Electric Tramways.

22. Cowes Pier.

23. Crystal Palace Company.

24. Dearne Valley Railway.

25. Donegal Railway.

26. Dorking Water.

27. Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway.

28. Dundee and East Forfar Tramways.

29. Dundee Harbour.

30. East Shropshire Water.

31. East Stirlingshire Water.

32. Edinburgh Corporation.

33. Edinburgh District Lunacy Board.

34. Exmouth and District Water.

35. Exmouth Urban District Water.

36. Falkirk and District Water.

37. Falkirk Corporation.

38. Fishguard and Rosslare Railways and Harbours.

39. Fishguard Water and Gas.

40. Folkestone, Sandgate, and Hythe Tramroads.

41. Glasgow and South Western Railway.

42. Glasgow Building Regulations.

43. Glasgow District Tramways.

44. Glynecorwg Urban District Council Gas.

45. Governments Stock and other Securities Investment Company.

46. Great Berkhamstead Water.

47. Great Central Railway.

48. Great Grimsby Street Tramways.

49. Great Southern and Western and Waterford and Central Ireland Railway Companies Amalgamation.

50. Great Southern and Western and Waterford, Limerick, and Western Railway Companies Amalgamation.

51. Great Southern and Western Railway.

52. Gun Barrel Proof Act, 1868, Amendment.

53. Gwyrfai Rural District Council Water.

54. Hammond (G. H.) Company.

55. Hemel Hempstead Corporation (Water).

56. Higham Ferrers Water.

57. Imschenetzky's Uralite Patent.

58. Ipswich Corporation Tramways.

59. Kingston-upon-Thames Corporation.

60. Kingston-upon-Thames Gas.

61. Lancashire Inebriates Acts Board.

62. Lincoln Corporation (Tramways).

63. Liverpool Overhead Railway.
64. London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway.
65. London Hydraulic Power Company.
66. London Sea Water Supply.
67. Manchester Corporation Tramways.
68. Manchester Ship Canal.
69. Margate Corporation.
70. Margate Pier and Harbour.
71. Maryport Harbour.
72. Menstone Water (Transfer).
73. Mersey Docks and Harbour Board.
74. Mersey Railway.
75. Midland Great Western Railway of Ireland.
76. Milford Docks.
77. Morley Corporation.
78. Motherwell and Bellshill Railway.
79. Motherwell Water.
80. Mountain Ash Water.
81. Muirkirk, Mauchline, and Dalmellington Railways (Abandonment).
82. National Markets and Stores and Workshops.
83. Neath Harbour.
84. Newport Corporation.
85. Newport (Monmouthshire) Gas.
86. New Russia Company.
87. Newtown and Llanllwchaearn Urban District Gas.
88. North British Railway.
89. North Eastern Railway.
90. North Eastern Railway (Steam Vessels).
91. Otley Urban District Council Water.
92. Paignton Urban District Water.
93. Preston Corporation.
94. Purfleet and Gravesend Junction Railway.
95. Ramsgate Corporation Improvements.
96. Rawmarsh Urban District Council (Tramways).
97. Rhymney Iron Company.
98. Rhymney Railway.
99. Rotherham Corporation.
100. Rotherhithe and Ratcliff Tunnel.
101. Salford Corporation.
102. Scottish American Investment Company.
103. Scottish Widows' Fund and Life Assurance Society.
104. Sheffield Corporation.
105. Sheffield District Railway.
106. Southampton Harbour.
107. South Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railway.
108. South Eastern Railway.
109. South Essex Water.

110. South Essex Water Board.
111. South Shields Corporation.
112. South Staffordshire Tramways.
113. Sunderland Corporation.
114. Taff Vale Railway.
115. Universal Life Assurance Society.
116. Walsall Corporation.
117. Westgate and Birchington Water.
118. Whitechapel and Bow Railway.
119. Wirral Railway.
120. Withington Urban District Council.
121. Workington Railways and Docks.

GREAT SOUTHERN AND WESTERN AND WATERFORD AND CENTRAL IRELAND RAILWAY COMPANIES' AMALGAMATION BILL.

GREAT SOUTHERN AND WESTERN AND WATERFORD, LIMERICK, AND WESTERN RAILWAY COMPANIES' AMALGAMATION BILL.

On the Report by the CHAIRMAN of WAYS and MEANS upon these Bills (Nos. 49 and 50 in the above list) :—

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): As I understand, in accordance with the usual practice, the right hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Committees, who is always most careful in desiring to meet the wishes of private Members at all times, has arranged for the Irish Railway Amalgamation Bills to originate in the Upper House. I presume he did not know of the strong feeling which existed in this quarter of the House, and I may say among Irish Members generally, that they should first be considered in the House of Commons. Under the old practice when a Bill has been rejected once in this House it is, if reintroduced, taken first in another place. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will not think I am complaining when I say that there is in Ireland an extremely strong feeling with regard to these Amalgamation Bills, for and against. Personally, I am rather in favour, but a number of my colleagues are against them, and we all think that an opportunity should be given in the House of Commons where alone Ireland is democratically represented, to deal first with the first of these two Bills. It has already been before two Committees—one a hybrid Committee, and I would ask the Chairman of Committees whether some means cannot be devised so that this House may have the first opportunity of passing an opinion upon these Bills, which are of far more

importance to us than they are to the English or Scotch people. I gather from him that he has in his own mind some idea that the Bills might be considered by a Joint Committee. On that I would not like now to express an opinion, but I certainly do hope that on a matter of such vital importance to three provinces of Ireland as these amalgamation Bills he will consider favourably the views we put before him.

MR. SPEAKER : There is no question to which the hon. Member can address himself.

MR. T. M. HEALY : I thought I might stop the presentation of the Report.

MR. SPEAKER : I think I ought to say that the Standing Order 79 as it at present stands states that the division of Bills between the Lords and the Commons is to be assigned to the Chairmen of Committees of the two Houses, who are to determine which Bills shall be introduced in each House. Therefore, the House has delegated the power to determine which Bills shall be introduced in this House and in the other House to the Chairmen of Committees, and their decision upon that point is final, and the House cannot as the Standing Order stands at present determine the course to be taken. It is open to the hon. Member to move to amend the Standing Order, but until the Standing Order is dealt with his only course is by way of private appeal to the Chairmen of Committees to deal with Bills in a particular way.

MR. T. M. HEALY : Perhaps I would be in order in asking the Chairman if he will reconsider the matter before we put down a motion to amend the Standing Orders ?

***THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES** (MR. J. W. LOWTHER, Cumberland, Penrith) : I am afraid that any reconsideration of the matter would not lead to any alteration of the decision to which the Lords' Chairman and myself have come. We have carefully considered the question, and we consider that the Amalgamation Bills should originate this session in the House of Lords. Last session the Bills were referred to a hybrid Committee, which, I may point out without casting any reflection on that body, carried on its business in a way which

gave results far from satisfactory to all the parties concerned. The matter was so long delayed that we had to discuss it quite at the end of the session, which I think was not generally satisfactory. It is thought that in this session it would be better that the Bills should originate in the other House. But with a view to, if possible, saving expense to all parties, the Lords Chairman and myself think it may be well to follow a precedent—an old one perhaps—set in the year 1873, when two English railway amalgamation Bills were referred to a Joint Committee. If that finds favour with hon. Gentlemen opposite, we should possibly be able to devise some means by which this Bill, although originating in the other House, would be referred to a Joint Committee of the two Houses, which would result in a strong Committee considering this very important question, and would also have the effect that great expense would be saved, both to the promoters and the opponents of the Bill. It is true that at the last moment there was put into my hands a resolution, unanimously passed by the Nationalist Members of this House. But I am afraid it would be impossible for the Lords Chairman and myself to give effect to the resolution in its entirety. According to Standing Orders, the discretion is vested in us as to how Bills are to originate, and I do not think, unless the House chooses to amend the Standing Order, that we should set aside that discretion which is vested in us.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford) : I just wish to make one observation as to the proposal to refer this Bill to a Committee of the two Houses. I think it may be a very valuable suggestion. I wish to point out that the supporters and the opponents are at one in wishing the Bill to originate in this House, and I therefore hope the hon. Gentleman will let the matter stand until we can submit a communication to him.

*MR. J. W. LOWTHER : I shall be happy to consider any communication the hon. Member may hand to me.

PETITIONS.

ANTI-SHANARS RIOTS.

Petition of Shanar inhabitants of Tenkasi and other places, South India,

for redress of grievances ; to lie upon the Table.

LICENSING (SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS).

Petition from Pendleton, for alteration of law ; to lie upon the Table.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD'S VACCINATION ORDER, 1898.

Petition from West Ward, for revision ; to lie upon the Table.

POOR LAW AMENDMENT (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1845.

Petition from Botriphnie, for alteration of law ; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL.

Petitions in favour, from Lewisham ; and Raunds ; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUOR TO CHILDREN BILL.

Petition from Glenarm, in favour ; to lie upon the Table.

VACCINATION ACTS, 1867 TO 1898.

Petition from Lambeth, for alteration of law ; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS AND CHARGES ACT, 1891.

Copy presented of Treasury Minute, dated 26th January, 1900, directing, in pursuance of section 2 (3) of the Public Accounts and Charges Act, 1891, that, where any sum is by order of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, under section 80 (2) of the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, deducted from moneys payable from the Local Taxation (Ireland) Account to any Council in respect of a debt due from such Council, and where the amount due from the Council would, if paid in ordinary course, have been applied as an Appropriation-in-Aid of the Vote for the Royal Irish Constabulary, the sum deducted in lieu thereof shall be similarly applied as an Appropriation-in-Aid of that Vote [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table.

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1884.

Copy presented of Treasury Minute, dated 31st January, 1900, declaring that Samuel Nevitt, Viewer, Royal Small Arms Department, War Office Department, was appointed without a Civil Service Certificate through inadvertence on the part of the head of his department [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table.

SOUTH AFRICA (TRANSPORTS).

Return ordered, "showing the name, tonnage, and speed of each vessel employed to convey troops to South Africa since the 1st day of July last, the date and port of her departure from these shores, and arrival at Capetown, Durban, or elsewhere, respectively, including arrival at and departure from intermediate port of call ; the number of troops and horses or mules carried on each occasion, the number of horses or mules lost on voyage, vessels provided with new pattern fittings, vessels provided with old pattern fittings, vessels provided with slings for each horse or mule, vessels not so provided ; and the time occupied by each vessel in making the voyage, in the following form :—

| | | |
|--|--|--|
| | Name of vessel. | |
| | Tonnage. | |
| | Speed. | |
| | Port. | Date of departure and port. |
| | Departure. | |
| | Port. | Date of arrival and departure from intermediate ports. |
| | Arrival. | |
| | Departure. | |
| | Cape Town. | Date of arrival and port. |
| | Durban. | |
| | Time occupied on voyage. | |
| | Number of troops carried. | |
| | Number of horses or mules carried. | |
| | Number of horses or mules lost on voyage. | |
| | Whether provided with new pattern or old pattern fittings. | |
| | Whether provided with slings for each horse or mule. | |

—(Mr. Weir.)

COAL EXPORTS, &c.

Return ordered, "giving for the year 1899 the export of coal from each port in the United Kingdom to each country abroad, together with a summary statement showing the export of coal from the principal districts of the United Kingdom to the principal groups of foreign countries; and also showing the quantity of coal shipped at each port in the United Kingdom for ships' use on foreign voyages during the same period (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 198, of Session 1889)."—(*Mr. D. A. Thomas.*)

QUESTIONS.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—TRANSPORTS.

MR. BAINBRIDGE (Lincolnshire, Gainsborough): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether, in view of the recent employment of inferior transport ships to the Cape (occupying nearly twice the time in the passage which would have been taken by the best passenger ships), the Government has arranged to secure the use of first class passenger vessels in future.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (*Mr. G. J. Goschen, St. George's, Hanover Square*): I must respectfully protest against the preamble of the honourable Member's question. It conveys an impression quite contrary to fact. With regard to the question itself, I cannot undertake that only first class passenger ships shall be used in future. Such ships are naturally quite unsuited for horse transports, which constitute the majority of those now being taken up. But the hon. Member may rely on it that our best endeavours have been and will be used to place both infantry and cavalry as quickly at the Cape as we can.

GUNS AT PRETORIA.

MR. BAINBRIDGE: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether the Government possesses full information as to the number and character and projectile force of the guns at present in Pretoria, and whether a list of these can be laid before the House; whether some of these guns have a range of over 10,000 yards; and whether the siege train sent out at the end of De-

cember last had any guns with the same range.

***THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR** (*Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover*): There is reason to believe that many of the guns from the forts round Pretoria have been sent to the front. We have not full information as to what guns have been left. The answer to the last two questions is in the affirmative.

TREATMENT OF PRISONERS OF WAR.

MR. HARWOOD (*Bolton*): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether the Boer prisoners of war at Cape Town are kept confined on board ship; and, if so, whether such treatment is the same as that which it is reported is being accorded to the British prisoners at Pretoria.

***MR. WYNDHAM**: We were informed on the 22nd of January that the Boer prisoners are no longer to be confined on board ship. It is obvious that while they were on board ship the conditions of their imprisonment could not be the same as those under which the British prisoners at Pretoria are confined.

TRANSPORT WAGONS.

MR. BAINBRIDGE: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether a number of transport wagons have been sent out to the Cape and have proved to be so unsuited to South African requirements as to cause General Buller to report that the whole were unfit for service.

***MR. WYNDHAM**: No, Sir; no such report has been received from General Buller. The only complaint was in respect of the fitness of the brakes in the first consignment for South African service; this defect was remedied locally, and the necessary alteration has been made in all subsequent consignments.

CLOTHING FOR THE TROOPS.

MR. *WARNER (*Staffordshire, Lichfield*): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether the clothes of the troops who have been some time on active service are worn out and have not been renewed; and why appeals have

been made to private sources for flannel shirts and socks if the Government is supplying these articles.

*MR. WYNDHAM : Provision has been made for replacing any clothes worn out. No appeals for flannel shirts or socks have been made by the Government, but persons desirous of forwarding comforts to the troops have been informed that amongst other articles these things would be useful.

GENERAL SIR FREDERICK CARRINGTON.

MR. COGHILL (Burton-upon-Trent) : I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether General Sir Frederick Carrington at the outbreak of the war placed his services at the disposal of the War Office ; and why, having regard to his great knowledge and prolonged experience of South African warfare, his services were not in the first instance accepted.

*MR. WYNDHAM : The services of all officers are at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief, and the fact of their applying ought not to, and does not, influence the order of their selection.

COMMISSIONS FOR NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS.

MR. GODDARD (Ipswich) : I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War if he can say how many non-commissioned officers have been promoted to commissions for services in the field during the present war.

*MR. WYNDHAM : No recommendations for the promotion of non-commissioned officers to commissions for services in the field during the present war have yet been received. Lord Roberts has, however, been recently asked to recommend men who have performed good and meritorious service in the field.

MAFEKING STATION-MASTER.

MR. T. M. HEALY : I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will inquire whether Mr. James Quinlan, station-master at Mafeking, was shot in October by order of Colonel Baden-Powell ; and why the letter which Mr. Quinlan addressed to an Irish Member vindicating his innocence was not allowed to be forwarded.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham. W.) : The hon. and learned Gentleman is aware that this question relates to an alleged exercise of military authority, and under those circumstances it is not in my department. The question should be addressed to the War Office.

MR. T. M. HEALY : The right hon. Gentleman knows that the War Office will not inquire, and now he says he will not inquire ; is that because this man was an Irishman ?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN : I do not think that the hon. and learned Gentleman shows his usual fairness in insinuating that this is a matter which has not been dealt with because it is an Irish question. Perhaps, with reference to that, the House might like to have some account of Irish opinion, at all events, on the spot. I have received to-day from the Governor, Sir W. Hely-Hutchinson—who is himself an Irishman, I believe—the following telegram—

“ Mr. T. P. O'Meara, till recently member for Maritzburg, member of town council of Maritzburg, and prominent citizen, requests me to send you the following on behalf of himself and brother Irishmen in Natal. Begins : ‘ Irishmen in Natal support Her Majesty's Government. The supremacy of the Empire in South Africa must be placed beyond a doubt.’ ”

MR. T. M. HEALY : Would the right hon. Gentleman, out of consideration to the Irishmen of Natal who are supporting the Government, inquire into the shooting of Mr. Quinlan ?

*MR. WYNDHAM : I think the hon. Member misunderstood my reply to his question yesterday. What I stated was that I did not think it reasonable to address a question to Lord Roberts unless I myself was personally cognisant of the statement on which that question is based. If the hon. Member or any other hon. Member will supply me with those statements, then there is something to go upon, and I will make an inquiry. But I cannot intrude upon the time of a most distinguished officer on mere rumours, of which there are so many at this moment.

MR. T. M. HEALY : This statement—which was that the gentleman was shot, and that he forwarded a letter to an Irish Member before he was compelled to dig

his own grave—appeared in the English papers at the Cape.

*MR. WYNDHAM: Will the hon. Gentleman supply me with the statements so that I can act upon them?

MR. T. M. HEALY: That is very reasonable. I will do so. It appeared in Mr. Rhodes's paper.

ATTITUDE OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE IN 1885.

DR. CLARK (Caithness-shire): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies when it was that Sir John Brand, on behalf of the Orange Free State, protested against the objects sought to be obtained by Sir Charles Warren's Expedition; and, if the communication is published, in what year it was published.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: If this question refers to an interruption by me in the course of the speech of the hon. Member for the Bodmin Division of Cornwall I have to say that, on looking at the report of the debate, I find that I misunderstood the right hon. Gentleman and have to apologise accordingly. I thought he was referring to 1881. In 1885 there was great uneasiness in the Orange Free State, and her Majesty's Government were anxious as to the attitude of the burghers.

DR. CLARK: Burghers of the Orange Free State?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Yes.

ALLEGED HIGH TREASON AT THE CAPE.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether Mr. Barend du Plessis, a well-to-do farmer of the Hanover District, Cape Town, was arrested on the 10th of December last on a charge of high treason, based on the unsupported statement of a discharged native servant, and was kept in prison for ten days, and then set free, the Solicitor General declining to prosecute; and whether any compensation will be made to this gentleman.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: In reply to a telegram which I addressed to him with

regard to the subject of the question, Sir A. Milner informs me "Case of Du Plessis has not been brought to my notice, but inquiries being made."

SIR WILLIAM BUTLER.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War is it the fact that when the question arose of occupying Northern Natal as far as Dundee before the outbreak of hostilities, Sir William Butler was informed that this step was believed to be desirable but that the decision was left to him, and was General Butler's refusal to exercise this discretion, by not occupying Northern Natal, one of the grounds on which he was deprived of his command at the Cape; when General Butler was appointed to command elsewhere did he express his disinclination to accept the command, and only yield on the urgent representation of the War Office and on the understanding that he would only occupy the new post for a year; and does the acceptance by Sir William Butler of this appointment preclude him, except with the consent of the War Office, from defending himself from the charges levelled against him.

*MR. WYNDHAM: There is no ground for either of the allegations contained in the first paragraph of the hon. Member's question. Sir W. Butler was offered the command of the Western District on the 8th August. On the 10th August he declined the offer, explaining that he did not wish to risk possible embarrassment to his superior officers by accepting it. He was informed on the 12th August that his acceptance would cause no embarrassment, and he accepted the post on the 14th with thanks. There was no limitation of the Western District command to one year, or any understanding to that effect. The appointment is for the ordinary period of five years, subject to the rules regarding age retirement, which do not appear likely to affect the tenure. Sir W. Butler's acceptance of this command imposes no special disability upon him.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Can a general officer in command explain his attitude with reference to public matters, except with the consent of the War Office?

*MR. WYNDHAM: A general officer, and every other soldier, is forbidden by the Queen's Regulations to raise questions upon orders, regulations, and matters of discipline. He is not debarred from the right of a private gentleman, and I may mention to the hon. Member that only a few days ago Sir William Butler asked us whether he might take proceedings and instruct his solicitor, and he was informed by return that there were no military objections.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Was that against Heneage, who called him a traitor?

[No answer was given.]

ROYAL ARMY MEDICAL CORPS.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derby, Ilkeston): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War how many officers of the Royal Army Medical Corps are now employed in South Africa, and how many civil medical officers have been sent out to aid them; how many officers of the Royal Army Medical Corps are employed at other foreign stations, and how many are at home stations; and whether it is intended to employ any of the retired pay officers for duties in the United Kingdom.

*MR. WYNDHAM: 368 officers of the Royal Army Medical Corps are employed in South Africa, 377 at other foreign stations, and 111 at home; 133 civil surgeons are employed in South Africa, and 28 more are under orders to go; 112 retired pay officers are employed at home.

VOLUNTEER ARTILLERY GUNS.

MR. BAINBRIDGE: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether the attention of the Government has been drawn to a statement by Colonel Angus, commanding the 1st Newcastle-on-Tyne Volunteer Artillery, and similar statements by other Volunteer officers, that the guns supplied to Volunteers are of quite an obsolete pattern; and what steps are being taken to remedy this?

*MR. WYNDHAM: I have not seen the statement referred to, but the guns of the Volunteer Artillery are not of a recent pattern. I shall refer to this matter when

I make the statement of our proposals to the House.

NORTHUMBERLAND FUSILIER VOLUNTEERS.

MR. BAINBRIDGE: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether the officers of the 1st Volunteer Battalion of the Northumberland Fusiliers made an application to the War Office offering to equip their regiment with a Maxim gun and all accessories thereto entirely at their own cost; and, if so, why this request was refused by the War Office.

*MR. WYNDHAM: There is no trace of the receipt of such an application.

LONDON SCOTTISH VOLUNTEERS.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that members of the London Scottish Volunteers whose offers of service in South Africa have been accepted, to whom £1 has been granted towards their outfit, are only receiving 9s. 6d., the balance of half a guinea having been deducted in each instance as the member's subscription to the corps for the current year; and in view of the fact that these Volunteers are for the time being classed as soldiers on active service enrolled with the Gordon Highlanders, will arrangements be made for them to receive the £1 grant in full.

*MR. WYNDHAM: The grant of £1 towards outfit was not a grant of public money, but out of the private moneys raised by the corps for this purpose, and was, therefore, not under the control of the War Office. I understand, however, that the ordinary subscription to the corps was made optional on the part of volunteers for active service.

TRANSVAAL CONSUL AT DELAGOA BAY.

MR. SCOTT MONTAGU (Hampshire, New Forest): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether Her Majesty's Government is aware that Mr. Pott, for many years the Transvaal Consul at Delagoa Bay, has been actively engaged in assisting her Her Majesty's enemies, and whether at the same time Mr. Pott has been acting as the agent of the Castle Steamship

Company which conveys mails and troops to the Cape and subsidies from Her Majesty's Government; and whether steps have been taken to bring the importance of this to the notice of the Imperial authorities in South Africa.

THE UNDER SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): The Castle Line Company has made arrangements for relieving Mr. Pott of the agency, and he will no longer have anything to do with the company's business.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): Since what date?

[No answer was given.]

THE GARRISON OF INDIA.

MR. WARNER: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War if any steps are being taken to replace the British troops who have been withdrawn from India for South Africa.

***MR. WYNDHAM**: Not at present, Sir.

CIVIL SERVICE VOLUNTEERS.

MR. HEDDERWICK (Wick Burghs): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in the case of those members of the Civil Service Corps who have been accepted for active service in South Africa, the Government have declined to pay the salaries to which they would have been entitled had they remained at home.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HANBURY, Preston): Civil servants who are accepted for active military service receive full military pay and allowances. Moreover, in the case of married non-commissioned officers and privates half the civil pay is paid to the wife and children in addition to the Army separation allowance. In the case of every unmarried non-commissioned officer and private and of every officer, whether married or unmarried, the balance of his civil pay, after providing for his duties during his absence, is reserved for him, but so that such balance together with his military pay does not exceed the full civil pay.

FOOD STUFFS AS CONTRABAND OF WAR.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether Her Majesty's Government intend to treat food as contraband of war during the present war; and if so, under what restrictions and limitations.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.) said: Food stuffs as such have never been considered by this country as contraband of war. Food stuffs intended for the supply of an army in the field are, I believe, by universal consent and international law, regarded as contraband of war.

MR. DILLON: Will the right hon. Gentleman explain what regulations the Government intend to enforce, and on what evidence they intend to determine the character of food stuffs landed at Lorenzo Marques?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Questions of fact, of course, are to be decided by the Prize Court.

MR. DILLON: Is it the intention of the Government to direct British cruisers to seize all cargoes of food stuffs going to Lorenzo Marques until their character is ascertained?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I can make no declaration of policy with regard to that.

CUSTOMS DUTIES ON ARTICLES SENT TO THE TROOPS.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether in reference to the War Office circular of 9th December, 1899, entitled "Parcels for Officers and Men on Active Service in South Africa," the &c. in section 2, "Customs duties will not be charged in Cape Colony or Natal on tobacco, &c., addressed to officers and men serving there," means alcohol and all other taxable articles.

***MR. WYNDHAM**: The following telegram has been received from Mr. Hamilton Gatliff, who has very kindly undertaken the distribution of gifts for the troops—

"The privilege of free entry of gifts to troops applies to articles arriving by parcels

post only. With regard to articles arriving otherwise, the local Customs authorities will consider the merits of each case with a view to remission. Up to date all articles have had free entry."

The statement in the memorandum of December, 1899, was, it appears, a little too wide.

NEWSPAPERS FOR THE FRONT.

MR. COGHILL: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, why newspapers and periodicals sent out from this country to the officers and men of the Natal Field force have not been delivered to them; and if he can say what has become of them.

MR. HANBURY: All newspapers and periodicals for the forces in Natal have been duly forwarded to the Army Post Office. If the hon. Member will be good enough to furnish definite information as to particular cases of non-delivery enquiry shall be made of the Army Post Office.

ELECTORAL DISABILITIES (MILITARY SERVICE) BILL.

GENERAL LAURIE (Pembroke and Haverfordwest): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he will take into consideration the desirability of extending the provisions of the Bill of which he has given notice, Electoral Disabilities (Military Service), so as to include members of the Army and Navy as well as those of the other Forces named in the notice who may be absent on the Military service of the Crown.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir M. WHITE RIDLEY, Lancashire, Blackpool): I have not overlooked the point raised by my hon. and gallant friend; but I do not think that it comes properly within the scope of the Bill, which is not one for the extension of the franchise but is intended to deal with the consequences of an unusual state of war, and not with those of ordinary military or naval service.

GENERAL LAURIE: Would not the military and naval Members of the House who have gone to South Africa be entitled to exercise the franchise if still at home?

*SIR M. WHITE RIDLEY: Yes; but there is a considerable difference between those serving the country by being called to India or other parts of the Empire in ordinary circumstances, and those who, as on the present occasion, have volunteered for foreign service.

*MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Are not the special circumstances of this case equally applicable to the Army and Navy as to these other forces?

*SIR M. WHITE RIDLEY: We had better discuss these questions when the Bill is introduced. All I wish to point out is that this Bill is not intended to be an extension of the franchise; it is to meet a special case.

LEE-ENFIELD RIFLES.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether the Lee-Enfield rifles recently issued were previously tested; and, if so, will he say where the tests were made; and will he state who is responsible for having passed weapons with faulty backsights.

*MR. WYNDHAM: The Lee-Enfield rifles recently issued had been inspected at the places of manufacture, Enfield, Birmingham, and London. The sighting was approved in 1895 by the then Inspector-General of Ordnance on the advice of the late Director-General of Ordnance Factories, after trials carried out by the officers who were at the time Superintendent of the Small Arms Factory and Commandant of the School of Musketry respectively, and on the recommendation of the Chief Inspector of Small Arms. A strict inquiry into the origin of the error in the sighting of these rifles has been instituted.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War if he will state the number of Lee-Enfield rifles which have been manufactured since its adoption, and the number issued; also whether the rifles bear any mark or stamp indicating the place of manufacture; and if they do not, will he consider the advisability of adopting a distinctive mark in future?

*MR. WYNDHAM: The number of Lee-Enfield rifles manufactured is about 350,000, and that issued about 100,000. They all bear the marks referred to.

CASE OF HENRY URQUHART, GORDON HIGHLANDERS.

MR. HEDDERWICK : I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether the attention of the War Office has been attracted to the case of Henry Urquhart, aged 73, formerly an officer in the Gordon Highlanders, said to have served in the Crimea, the Indian Mutiny, and in the North-West Provinces of India, and to have been specially mentioned in despatches for distinguished bravery, who, with his wife, aged 77, applied in January last to the Lambeth Guardians for relief upon the ground of destitution and the infirmity of age; and whether there is any fund at the disposal of the Government applicable to such a case; and, if not, whether the Government will consider the desirability of establishing a fund which would obviate the necessity of such an appeal by old soldiers who have served the Queen.

*THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE WAR OFFICE (Mr. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS, Birmingham, S.): If the officer referred to is identical with William Henry Urquhart who sold out of the 17th Foot as a Captain in October, 1861, his case is now being enquired into.

MR. HEDDERWICK : The hon. Gentleman has not answered the second part of my question.

*MR. POWELL-WILLIAMS : That would depend on the result of the inquiry. There may or may not be. The whole circumstances of the case will be looked into.

RIFLE RANGES.

MR. F. W. WILSON (Norfolk, Mid): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War if he will supplement the return granted last session of rifle ranges closed in Great Britain by a further return giving the names and localities of ranges so closed.

*MR. WYNDHAM : If the hon. Member will specify any particular locality as to which he desires information, I will do my best to furnish it; but at the present period of pressure in the War Office I am reluctant to require a return which would cause considerable labour.

CRIMEAN PENSIONERS.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether he is aware that Irish Army pensioners and others, who have served over twenty years in the Army, the greater portion of which has been active service in Persia, India, China, and the Crimea, are now in many instances inmates of Irish workhouses, supported at the expense of the public rates, as also supported by public charity in such institutions as the "Little Sisters of the Poor"; whether Her Majesty's Government can see their way, by legislation or otherwise, to increase the pension of Crimean veterans and others beyond the sum of eightpence a day; and whether this question has been considered; and, if so, with what result.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS : If the hon. Member will send me the particulars of any case which has come to his notice I will cause inquiry to be made.

MR. FLAVIN : The hon. Gentleman last October told the House the whole matter was under consideration.

SUBSIDISED CRUISERS.

MR. BAINBRIDGE : I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty if he will have a return presented to the House giving the number, classification, and names of the ships subsidised by the Government for the purpose of being available as cruisers prior to October last.

MR. GOSCHEN : The hon. Member will find the information he requires as to the vessels subsidised as merchant cruisers at page 93 of the Navy Estimates for 1899-1900.

COAL FOR THE NAVY—EMERGENCY CONTRACTS.

*MR. D. A. THOMAS (Merthyr Tydvil): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether by the conditions of contract for the supply of steam vessel coals to the Government in times of emergency, the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty are to be the sole judges of the circumstances constituting anticipated or actual war under which the contractors shall be called upon to supply; whether any coal has ever been

taken by the Admiralty under any of such emergency contracts; whether any consideration money is paid for the contract; and if he can indicate the circumstances contemplated in the conditions of the emergency coal contracts under which coal would be taken.

MR. GOSCHEN: The reply to the first and second paragraphs is in the affirmative—to the third paragraph in the negative, but the firms who have tendered have always defended the very high prices asked on the grounds that they are completely in the dark as to when they may be called upon to supply. It is proposed before the next contracts are made to revise some of the conditions.

*MR. D. A. THOMAS: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman—but, of course, I do not press the question if to answer it will be inconsistent with the public interest—whether the Lords Commissioners anticipate military operations are likely to lead to actual war in South Africa?

MR. GOSCHEN: I do not think that is a question I should be called upon to answer.

THE COASTGUARD AND TELEPHONIC COMMUNICATION.

SIR CAMERON GULL (Devonshire, Barnstaple): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether, when any of the coastguard in whose houses the coast telephonic communication is placed are mobilised, any, and if so what, steps are taken to insure the proper working of the telephone during their absence.

MR. GOSCHEN: The question of the hon. Baronet relates, I presume, to the civilian services rendered by the coastguard in charge of telephonic arrangements for life-saving purposes along the coast. The Admiralty and the Board of Trade are in communication with each other on this subject. The organisation of the war signal stations is complete.

ANGLO-GERMAN CONVENTION— TONGA.

MR. HOGAN (Tipperary, Mid): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether Mr. Basil Thomson has been despatched on a special

mission to Tonga; and if so, whether there is any objection to stating its purport.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: Yes. Mr. Thomson has been sent to Tonga to discuss with the King the change in the international position of the group effected by the Anglo-German Convention of November last.

SAMOA.

MR. HOGAN: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs what is the latest consular information from Samoa as to the working of the new governing arrangements under the Anglo-German Convention, and the probabilities of a permanent acceptance of the new régime by the natives.

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (MR. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): The Tripartite Convention between Great Britain, Germany, and the United States with regard to Samoa was only approved by the Senate on the 29th ult. The formal ratifications will be exchanged without delay. Until this has been done, the Convention does not come into effect, and consequently German administration has not yet been established in Upolu and Savaii.

BRITISH NORTH BORNEO.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will state the nature of the differences which have arisen between the native population and the Chartered Company of British North Borneo; have any efforts been made by the British North Borneo Company to discuss the grievances of the natives with a view to an amicable settlement, as on a previous occasion, when Mat Salleh delivered his sword to Mr. Cowie, the manager of the British North Borneo Company; will he state the nature of the expedition sent against Mat Salleh and his followers; and whether the expenses will be charged to the British taxpayer or to the British North Borneo Company.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: I am unable to answer this question without referring to the British North Borneo Company. If the hon. Member will kindly postpone his

question for a week, I hope then to be in a position to reply.

JAMAICA LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he is aware that the Order in Council restoring to the Colony of Jamaica a representative legislature, passed on the 19th May, 1884, was accompanied with a despatch to the Governor of the Colony, Sir H. Norman, from Lord Derby, the Colonial Secretary, stating that Her Majesty's Government thought it undesirable that the Legislative Council should be so constituted as to place the elected members in a majority and the nominated members in a minority, and trusting that it would be rarely if ever necessary for the Governor to exercise the power of overruling the votes of the elected members; is he aware that, from 1884 till 1899, the extreme power vested in the Governor, of raising the number of nominated members of the Council to the maximum, was never exercised; whether, in 1899, the Governor of Jamaica, with the sanction of the Colonial Secretary, appointed the full number of nominated members on the Legislative Council in order to carry measures of taxation, the finances having become, owing to bad seasons, temporarily embarrassed; whether a petition to the Queen, numerously signed by representative men of the island of Jamaica, by Mr. Adrian A. Robinson, President of the Jamaica Association and Mayor of Kingston, protesting against the action of the Governor and the Colonial Secretary as *ultra vires* and unconstitutional, has been received; and will he explain what justification the Governor offered for so acting.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The circumstances referred to in the hon. Member's question are explained in Papers relating to the finances of Jamaica (9,177, February, 1899, 9,412, July, 1899, 9,413, July, 1899), which have already been laid before the House, and in further correspondence which will be shortly laid.

MR. MACNEILL: Is it the fact that the Constitution of Jamaica has been suspended?

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: No, Sir.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Have you any address from the loyalists there?

[No answer was given.]

FRENCH SETTLEMENT AT SHANGHAI.

MR. YERBURGH (Chester): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he can state the result of the negotiations with regard to the extension of the French concession at Shanghai.

*MR. BRODRICK: The main objections entertained by Her Majesty's Government to the extension of the French settlement at Shanghai was due to the fact that certain British property was included in the proposed French concession. Satisfactory assurances have now been obtained from the French Government, by which all municipal regulations will be submitted to Her Majesty's Minister at Peking before being enforced on British subjects, and all titles to British property are secured. The Secretary of State consequently withdrew his opposition, and the extensions of both the French and the Anglo-American or international settlements have now been arranged.

RUSSIAN LOAN TO PERSIA.

MR. YERBURGH: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he can state the conditions of the Russian loan to Persia; and whether the customs of the port of Bender Abbas are pledged to Russia under any agreement.

*MR. BRODRICK: The conditions of the loan, as announced in the *Messenger Officiel* on January 30th, and published in the *Journal de St. Pétersbourg* of January 31st, are:—The payment of the interest and sinking fund for the term of seventy-five years is to be guaranteed by all the customs revenues of Persia, exclusive of those of Fars and the Persian Gulf ports. In case of delay in the payments of the service of the loan the Banque des Prêts is to have the right of establishing a control over the custom houses, the revenues of which form the security for the loan. The Persian Government engages to extinguish all its previous external obligations with part of the proceeds of the loan, and not to conclude

without the consent of the Banque des Prêts any fresh foreign loan until the loan of 1900 has been extinguished. The Persian Government grants the Banque des Prêts the right, if it thinks necessary, of placing on the money market bonds of the Persian Loan for the amount to which it is indebted, and bearing the full guarantee of the Russian Government. We have no ground for believing in the existence of any agreement to the effect mentioned in the second paragraph.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE LICENSING LAWS.

SIR J. LENG (Dundee): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he has considered the recommendations made in the reports of the Royal Commission on the Licensing Laws; and what course he proposes to take with regard to them.

***SIR M. WHITE RIDLEY:** I have of course given my best consideration to the recommendations in the reports of the Commission, but under existing circumstances the Government can make no promise of legislation during the present session.

FOOT AND MOUTH DISEASE—CATTLE IMPORTATION TO IRELAND.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Agriculture whether he can state how many outbreaks of foot and mouth disease have occurred among cattle in Great Britain, and the number of animals so affected, and what precautions are being taken to prevent infection: and whether the permission to import cattle into Ireland has been suspended.

***THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE (Mr. LONG, Liverpool, West Derby):** Three outbreaks of foot and mouth disease have, I regret to state, occurred in the neighbourhood of Yarmouth. The number of animals actually affected is thirty-six. The precautions prescribed by the Diseases of Animals Act and the Foot and Mouth Order of 1895 are being carried out by the local authorities acting in conjunction with the staff of lay and veterinary inspectors, which was dispatched to the spot immediately on the occurrence of the first outbreak. In addition we have

prohibited the movement of animals into or out of a scheduled district or along any highway therein, and have imposed special restrictions in the areas immediately surrounding the infected places. I understand that the Irish authorities have suspended the importation of cattle into Ireland for the time being. The situation is a very grave one, but if agriculturists generally will support the efforts we are making, we may yet be able to prevent the disastrous results which must ensue if the disease becomes epidemic throughout the country.

VETERINARY ADVISERS OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE.

***MR. JOHNSON-FERGUSON (Leicestershire, Loughborough):** I beg to ask the President of the Board of Agriculture, whether he is aware that the number of veterinary advisers to the Board of Agriculture has been reduced during the past year, by death or retirement, from three to one; and, whether, considering the important nature of the duties performed by these officials, it is his intention to fill up the vacancies as soon as possible.

***MR. LONG:** In addition to the Veterinary Inspectors at the Ports, whose services have always been drawn upon in times of emergency, we have now at our entire disposal the services of six veterinary inspectors in addition to the chief and assistant veterinary officers, as against the three veterinary officers employed prior to the retirement of Sir George Brown in 1894. A vacancy has arisen in the position of assistant veterinary officer which will be filled without unnecessary delay, but in the meantime we have no difficulty in making provision for the work which requires to be done.

PASSENGER VESSEL REGULATIONS—WRECK OF THE "MOHEGAN."

SIR CAMERON GULL: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been called to the following recommendations of the Court of Inquiry upon the wreck of the "Mohegan":—(1) That they were strongly of opinion that when a vessel was lighted with electric light she ought at night to have lighted and in an easily accessible position oil lamps to take the

place of the ship's lamps in case of failure of the electric light. (2) That they were also strongly of opinion that a lifeboat should be swung out on each side of a passenger vessel while navigating the English Channel. And, if so, whether he has taken or proposes to take any and what steps in the direction indicated by the Court of Inquiry.

*THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. RITCHIE, Croydon): Yes, sir. My attention has been called to the recommendations referred to in the question, and they have received attentive consideration. The regulations of the Board of Trade require vessels fitted with electric side and masthead lights to be also supplied with oil lamps for use in case of failure of the electric system. These regulations were fully complied with in the case of the "Mohegan," but the oil lamps (which were trimmed and ready for use) were submerged and rendered inaccessible soon after the vessel struck; and if they had been lighted they would have been extinguished. The statutory rules as to life saving appliances do not require a lifeboat to be swung out on each side of a passenger vessel while navigating the English Channel, and the Board of Trade are advised that under certain conditions such a requirement would be neither prudent nor practicable.

LONG EATON LEVEL RAILWAY CROSSING.

SIR WALTER FOSTER: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been called to an inquest held recently on a woman killed at the level crossing at Long Eaton Station on the Midland Railway, and to the verdict of the jury which described the crossing as most dangerous, and referred to the very inadequate means for passengers wishing to get across the line; whether he is aware that several thousand persons use the crossing daily, and that representations have been frequently made to the Midland Railway authorities by the District Council of Long Eaton as to the urgent need of a safer method of crossing the line; and whether he will communicate with the Midland Railway Company with a view of obtaining safer accommodation for the public.

MR. RITCHIE: Yes, Sir. The Board of Trade communicated with the Midland

Company on the 5th of January, but have not yet received an answer. The company have been pressed for a reply. The hon. Gentleman is no doubt aware that there is a footbridge which pedestrians can avail themselves of.

WORKMEN'S TRAINS.

MR. WOODS (Essex, Walthamstow): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade if it is the intention of the Government in dealing with the question of the housing of the working classes to take into consideration the necessity of amending the Cheap Trains Act, 1883, so as to make provision for an ample service of workmen's trains at cheap fares between the central stations and the outer suburbs of all large towns, and thus remove one of the difficulties experienced in housing the working classes.

MR. RITCHIE: Large additional facilities have been afforded recently in the matter of workmen's trains, and I am not satisfied that the present law is insufficient to secure the desirable object referred to by the hon Member.

CATTLE TRANSIT IN THE NORTH OF IRELAND.

MR. FIELD: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that on the Great Northern line, Ireland, it is the practice to detain cattle loaded at Kells or Navan for Drogheda until all the consignments for Belfast are taken away; and whether the Board of Trade can prevent, as a preferential treatment to consignors, the sending of live stock to the more distant terminus in the north.

MR. RITCHIE: I have communicated with the Great Northern Railway Company (Ireland), and they inform me that their arrangements for the conveyance of cattle from the fairs at Navan and Kells are framed so as to best meet the requirements of the traffic, and that the stock which is going the long distance to Belfast and is intended for shipment the same night has necessarily to be loaded and sent away earlier than that which is going the shorter distance to Drogheda. They also state that the cattle for Drogheda is despatched at a proper time, having regard to its delivery to them and the completion of a train load, and that

they have received no complaints from any of the dealers or shippers. If any complaint on the subject is pressed, the jurisdiction to deal with it would appear to be with the Railway Commissioners.

FREE RAILWAY PASSES FOR IRISH MEMBERS.

MR. FIELD: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he is aware that in the British colonies members of the legislature have free travelling on railways; and whether he is prepared to consider the advisability of extending this regulation to Irish Members of Parliament.

MR. RITCHIE: It would be useless for me, even if I deemed such an arrangement desirable, to consider the matter, as I have no power to give effect to my consideration should it result as desired by the honourable Gentleman.

MR. FIELD: Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will use his influence with the railway companies.

CASE OF EMANUEL WILLIAMS.

SIR JOSEPH LEESE (Lancashire, Accrington): I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the Treasury whether his attention has been called to the circumstances under which Mr. Emanuel Williams, a chartered accountant of high standing in Manchester, was on the 19th of September last arrested and kept in prison for five days under a warrant granted, at the instance of the Treasury, by a magistrate of the Bullingdon Division of Oxfordshire, charging him with having written and sent to the Rev. George Moore five letters demanding with menaces certain money and a valuable security; whether the Treasury before giving instructions for a warrant to be applied for caused inquiry to be made as to the circumstances under which the alleged threatening letters were written, or whether they relied merely on the letters; and also whether they caused inquiry to be made as to Mr. Williams's character and position, with a view to ascertaining whether he could be depended upon to answer a summons; whether he is aware that on the hearing of the case the prosecution withdrew two of the letters; that the prosecutor admitted that he saw no threat in the third;

and that with regard to the last letter, upon which the prosecution mainly relied, the presiding magistrate in dismissing the charge said it suggested no course which was not strictly reasonable and honourable for anyone to have taken; and further stated that the magistrates regretted very much that Mr. Williams had been put to annoyance and inconvenience, and to the temporary deprivation of his liberty; and whether the Treasury intend to reimburse Mr. Williams the costs he has incurred in defending himself.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir R. WEBSTER, Isle of Wight): The answer to the first and third paragraphs of my honourable and learned friend's question is in the affirmative. As regards the second, before application was made for a warrant, full inquiries were made. I have most carefully considered the whole of the circumstances of the case, and there is in my opinion no ground for suggesting that the Treasury should reimburse Mr. Williams the costs he has incurred in defending himself.

GALWAY POSTAL SERVICE.

MR. O'MALLEY (Galway, Connemara): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, whether he is aware that great inconvenience is occasioned by the late delivery of letters in Carna, Letterfrack, and other districts in Connemara, and if steps will be taken to cause an earlier and more punctual delivery of letters in those districts; and whether he will institute a Sunday delivery of letters in Carna.

MR. HANBURY: Considering the exposed nature of the roads and the bad weather in the winter, there does not appear to have been avoidable delay in the recent working of the mail cars. The present arrangements involve an expenditure much in excess of the revenue, and increased expense for affording an accelerated service is not warranted. In view of the deficiency of revenue a Sunday post to Carna would not be justified.

TELEGRAPH DELAYS AT OLDHAM.

MR. RUNCIMAN (Oldham): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, whether the Postmaster General has received representations from the Oldham Chamber

of Commerce as to the serious delays experienced in telegraphic communication between Oldham and London and the South of England; what steps are being taken to remedy this grievance; whether, in view of the great commercial importance of Oldham, the Postmaster General has contemplated the necessity for direct telegraphic facilities being provided between Oldham and London; and whether it is the only town in England with a population of over 140,000 which is not provided with a direct wire to London.

MR. HANBURY: The Postmaster General is not aware that there is any general delay in the transmission of Oldham telegrams. He has been giving very careful attention to the question of providing direct telegraphic facilities between Oldham and London, but he finds that the number of telegrams is not sufficient to justify a direct wire. The answer to the hon. Member's last question is in the affirmative. The point to be considered is, however, not the population but the traffic.

KILDARE POSTAL ARRANGEMENTS.

MR. FIELD: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, whether he is aware that much delay is experienced in the delivery of letters to Straffan, Celbridge, and Kildare; and whether he will cause inquiry to be made and a quicker system of delivery adopted.

MR. HANBURY: The hon. Member presumably refers to applications which have been made for an additional delivery of letters at Straffan beginning at about 10 o'clock at night. These applications have been fully considered, but inasmuch as there is already a delivery commencing as late as 7.50 p.m., the later delivery asked for would be of service to very few residents in the neighbourhood, and the Postmaster General does not consider that such a delivery would be warranted. At Celbridge there have, it appears, been some slight delays in commencing the evening delivery, but arrangements are about to be made for ensuring greater punctuality in future. The Postmaster General is not aware that much delay has taken place in the delivery of letters at Kildare, but he will have inquiry made on the subject.

PAUPER REMOVALS IN IRELAND.

MR. FIELD: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether his attention has been called to the grievance endured by the City of Dublin owing to the absence of any law of removal in the case of paupers and pauper lunatics such as exists in England and Wales; and whether, in view of the fact that large numbers of those classes are chargeable on the rates of the City of Dublin and have no connection with it, he will consider the advisability of assimilating the law of the two countries, and so enable the charge of such to rest on their respective districts within Ireland.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.) (for MR. G. W. BALFOUR): The suggestion in the question is that the English law of settlement should be applied to Ireland. The Chief Secretary is not aware that any representations have been made to the Local Government Board in favour of such a proposal, and he is unable to advise that it should be adopted.

SALE OF EXPLOSIVES IN IRELAND.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Cavan, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether any new regulation has recently been issued to vendors of explosives to refuse to sell powder to road contractors for blasting purposes unless the person applying has procured a red license; and whether, seeing that it was the custom formerly to give powder on any magistrate's order, this regulation can be withdrawn and the former state of things reverted to.

MR. ATKINSON (for MR. G. W. BALFOUR): No new regulation has been issued of the nature mentioned in the question.

LICENCES TO CARRY ARMS IN IRELAND.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on what grounds a licence to carry arms has been refused to Mr. James O'Neill, vice-chairman of Longford Board of Guardians; whether he is aware that three magistrates, including the High Sheriff for 1900 for

County Longford, recommended him as a fit and proper person to receive a licence; and whether, seeing that he stated he only required the gun to destroy vermin on his land, an order will now be given to Mr. Kilkelly, R.M., to issue the necessary certificate forthwith.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR): The discretion of granting or withholding a licence to carry firearms is vested by law in the resident magistrate, who is the licensing officer, and it would be contrary to the invariable practice to disclose the reasons which actuated him, in the exercise of his discretion, in refusing to grant a licence in any particular case. Mr. Kilkelly has no recollection that the fact is as alleged in the second paragraph, and as regards the third paragraph the matter is not one calling for the interference of the Government.

IRISH LAND COURT RETURNS.

MR. MAURICE HEALY (Cork): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state down to what year returns have up to the present been made out for the Land Judge under the Rules made pursuant to Sec. 40 of the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1896, of estates to which that section in the first instance applies; how far the returns already presented have been gone through by the Judge in the regular course; how many requests have been issued by the Judge to the Land Commission under the section; how many reports have been made by the Land Commission pursuant to such requests; how many estates have been offered for sale to the tenants under the section and accepted by the tenants, and what the number of such tenants is, and the total amount of the purchase money; how many estates have been actually vested in the tenants under the section, and what the number of such tenants is; and whether the offer of sale to the tenants has been refused by them in any and what cases.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR): Returns, such as referred to, have been prepared so far as they relate to cases in which receivers were appointed prior to 1891, and all the estates comprised in these returns have been dealt

with by the Land Judge with a view to their being sold under the 40th section, or of determining whether they were estates to which the provisions of that section apply. The return for the period between 1891 and 1896 is in course of preparation and is almost complete. The number of requests lodged with the Land Commission under the section is 154; the number of estates in which the Land Commission have made their reports to the Land Judge is 127; the number of estates in which orders of the Land Judge have been lodged with the Land Commission is 81; the Land Commission have made offers in the case of 74 estates to 1,247 tenants, of whom 1,101 have accepted these offers, and 146 have not accepted them, while advances amounting to £230,197 have been made to 802 tenants for the purchase of their holdings on 54 estates. In the case of seven estates where the Orders of the Land Judge have been received and where offers have not been made, the offer are in course of preparation and some of them will be made within a few days. The total amount of the purchase money in the case of the 146 tenants who have not accepted the offers made to them is £49,778.

BALDWIN'S ESTATE.

MR. MAURICE HEALY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he will state the date when the request by the Land Judge for a report under Section 40 of the Land Act of 1896, in the case of Baldwin's estate, was lodged with the Land Commission, and also the date when the valuation of the estate by the Land Commission for the purpose of the report was completed; what has caused the delay by the Land Commission in reporting to the Land Judge; and when their report will be presented.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR): The request was lodged with the Land Commission on 8th April, 1899, and the valuation of the estate was completed on 24th August. The report of the Land Commissioners was forwarded to the Land Judge on the 15th ultimo.

FREEMANTLE AS A PORT OF CALL FOR AUSTRALIAN MAIL STEAMERS.

MR. HOGAN: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the

Postmaster General, whether his department has any objection to Fremantle being made a port of call for the Australian mail steamers now that this harbour is capable of accommodating the largest steamers.

MR. HANBURY: The only objection is the slight loss of time in the passage to and from the Australian ports beyond Western Australia. This objection the Postmaster General does not consider serious, and at the request of the Australian Governments collectively, power was taken in the present mail contracts to require this change of the contractors on allowing them additional time for the détour. The Colonies are not now unanimous in desiring the change, and the Postmaster General understands that all save Western Australia object to the slight extension of time demanded by the contractors. The matter is still under consideration.

MEMBERS' ROOMS AT THE HOUSE.

MR. HARWOOD: I beg to ask the First Commissioner of Works whether, especially in view of announced official changes, it is possible to improve the very inadequate accommodation now given to members in the reading, tea, and smoke rooms.

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (MR. AKERS DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine's): I have not lost sight of the question of the improvement of the accommodation in this House, but I am not yet in a position to make any detailed statement.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

*MR. D. A. THOMAS: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury if he can now state what he proposes shall be the course of business in the House immediately after the debate on the Address in reply to the Gracious Speech from the Throne is concluded.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The first business of substance after the Address is concluded will be the introduction by my hon. friend the Under Secretary for War of supplementary Army Estimates connected with the war, and in introducing those estimates he will make the statement so anxiously expected both by the

House and the country upon the questions of home defence, which are agitating, or at all events deeply interesting, the public mind at the present moment. I shall probably have to ask the House, before entering upon that business, to pass the ordinary sessional rule with regard to Supply, and I shall also have to ask them to give the Government facilities, with regard to financial business alone, in order that we may get through our necessary financial work before 31st March.

MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.): Is it intended to take Tuesdays up to 31st March?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: We shall have to ask facilities with regard to Tuesdays, but there is one Tuesday which I notice it is intended should be devoted to a motion connected with an inquiry into the raid. My right hon. friend the Secretary for the Colonies yesterday declined to deal with that subject in his speech, saying that he would reserve what he had to say for that motion to be brought forward. Under those circumstances it would be highly improper that the Government should impose any obstacle in the way of that motion being considered. I ought, however, to guard myself by saying that it may be necessary—it depends on the state of our financial work—to take a morning sitting on that Tuesday.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Are you going to take Wednesdays?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (QUEEN'S SPEECH—MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS).

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Before moving the first motion which stands on the Paper in my name, I wish to qualify a statement I made in answer to the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for North Louth, who asked me whether we proposed to take Wednesdays. We do not propose to take Wednesdays, but as there is financial business which must be passed before the 31st of March, it is conceivable, though I believe it is extremely improbable, that we shall have to ask for facilities with regard to Wednesdays. I say that in order to guard against any

charge of breach of faith, should that unexpected contingency arise.

Ordered, That the proceedings on the Address in answer to Her Majesty's Speech have precedence this day and to-morrow of the Notices of Motions and of the other Orders of the Day.—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE (EXEMPTION FROM THE STANDING ORDER.)

Ordered, That the proceedings on the Address, if under discussion at Twelve o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order sittings of the House.—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

NEW BILLS.

LIQUOR TRAFFIC LOCAL VETO (SCOTLAND).

Bill to give the ratepayers the direct control of the liquor traffic in their respective areas, ordered to be brought in by Mr. John Wilson (Govan), Mr. Colville, Mr. Cameron Corbett, Mr. Souttar, Sir William Dunn, Mr. Hedderwick, Mr. M'Leod, and Dr. Clark.

LIQUOR TRAFFIC LOCAL VETO (SCOTLAND) BILL.

"To give the ratepayers the direct control of the liquor traffic in their respective areas," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 2nd May, and to be printed. [Bill 63.]

VAGRANTS' CHILDREN PROTECTION.

Bill for the further protection of the Children of Vagrants, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Drage, Earl Percy, Mr. Birrell, and Mr. John Burns.

VAGRANTS' CHILDREN PROTECTION BILL.

"For the further protection of the Children of Vagrants," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 64.]

VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS (GRANTS IN AID).

Bill to enable School Boards in certain county boroughs to make grants in aid

of efficient Voluntary Schools; and for other purposes, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Lawrence, Sir James Fergusson, Mr. Warr, Sir John William Maclure, Mr. Tomlinson, Mr. David MacIver, and Sir George Fardell.

VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS (GRANTS IN AID) BILL.

"To enable School Boards in certain county boroughs to make Grants in Aid of efficient Voluntary Schools; and for other purposes," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 2nd May, and to be printed. [Bill 65.]

REGISTRATION OF ELECTORS.

Bill to amend the Law relating to the qualification and Registration of Electors at any election in England and Wales ordered to be brought in by Mr. M'Kenna, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Samuel Evans, Mr. Brynmor Jones, Mr. Alfred Thomas, and Mr. D. A. Thomas.

REGISTRATION OF ELECTORS BILL.

"To amend the Law relating to the Qualification and Registration of Electors at any election in England and Wales," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Monday, 19th February, and to be printed. [Bill 68.]

LAND VALUES TAXATION (SCOTLAND).

Bill for the Taxation for local purposes of Land Values in burghs in Scotland, ordered to be brought in by Sir Charles Cameron, Mr. Caldwell, Mr. John Wilson, Mr. Provand, Dr. Clark, and Mr. Colville.

LAND VALUES TAXATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

"For the taxation for local purposes of Land Values in burghs in Scotland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 21st March, and to be printed. [Bill 66.]

LIQUOR TRAFFIC LOCAL VETO (WALES).

Bill to enable owners and occupiers in Wales to have effectual control over the Liquor Traffic, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Herbert Roberts, Mr. Brynmor Jones, Mr. Alfred Thomas, Mr. Lloyd-George, Mr. Herbert Lewis, and Mr. Griffith.

LIQUOR TRAFFIC LOCAL VETO (WALES) BILL.

"To enable owners and occupiers in Wales to have effectual control over the Liquor Traffic," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 2nd May, and to be printed. [Bill 67.]

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[SIXTH DAY'S DEBATE.]

Order read for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment [30th January] to Question [30th January], "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, as followeth:—

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, Your Majesty's most 'dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Captain Pretymun.*)

And which Amendment was—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'But we humbly express our regret at the want of knowledge, foresight, and judgment displayed by Your Majesty's advisers, alike, in their conduct of South African affairs since 1895, and in their preparations for the war now proceeding.'"—(*Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice.*)

Question again proposed—"That those words be there added."

Debate resumed.

*MR. ASQUITH (Fifeshire, E.): I am aware that the initiation and continuance of this debate is regarded by some people, whose judgment is entitled to respect, with great disfavour. It is even represented as the device of a factious Opposition, anxious by one and the same expedient to cloak its own domestic dissensions and to create in the eyes of the world the appearance of a divided nation. I repudiate that charge with all the emphasis that I can command, and in support of that repudiation I am not afraid to appeal to the experience of the last three months. The times have been trying; confident hope has had to give way to bitter and reiterated disap-

pointment; the temper and the mettle of our people has been put to the severest test that any of us can recall. During those anxious weeks the voice of party has been stilled, and we of the Opposition have done what in us lay, by silence or, where it seemed fitting and necessary, by speech, to the best of our ability to maintain the unity of the national front and the height of the national resolve. I am not claiming any credit for us on that account, and I trust and believe that the party opposite, in a like case, would have done the same by us, had we for the time being been the trustees of the national fortunes. But it is not a little singular that the accusations to which I am referring come with the greatest vehemence from quarters from which less than a month ago, in the very darkest hour of the war, a torrent of denunciation was being daily poured, without stint, without scruple, and I will add without shame, upon our statesmen in the Cabinet, and even upon our generals in the field. In that noisy demonstration of panic and clamour I am glad to remember that not a single Member of the Opposition condescended to take part. We are therefore, I think, entitled to the presumption that in raising this debate we have not been animated by a reckless spirit of partisanship, and that we have not forgotten the obligations of patriotic reserve. I will go further and say, as my right hon. friend the Member for West Monmouthshire said last night, that if we had not raised the debate we should have been abdicating the functions which it is the primary business of the Opposition to discharge. What was the situation in which the country found itself when Parliament met? We had been engaged for over three months in a war which, for the reversal of expectations, for the bewildering exhibition of inexplicable strategy, and for the almost unbroken series of reverses and disasters, has no parallel in our history since the days of the administration of Lord North. And, while this disquieting and baffling spectacle was unfolding itself before the eyes of the people, what was the attitude and what have been the declarations of Her Majesty's Ministers? We have had alarms and excursions at Leicester; we have had rambling apologies at Manchester; and we had, only a week ago—as lately as the first night of the session—declarations from

the two leading Ministers of the Crown in the two Houses of Parliament hopelessly at issue and irreconcilable one with the other on elementary and yet vital questions of fact. I appeal to any candid and fair-judging man—whether he sits in this House or whether he walks the streets—if in such a situation it was not both the right and the duty of the Opposition to challenge the Executive Government to give an account of their stewardship. I agree entirely with what my right hon. friend said last night that the course which we have taken is in strict accordance with the principles of the Constitution as they have been understood and practised by all the great statesmen of either party in the past. I know that the British Constitution is for the moment out of favour, not only with professors of poetry and the melancholy tribe of idealists, but out of favour with the leading Members of Her Majesty's Government. It is a melancholy state of things when the Prime Minister and the Constitution fall out with one another; but, as Lord Salisbury has already made a public apology to his other *bête noire*—the Treasury—I think we may cherish the hope that before many days are over he will again don the white sheet, and, in the same handsome fashion, “make it up” with the British Constitution. The hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for War, in his brilliant and powerful speech the other night, appealed to us in his closing sentences, and spoke of this House by the title of “Mother of Parliaments.” Yes, but before this House enjoyed the privileges of motherhood it was, what it still is, and what I hope it will always continue to be, “The Grand Inquest of the Nation.” Sir, this debate has developed, as it might have been expected to do, differences of opinion as to the apportionment of responsibility for the outbreak of the war. It would be affectation on my part to deny the existence of such differences, though I think when they come to be examined they will be found to be differences not of principle, nor even of policy, but differences for the most part as to the true interpretation of a series of historical events. But I shall imitate the frankness of those who have preceded me, and, as I believe it to be the duty of everybody who rises in debate to support this Amendment, I shall, if the House will permit me, in two or three sentences

endeavour to make clear my own position. Speaking to my own constituents in the early days of the month of September, when the negotiations were just reaching their most critical state, and with the information which I then possessed—thinking, I believe, with nine-tenths, nay, I might say 99-100ths, of my fellow-countrymen, that a war such as this was an unthinkable catastrophe—I expressed the opinion that if such a war were to break out it would be a reproach to statesmanship and a calamity to South Africa. I had that opinion then; I hold it still. I do not belong to either of the fashionable schools of fatalism. I do not think that the epithet “inevitable,” in the sense in which it is commonly employed, is any more applicable to the outbreak of this war than it is to the blunders and disasters which have attended its prosecution. I never heard and never read in history of a war which could not have been avoided by the exercise upon both sides of two very commonplace but not very common qualities—good sense and good faith. I say, upon both sides; because if it is true that it takes two to make a quarrel, it is equally true that it may take two to avoid it. I am going to speak my own convictions. I know they are not shared by all those who sit around me. But I wish to affirm two propositions, not as covering the entire ground, or exhausting the case—two propositions to which I should like to appeal for almost general assent. The first proposition is that this war was not intended nor desired by the Government of Great Britain. It is a totally different question whether other steps should have been taken to avoid it; but the absence of any such intention or desire is in my opinion, I would not say a justification, but is the only explanation of the state of military unpreparedness in which we found ourselves. My second proposition—I do not know whether it will meet with an equally general assent—is that this is a war which should and could have been avoided by President Kruger. Proposals were put forward at a very early period in the month of September, and urged upon his acceptance, not only by Her Majesty's Government, but by men belonging to every shade and school of political opinion in this kingdom, as on the one hand perfectly compatible with the maintenance of the independence of his own State, and on the other hand

an instalment—a proper and legitimate instalment—of the long-delayed and over-due debt of justice to the British population in the Transvaal. If these proposals had been accepted there would have been no war. They were rejected, and that rejection was followed by demands which were known to be impossible, and intended to be refused, and by the invasion and the annexation of British territory. Mr. Speaker, if I thought that the negotiations carried on by our Government had been a mere cloak and a pretext; if I thought that they had behind them the ulterior, though unavowed, purpose of sapping the independence and paving the way for the annexation of the Transvaal; if I thought, worse than all, that Her Majesty's Government had allowed themselves to become the dupes and the tools, conscious or unconscious, of a gang of interested speculators; why, then, despite the invasion of British territory, despite the loss of British life, I do not think I should have been able to reconcile it with my conscience to vote for a single halfpenny for the further prosecution of this war. But that is not the opinion, I believe, either of the House of Commons or of the great majority of the people of this country. It is because it is not their opinion that, however much many of us may find to criticise and even condemn in the conduct of the negotiations with the Transvaal, we are, as regards the duty and the necessity of carrying on the war, a united Parliament and a united people. Sir, the Colonial Secretary last night put to me and to others this question: "How," he said, "holding the views that you do as to the origin of the war, can you with logic and consistency impeach the knowledge, the foresight, and the judgment of the Government?" I am not embarrassed by the challenge. It is one thing to assert, as I am prepared to do, for the reason I have given to the House, that this war was, in the last resort, forced upon us, and that we can engage in it with clean hands and a clear conscience. It is another and a totally different thing to approve or condone the methods, the temper, and the judgment with which, from time to time, our part in this adventure has been handled and our case presented to the world. For my part, I am prepared to maintain, nor do I think it can be seriously denied, that there have

been at various stages from the beginning almost up to the end of these transactions, a demonstrable lack of both insight and foresight. Sir, the House of Commons would be justly indignant with me were I, at this stage of the debate, to travel in detail over familiar and much-trodden ground. I will, therefore, indicate only in the broadest outline two or three of what seem to many of us to be the salient features of the case. In the first place who can deny—does anybody deny?—that the Government, from 1895 down to the present day, has done little or nothing to mitigate, and not a little to intensify, the temper of suspiciousness on the part of the Boers, which has been such a serious and dangerous factor in the whole business? The Boers chafed, as the right hon. Gentleman very justly told us last night—they chafed from the first at the fetters imposed on their restored independence by the Conventions of Pretoria and London. All along they have suspected us of a design of still further curtailing that independence. Sir, I believe from my heart that no responsible statesman in this country ever had any such purpose. But that was all the more reason for not giving that temper of suspicion and distrust any colour or pretext. I won't go over again the story told so often in this debate, of the raid, and the inadequate punishment of those who took part in it; of the inquiry cut short, just at the point, remember, when on the assumption of Imperial complicity, it was convenient and even necessary to stop it; of the public and formal rehabilitation of the chief offender. I say it is impossible for any man who impartially reviews these facts, realising on the one hand the pre-existing and not unnatural temper of the Boer population themselves, and, on the other hand, the ambiguous treatment which that criminal adventure had meted out to it by the Government of this country, to deny that there is one point on which we must necessarily convict the Government of want of foresight and judgment. I pass on to a later date, when we began our negotiations for the redress of the grievances of the Uitlanders. Have we not there also fresh evidence of the same defects? For my part, I think the Government were not only entitled but bound to take up the case of the Uitlanders. I go further, and say that having taken up the case they should have persevered effectually to the

Mr. Asquith.

end. But they ought to have known, they must have known, when they entered on these negotiations at that time, that they were entering on slippery ground. They knew of the armaments of the Transvaal; to use Sir Alfred Milner's phrase, the Transvaal had been converted into an armed camp. They knew of the defensive treaty between the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, and experience I think shows that the difference between a defensive and an offensive alliance is not so great as the Under Secretary for War supposes. They knew further that we were at a distance of 7,000 miles from the possible scene of action, that two of our colonies were practically denuded of all means of defence, and that mobilisation and transport of troops would take weeks and even months. I have said that in my belief the Government did not desire or intend to go to war, but war, as was now admitted, was always possible. Then why was nothing done, as admittedly nothing was done, to safeguard the territories of our two colonies from this invasion? I will not say much, indeed, I will say nothing, about the negotiations, or about that curious running commentary of speeches by which they were accompanied both in and out of Parliament. That is a topic already sufficiently dealt with. The right hon. gentleman's despatches and speeches are now the property of the recording angel of history. *Litera scripta manet*; what would he not give for the chance of editing them to-day?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham, W.): I would not alter a word.

*MR. ASQUITH: If I were in the right hon. Gentleman's place I would give a great deal to have the chance of undotting some of the i's, of uncrossing some of the t's, of erasing an epithet here, and expunging a metaphor there. I pass from that subject to the preparations that were made for war when war had become probable and even imminent. It is not necessary at this stage of the debate to labour the point. One of the most useful results of this debate has been that the pleas, the excuses, and the apologies of the Government have, one after another, been thrown away. The theory of

necessary ignorance was followed by the theory of inevitable accident. Both are now abandoned. The Under Secretary for War in his admirable speech admitted errors of judgment which were patent to all the world with a candour which made all the more impressive and convincing the answers to the charges which he was able to give. The Colonial Secretary repeated the admissions. The First Lord of the Treasury has told us that the disasters and reverses of this campaign could be traced to the initial blunder the "unhappy entanglement at Ladysmith." What was the origin of that unhappy entanglement? I hope the House has read the White Paper which contains the correspondence with the Government of Natal, but in case it has escaped the attention of any one, I will trouble the House with two of the documents that appeared in that book. Early in May the Governor of Natal had informed the High Commissioner that the Ministers of Natal were nervous at the prospect of war. The Governor had told the acting Prime Minister he had no reason to anticipate hostilities, but if the British Government found it necessary to advance fair and reasonable demands, the Natal Government ought to give the British Government unwavering support. The Minister replied that he would gladly do as the Governor suggested, but he feared the consequences to Natal if the British Government drew back after all. On May 25th Sir Alfred Milner telegraphed to the Secretary of State:—

"I have telegraphed following to the Governor:—'You can tell the Minister from me that it is out of the question that any invasion of Natal should be tolerated by Her Majesty's Government.' Such an event is highly improbable, I think, but Natal would be defended with the whole force of the Empire."

On May 28th, a most important date, the Secretary of State sent a telegram to the High Commissioner, in which he said: "I approve of your message to the Governor of Natal referred to in your telegram of May 25." That meant that the Secretary of State, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, confirmed the assurance given to the Ministers of Natal that the invasion of that colony would be resisted by the whole force of the Empire. There is the secret of the unhappy entanglement of Ladysmith. I should like to know, and the country is entitled

to know, whether the Colonial Secretary consulted the War Office before he gave that assurance. Of course, from what we now know, the first thing the War Office would have said was, "It is a mad pledge. We cannot defend Natal. The whole of Northern Natal must be exposed." What happened? The Ministers of Natal, relying upon that pledge, were very indignant when Laing's Nek was abandoned; they were indignant when Newcastle was abandoned; and even the occupation of Glencoe and Dundee did not satisfy their demands. It was impossible for the Government, after giving an assurance of that kind, to retire from Ladysmith and leave the whole of Northern Natal at the mercy of an invading force. I pass with a sense of relief to the present time. The position at this moment has been described by the Prime Minister as a position of humiliation. I do not cavil at the word, but I venture to say, and here I think I shall have the general agreement of the House, that there is no ground in anything that has happened in the past, or in anything that we can contemplate at present, for the croakings of pessimism, or for the shivering fits of panic. The Colonial Secretary, in an eloquent passage of his speech last night, enumerated the resources still unexhausted, still unimpaired, which this country has at its disposal. I will only refer to two. First and foremost—it is the thing, I think, which strikes the imagination of us all—there is the valour and discipline, doubted beforehand by not a few critics, but abundantly demonstrated by the war, of the common soldier. Politicians and generals may have set him an impossible task. He has shown that the word "impossible" has for him no meaning, and he has exhibited qualities which have not only kindled the grateful pride of his countrymen, but have conquered the reluctant admiration of the whole world. Next, in the spontaneous and enthusiastic loyalty and support of our self-governing colonies we have been made to realise—and this, perhaps, is the greatest compensation, if there is any compensation, for the war—that our Empire is not a name or a sentiment merely, but that it is a fact and a force. The word "Imperialism" has been bandied to and fro, now as a symbol, now as a missile, in the course of this debate. In my judgment, Imperialism is a word of good or of bad omen according to the way in which it is defined. It is a word

Mr. Asquith.

which has no attraction for me, or, I believe, for the vast majority of my countrymen, except as an expression, not of a policy of menace, of aggression, of subjugation, but of an ideal which can only be realised by the loyal co-operation for common purposes of free and self-governing communities. But great as are our resources, greater still is the responsibility of those who direct them. The Colonial Secretary challenged us last night to state our view of the end that was to be attained. I speak only for myself, but I believe I represent the feeling of many other hon. Members when I say that the end to be aimed at is, first and foremost, that you should have, not a patched up, but a durable peace; next, that it must be such a settlement as will, at any rate, safeguard our colonies against the risk of further invasion or menace; further, that it must secure for both races throughout South Africa equal rights; and lastly, but not less important, the guiding principle being not superiority but equality, it must not replace the ascendancy of one race by the ascendancy of another. The right hon. Gentleman spoke of an inherent, and as he seemed to suggest ineradicable, antagonism between the ideas and aspirations of the Boers and the Britons. For my part, I believe that antagonism to be the artificial creation, the transient and removable result of accident and circumstance. I look forward to the time when at the end of this calamitous strife Dutch and British, forgetting their animosities, bound together by ties of common interest and mutual respect, enjoying in like measure both the discipline and the privileges of freedom, will be found living and labouring side by side under the shelter of equal laws in a union which no man can put asunder.

MR. ELLIOT (Durham): My excuse, Sir, for rising is to say that I deeply regret from the bottom of my heart that this country has become involved in war with the South African Republic. I am not going so far as some hon. members, who assert that it will produce not only disaster to the Transvaal, to the Orange Free State, and the whole of South Africa, but to the whole of the British Empire as well. I am bound to say that in order to avoid this war I would have gone much further in the direction of conciliation, and possibly in the

way of compromise, to have achieved such a result as would have enabled the two peoples to live side by side happy and prosperous. We were looking forward in the contemplation of peace, in October, before one drop of blood had been shed and before the ultimatum had been issued, but our hopes were doomed to disappointment. I am not going back into the past; I am not going to raise any fresh discussion upon the manner in which the negotiations were conducted, upon the merits of our diplomacy, or the statesmanship exhibited by the Government before the war. What I feel we ought to do now, in the House of Commons, is to realise the position in which we find ourselves. Nobody deprecates more than I do the commencement and the continuance of this deadly strife, but the contest is upon us. In my opinion the struggle was forced on us by the Boers, but whatever may be our views as to how the war arose, the question immediately before us is, how do we stand now? Is it not essential to our future position in South Africa, as well as to our position in the world, that victory to our arms should be thorough and complete? Sir, I cannot conceive anything more disastrous than an incomplete success. Because what would that mean? You would have gained in your desire to govern in South Africa, not a democratic Parliament, but a party animated by Dutch feeling; and, with a foreign Power in close proximity, your position would have been infinitely worse than anything we have yet seen. Considering, then, the state of affairs as it now exists, it behoves us to make our victory final and complete. I think the Government would be very unwise to hold their hands in the event of our achieving some successes. We must all feel that in the struggle now going on it is to decide which of the two is the stronger—Briton or Boer. The issue must provide no uncertain answer. I say that as much for the good of the Boers themselves as for the good of South Africa. Now, Sir, I am not going into the military considerations and plans that were laid before the war; but I do say, as a humble observer of events, that when the Government and the War Department are censured as if they had displayed weakness, or incapacity, for my part I think that so far from that being the case, the indications and the facts point to the contrary conclusion.

Until war broke out I had no idea whatever of the military strength of our country. It was said, not so very long ago, that we could not put a vast army in the field such as our Continental friends are able to do; but now we have it in evidence that within a period of three months of the outbreak of the war, we had sent across the sea 180,000 men, and that before many more weeks are over we shall have a force in South Africa of nearly 200,000 men. I say that a military department which can establish a record like that is worthy not of censure, but the highest praise. There is no country in Europe which can see without surprise the enormous resources at our command. To talk, therefore, of the slowness of our organisation and the incapacity of our War Department—when within a very few weeks of the war breaking out the men who, only the other day, marched out from Knightsbridge barracks, are now storming the heights on the Modder River or across the Tugela—is so much idle nonsense. It is a military feat of the most remarkable kind, and exhibits the truth that our military strength is far greater than many of us had dreamed of. I must say that having spoken after the right hon. Gentleman the late Home Secretary, who has just addressed us, and following on the speech of the hon. Gentleman the Member for the Berwick Division, I fail to see why it is they take such a step as that of supporting a vote of censure at the present time. The hon. Gentleman the Member for the Berwick Division seems to me, to use a well-worn phrase, to have “found salvation” in the speech of my right hon. friend the First Lord of the Treasury at Manchester. After reading that speech, I am bound to say that I fail to find there the terrible things imputed to it. There are in the speech itself none of the terrible atrocities attributed to it by commentators in the press. I think the original text of the speech has been almost entirely concealed, if not wholly obliterated, by the efforts of these commentators. One of them went so far as to say that the right hon. Gentleman had professed himself absolutely indifferent to the interests of the Empire. This, I say, is not fair comment, especially in view of the extraordinary feeling of excitement of the time. It is only fair—to employ a legal simile in reference to this criticism of the right hon. Gentleman—to state not only what

the prisoner at the bar says, but what he does; and I repeat that to say that the right hon. Gentleman and the other members of the Government are indifferent to the best interests of the Empire at a crisis like this, when they are making greater efforts than before, and have accomplished the organisation and despatch of a military force unprecedented in the history of the country, is simply criminal. The newspapers which have suggested that our leading Cabinet Ministers are triflers are the critics who are weakening us in the face of the world. I am at a loss to know what conceivable purpose can be gained by pressing this matter to a division. We are all agreed as to the policy which must be pursued. The work that has to be done is work which any Government would have to carry out—namely, to carry on the war to a successful end. Let us show the world that we are at one. I have no sort of qualm of conscience in the slightest degree in supporting the Government or with voting any number of millions of money or any number of thousands of men for which they may ask in order to bring this war to a satisfactory and rapid conclusion. It is eminently desirable, if it can be attained, that the crowning victory should be speedily achieved. We see the state of affairs abroad. It is not that the country is in danger, as some have asserted, but we are within measurable distance of a position of the very greatest difficulty. This and many other reasons make me feel from the bottom of my heart that the crisis is a terribly real crisis. That being so, I do think that we must all with no uncertain voice support the Government in the division lobby to-night.

*CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): My main object in taking part in this debate is to make my position perfectly clear with regard to the vote I am called upon to record. Nobody who has followed the course of this debate can have failed to observe the desire on the part of hon. Gentlemen opposite to fix upon us the stigma of a want of patriotism. What would have been said by them, and by nine out of every ten of the electors of this country, at such a crisis as the present, when the people of this country are smarting under a sense of humiliation caused by a carelessness not less culpable than incompetence on the part of the

Ministry with reference to the conduct of affairs in South Africa, if we, from a fear of being stamped as unpatriotic, or from a thought that we should incur the disapproval of a certain section of our supporters, were to hesitate to do what is manifestly our duty? We should deserve to be banished for ever from public life.

With reference to the Amendment before the House, I ask whether, since it applies only to the conduct of affairs in South Africa and the state of preparation for the war, there is a single gentleman on that side of the House who could not conscientiously walk into the lobby with us? I ask in the same way whether we or the great majority of Members on this side of the House are not absolutely and completely at one with reference to the prosecution of this war to a successful issue? That being so, and seeing that at the present moment the great nations of Europe, envious of our greatness, are anxious to exult over our expected downfall, is it not incumbent on those seated upon that bench to consider the advisability of asking us to go into different lobbies, thereby giving the nations of Europe the impression that we are not absolutely and completely united? As to the negotiations, whether there might not have been greater delicacy, whether greater diplomatic foresight and skill might not have brought about a different result—are not they at the present moment questions of secondary importance? I fully admit there are great temptations from a party point of view, but in my opinion this is no time for placing party above the greatness of the State. But when I come to the second portion of the Amendment, dealing with the state of the preparations of the Government, it is quite a different question.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): Hear, hear!

*CAPTAIN NORTON: I am glad the right hon. Baronet cheers that statement, because I was just about to mention that the eloquent and able speech of the Under Secretary of State for War was, after all, nothing but an apologetic speech and did not deal with one fraction of the speech of my right hon. friend in reference to the question of preparation. No Minister has yet touched the question of why the stores and munitions of war were accumulated in Natal at the very worst point.

Mr. Elliot.

We have had no answer with reference to the question of maps. We are told that we could not have ordnance maps of Natal. Those of us who have any experience of the making of maps know perfectly well that to make an ordnance survey of the whole of the theatre of this war would cost not thousands but tens of thousands of pounds, and would occupy a great number of years. But why were not such maps made, with reference to Ladysmith, as could easily and conveniently have been made by Engineer and staff officers, as now exist of the country round about Laing's Nek? Why were not the Modder River and the Tugela River carefully surveyed by competent officers? Such a survey could have been made in a very short time. If this question of maps alone had been seen to it would have made a very great difference with reference to the conduct of the campaign. The excuse of the Prime Minister is that he had not sufficient secret service money. There is another point which bears distinctly upon the want of preparation for the war, and that is the question of guides. Why, when the Government found that war was not only possible but probable, were not a certain number of absolutely reliable guides secured and placed at the disposal of the military authorities, so as to have removed the possibility of our men being led to slaughter as in the case of Magersfontein? Some portion of the responsibility for this war has been cast upon the British Constitution, and the remaining portion has been thrown on the army system. For years past in this House we have been pointing out to the Government what our army system is. It is neither a short service system nor a long service system. It is a hybrid combination, and we have never even had the short service system properly carried out. Two years ago the service members in this House asked this Government to increase the number of battalions to fourteen in order that the link battalion system might be carried out. They also asked for a certain number of batteries of artillery. What was done? They were given a certain proportion, nothing more. It has always been with the service members a question of "Live horse, and you will get grass." When we pointed out that the Militia was from 20,000 to 30,000 short of its numbers last year, no steps were taken to increase

its numbers. We were told there was a Militia Reserve of 30,000 men supposed to be available for reinforcing the Militia. Now the reserve is used for the double purpose of filling up the Militia on the one hand, and the Line battalions on the other, which has the result of robbing Peter to pay Paul. The question of keeping in this country at least one Army Corps in a thorough state of preparation has been completely lost sight of. With what result? That we have now, if I may use the word, scratch staffs drawn from all parts of the kingdom, with the result that will always occur when a certain number of individuals not accustomed to work together are suddenly thrown together, there is friction on all hands. The Government claim that they have done their best. But they also attempt to cast a certain amount of responsibility upon the front Opposition Bench. Between 1886 and 1892, when a Conservative Government were in power, was the period when the artillery batteries in this country had their guns reduced from six to four, and the spare horses taken from them. I frankly admit that a short time ago a slight increase was made in the matter of guns. We have pointed out over and over again the want of mounted troops. The Government state that when mounted troops were offered in the first instance by the Colonies they were not accepted because it was thought infantry would be more useful at the outset of the campaign. I hold in my hand a report of a lecture delivered by a very distinguished officer early in July, 1899, and this is what he stated at the Royal United Service Institution. Speaking of the Boers he said that our infantry to master such an enemy must have the assistance of well-trained cavalry—that does not mean yeomanry—to outflank, fight, and follow up. And yet the Government refused this offer on the part of the Colonists. I ask, therefore, whether we on this side of the House are not justified—especially those of us who have been soldiers—in our righteous indignation towards the Government, who have at their backs one of the largest majorities a Government has ever had, and which includes the largest number of military men who ever sat in this House? They pointed out all these difficulties, but the Government proceeded, the very moment they came into office, to enlarge their responsibilities by enlarging the Empire, and without taking

proper steps for the defence of that Empire. Two years ago we pointed out that fact, and yet they took no action. I do not complain of their Imperialism. When they were annexing large tracts in the Soudan, in South and West Africa, and in China, and thus extending our Empire, and when at the same time money was pouring into the Exchequer, owing to the admirable measure of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer in regard to the death duties, what did the Government do? Why, they showered millions upon their political supporters, the parsons and the squires, while on the other hand, they neglected to make the defences of the Empire secure, and they failed to provide that which in the opinion of all the military experts in this House was considered necessary for the defence of the Empire. The leader of the House said that no great military authority had ever estimated that we should require more than 50,000 men in South Africa. That may be so, but in my humble capacity in this House last year I pointed out that were the Government to be involved in war in South Africa they would require not one but two army corps, and that if they furnished them complete from our regular Army they would leave this country absolutely bare of properly-trained troops. Is that not absolutely the case? The hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for War, in his apologetic speech, very carefully and very wisely dealt with the position of affairs as they now are in South Africa, but he never attempted to deal with the state of affairs as they were when we met with those disasters. There were only seven batteries of horse artillery and thirty-two batteries of field artillery, or 234 guns. That works out at $2\frac{1}{2}$ guns per thousand, whereas we ought to have had at least double that number. [An HON. MEMBER: We had not so many.] My hon. friend says we had not so many; but be that as it may, we ought not to have less than four guns per thousand men, which is the minimum, according to all authorities, attacking, as we were, positions strongly held by magazine rifles and quick-firing guns not to speak of heavy guns. But what was the defenceless state in which this country was left at that time? Why, we only had left in this country three batteries of horse artillery and fifteen field batteries, making a total of 108 guns. That leaves us in

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this position—if by any accident a foreign army corps landed on these shores we had not sufficient guns for 40,000 men. I shall be told that in the event of an invasion we should rely upon our Volunteer forces. Every military man in this House knows perfectly well that the Volunteers minus guns or transport would be absolutely useless against an organised force. As regards the state of preparation for the war in South Africa, the Government, knowing as they did the character of the country, does it not seem strange that when they knew they would have to attack positions of this kind they took no opportunity of sending powerful guns of position with a long range and a heavy battering power capable of throwing shells by direct fire? [An HON. MEMBER: "They sent out howitzers."] Yes, but not very long ago, and they were sent since the majority of those disasters have taken place. There is one matter which is of greater importance, and that is the responsibility of the generals. I am anxious that the Government should not shelter themselves behind the military authorities. If it be true that the generals were given an absolutely free hand, I ask whether they were given instructions to take the political situation into consideration with the Colonial authorities upon arriving in Natal. If they were told to do so, then they were certainly not given a free hand, and General White ought to be absolutely absolved from getting into the entanglement at Ladysmith. The right hon. Gentleman has said that they do not minimise the task, but the proof of the pudding is in the eating. They may not minimise the task now, but they certainly did in the past, and their action has met with the disapprobation of the country. They are bound to admit that they received from the military authorities full information. I think they were told that there would be something like 59,000 Boers in the field, and yet, knowing that they would have to operate in a country which was defensively held, and that they would require four or five times the number of our opponents' troops, the Government made no provision for pouring into the country anything like that number. Recently they have resorted to the Volunteer and Yeomanry corps, and I make no complaint of that. No doubt that was done in response to the feeling of the country,

but I would also ask the Government to take note that it has made us a laughing-stock in the eyes of the military authorities of Europe. I am not one of those who take a pessimistic view of the forces in South Africa, and I should not be surprised if within a number of months we should secure a number of signal successes. But what we have to consider is what is our position in the face of Europe. There can be no question that every nation in Europe is only waiting for a suitable opportunity in order to insult us. Of course, that may not be the case in reference to the leading statesmen of foreign countries. I have perhaps some advantage in possessing a knowledge of foreign countries, and I venture to assert that in a country not far distant the tone of the press and the feelings which exists among the public is such that very little might land us in war. Does the Government realise that, and are they making the preparations which the country deem to be necessary? What is being done with reference to the fleet—is it being mobilised? We have a Naval Reserve numbering about 28,000 men. It ought to be double that. We know that the weak point of our Navy, which is recognised by all Continental Powers, is the supply of men. Why are these men not called up for training? I believe they are absolutely incompetent so far as the use of modern guns are concerned, for they have been trained upon the old-fashioned guns, and have never in their lives fired modern weapons. Are our battleships and cruisers now being built being hurriedly pushed to completion, and what steps are being taken with reference to the Militia and Volunteers? No doubt we shall have a statement upon that subject shortly, and the Under Secretary of State for War has said he is anxious to have suggestions. There is one suggestion I will venture to put forward. We have in this country and in Ireland some 60,000 police, who are, perhaps, the finest and most magnificent body of men in the world, but they are not trained to the use of arms. I ask whether it would not be a simple matter to arm this force with a long rifle, and train them to the use of it? It could be done by batches in the different counties, and in case of a great national emergency a large number of these could be used in defence of the country, their places being supplied by special constables and others. I

have a certain amount of confidence with reference to the state of affairs in South Africa, but I have no confidence with reference to the state of affairs all the world over, and I hope that the Government will take the strongest possible steps in regard to preparation for possible interference by other Powers when this war assumes a certain phase. There can be no doubt that, should an opportunity occur, some other nation will endeavour to have some say with reference to the settlement in South Africa. In my opinion they should have none. As regards South Africa itself, for my part I cannot see why every man in this House should not agree with this Amendment and yet support the Government as to the war. What is the state of affairs? Why, the integrity of the Empire has been tampered with; the colonies of Natal and Cape Colony have been invaded, and the lives and liberties of British subjects are at stake. It is necessary, therefore, that every nation in the world should know that the Briton, wander where he may, is ever followed by the watchful eye and ever protected by the powerful arm of the mother country. We are a nation unaccustomed to defeat or to disgrace, and we are bound to bring this war to a successful issue. The path of duty is plain before us. The Empire has spoken—and spoken out—from the wilds of Canada to the jungles of Ceylon, and the Mother Country has responded in no doubtful or faltering tone. From this great Metropolis and England's busy towns, from the glens of Scotland and from the mountains of Wales, aye, and from Ireland's Emerald soil—that inexhaustible nursery of gallant soldiers—Britain's sons, both high and low, have nobly answered to the Empire's call. In such a crisis the place for the Government is in front of the nation, and there I hope it will be found, not only anxious, but prepared to vindicate the Imperial honour and to protect the Imperial interests.

COLONEL KENYON-SLANEY (Shropshire, Newport): Mr. Speaker, so long as we are condemned by the Opposition to proceed with this wearisome and unfortunate debate, there are certain things that will have to be repeated at certain intervals, but I should like to comment on one or two of the speeches which have been delivered. I have listened now for

many hours to the discussion, and I have been struck with the extraordinary number of Members of the House of Commons who apparently are qualified to be Ministers of War at the shortest possible notice, and who possessed an extraordinary conception not given to all of us of what was about to occur. They are prepared to act either as War Ministers at home or as generals in the field. I discount the value of such opinions, and I think their expression is practically a waste of the time of this House. The hon. and gallant Gentleman who has just sat down assured us that his side was at one with ours with regard to the prosecution of the war. Does he forget that the whole of probably the only section of his party that are united are not going to vote for this Amendment because they do not wish to see the war prosecuted? The hon. and gallant Gentleman should be more careful in what he states when the facts are contradictory to his statements. The hon. and gallant Gentleman also stated that the Government instead of spending money on the needs of the Army squandered it on the squire and the parson. I know there are many parsons with £50 or £60 a year, but I doubt whether much of the money referred to by the hon. and gallant Gentleman has gone to them. He also found fault with the military preparations of the Government, and took a rather pessimistic view of the situation with regard to foreign countries. At all events we can take this to ourselves, that not one regiment could cross the seas without the leave of the British admirals, and therefore I do not think that the state of things is so very rotten as he would have us believe. Before the hon. and gallant Gentleman addressed the House we had the advantage of a speech from a right hon. Gentleman who occupies a marked position on the front Opposition Bench; I refer to the late Home Secretary. It would be almost impertinent for a Member of my standing to cross swords with one infinitely my superior in Parliamentary warfare, but if we remain still and never try, we shall never improve. Therefore I hope the right hon. Gentleman will forgive me if I take exception to some of his arguments. In the first place, I was very much struck by the repetition from his eloquent lips of the phrase: "Inquest of the nation." Really that phrase has

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been used so often that I am doubtful whether I am listening to politicians or to coroners. With the main part of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman we, on this side of the House, have, however, very little to find fault. He stated that war was not intended or desired by the Government, and that we had entered on it with clean hands and a clear conscience. We re-echo that statement, and so does the country. He laid great stress on the failure which he thought was visible on the part of the Government to justify their promises to Natal. In that part of his argument there was weight and substance, but I feel certain that both sides of the House and the country are pledged to amply and loyally repay the colony of Natal for all its sufferings and sacrifices in the common cause. This Amendment is very little less than an imposition on the House of Commons; indeed, I might almost use a stronger word, and say it was a fraud on the House of Commons. I would like to regard it chiefly from the point of view of that particular section—I wish I could call it a wing, but that would be too much—of the party opposite which the right hon. Gentleman so well represents. It is also represented by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton, the hon. Baronet the Member for the Berwick Division, and others who are in close touch with one of the most distinguished statesmen of the day—Lord Rosebery. They have made speeches in the country and in this House with which we have very little fault to find. They have said very much what we might say ourselves, and I am not ashamed to assert that we might have adopted both their utterances and their patriotism. They are all statesmen in a high degree, and they must recognise what their position would be if this Amendment could conceivably be successful; and they have no right to throw the weight of their authority and power into a continuance of this discussion or to support a challenge to the Government unless they are prepared to deal with the situation which would be created in the event of the Amendment being carried. That would entail on them the responsibility of forming a Government. Can they conceive it possible, in the present constitution of parties, that they could form any such Government? We have only to contrast the speeches we have heard from

the other side of the House to see how absolutely impotent would be the position of right hon. Gentlemen if they attempted to take the only honourable course open to them after the line of action they have adopted. The speech of the late Attorney General was at as absolute variance with the speech of the late Home Secretary as two speeches could be. I cannot conceive how extremely able men sometimes say such extremely foolish things. I cannot conceive anything more unfortunate than the speech of the late Attorney General; every sentence in it was likely to produce a continuance of bitterness and mischief instead of good. I can only recall one parallel to that kind of speech, and that was the idea in the minds of a certain number of hon. Members who most unwisely sent a telegram to the King of Greece that they wished to give him moral support in his unfortunate war with Turkey, the only result of which was an additional slaughter of men on both sides. The speech of the late Attorney General is not the only matter at variance with the possibility of right hon. Gentlemen forming a Government. We know that such a Government would have to rely, more or less, on the support of Irish members, but in regard to the war that support is entirely denied them. On this matter I should like to say one word to representatives for Ireland. When we talk of Irishmen at this moment the country is not thinking of Irish politicians, but of the Irish regiments who are doing the work of the Kingdom and the Empire in South Africa. When, on Friday night, a statement was made by the hon. Member for East Clare that he was anxious and willing to go to South Africa to fight for the Boers, I was almost inclined to ask you, Sir, how far such a statement was consonant with the oath of loyalty and allegiance which the hon. Member had taken to the Queen. The only reason why no attention has been publicly called to that and similar statements is because the nation does not care for the action of Irish politicians. It is satisfied with the action of the Irish soldiers, and that is the only reason why Irish members are allowed to go on talking their toy-shop treason in that sort of security which is begotten of absolute contempt. If, however, right hon. Gentlemen opposite mean business over this Amendment, there are other difficulties before them besides reconciling their Irish supporters. They will have

to reconcile also the excellent gentlemen who sit behind them, and who, more or less, are fond of omelettes, but think they ought to be made without breaking eggs. Speech after speech in this debate has been devoted to attacking the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Colonies. With reference to these attacks the country briefly says, "We are amply satisfied with the magnificent spirit which the colonies have shown during the present crisis, and we recognise that the conduct of the right hon. Gentleman is in some degree at all events responsible for calling out that manifestation of opinion." Other speakers have not considered it beneath themselves to make constant reference to Mr. Rhodes, as if he were the cause of everything evil in this country. I am absolutely unconcerned with the raid, and have never sympathised with anything connected with it, but I cannot help recollecting that while all sorts of denunciations are being poured on Mr. Rhodes, he at all events is doing what none of his traducers are doing, he is standing up for the empire and taking daily risks. The time may come when these denunciations may be again brought before the country, and when charges which have been already dealt with may be re-opened, but in the name of fair play and honesty let these attacks cease while the man attacked is giving the greatest pledge he can of his loyalty to this country. Now the right hon. Gentlemen the Member for Bodmin also made a statement with which I take direct and absolute issue. I cannot help saying how much we admired and appreciated the effort which the right hon. Gentleman made last night, and I am sure that the sympathies of the whole House were with him in the difficulty in which he found himself placed. But he said one thing which he ought not to have said, and was not consonant with the feeling of the country. He said that this war was the war of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. I deny that. This war is the nation's war; if not, it is the Empire's war. It is not the war of any individual, of any one Minister, or of any particular Ministry at all. The hon. Member for Northampton said that the conscience of the civilised world absolutely denounced this war, but how about the right hon. Member for East Fife? Has he not a conscience, and has not Lord Rosebery a conscience? Is he to depart

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from the territories of the civilised world, of which many of us think he is a great adornment? I dare even to touch with the point of my feeble lance the shield of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouthshire. In winding up his speech, to every word of which I listened, he recommended that we ought to follow the utterances of the Prime Minister who leads this party. If that be so, it hardly forms a very good reason for going into the lobby against the Prime Minister.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Monmouthshire, W.): That speech was made a year ago.

COLONEL KENYON-SLANEY: That section of the Liberal party opposite is so hopelessly unable to form a Government that it is not an unfair thing to say that they would hardly dare to vote for this Amendment if they thought that it would be successful; but if they are not prepared to take that course, then I venture to say that their conduct is more than questionable. I only wish that the right hon. Gentlemen opposite had the numbers behind them which would justify them, if they were successful, in forming a Government; but the Liberal party must continue to present to the country the sorry aspect which they do at this moment. They would hardly venture to vote for this Amendment if they could agree that it was to be successful. I would like to ask right hon. Gentlemen opposite what they conceive will be the effect of their action on other countries and other people? The effect on the Colonies must be the suggestion that this country, instead of being united at a time, as in some places is regarded, of peril, is divided and at war with itself. What, I would like to know, is to be the effect on the Boer Government when this debate becomes their property, as I have no doubt it soon will be? Only one effect, and that is to encourage them in playing the old game, that if only they can keep on long enough they may benefit from party exigencies in this country, and may possibly get better terms from one party than the other. It means a direct incentive to fight more vigorously than at present, and to sacrifice more lives, both of their own men and of their opponents, in order that they may possibly

win from the divisions in the Opposition and in the country that which they never could get from a united country. The responsibility, therefore, of the Opposition is no slight one; it is genuine and real. What is thought in the Colonies of the possible effect of a change of Government? A special correspondent from Cape Town says in *The Times*—

“A change of Government at this critical period would, rightly or wrongly, be regarded by everyone in South Africa, English or Dutch, as a prelude to another betrayal of the loyal section of the population. It would create a panic among the English, and would be the signal for a violent agitation got up by those politicians whose one object is to defer to Afrikaner national ambitions at the first favourable opportunity by upholding the maintenance of the independence and the military power of the two Republics.”

[AN HON. MEMBER: That is Mr. Monypenny.] I cannot tell you the name of the writer, but I think it is a reflection of the opinion of the Cape. Right hon. Gentlemen have to reckon with views of the situation that have done infinite harm, not only to the prestige of the country, but the progress of the war. Hon. and right hon. Gentlemen may try to find excuses for the continuance of this debate in constitutional reasons, and in the allegation that it satisfies the demands of the British public. But I maintain that if you polled the United Kingdom you would only get a trifling minority in favour of it; in fact, I say that this debate is almost treasonable, and a waste of the time of the House. What earthly good can be expected from this long, wearisome and dull debate? Not much; but a little is found in the earnest and patriotic speeches which we have heard, such as that of the late Home Secretary and others on the opposite side of the House, although the conclusion they are coming to is impotent and unfair. Then there was the speech of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who made it absolutely clear that that which the country at large is desiring is the very object which the Government is seeking to obtain. Something of good may result if the attention of the country is riveted more closely, not on what has been done to bring about the war, but on what has been achieved. That, I think, would clear what some people call the present state of gloom. Eulogies on the gallant conduct of our men have been on every

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lip. It had been said that foreign nations are smiling at the vanished prestige and military reputation of this country, but I venture to say, if any one of us could look into the military offices in those foreign countries which are concerned with the possibilities of the future he would find there is not a thinking soldier in the world to-day who would not say that more note of the fighting power of England must be taken than ever before. Because they see that the years of comparative freedom from great strain which we have enjoyed have not taken one fibre from the fighting sinews of our men, but that on the contrary the British soldier is not only as good as in the past, when he won victories all over the world, but superior. That is one note of satisfaction that we can deduce from the losses we all deplore. If we had had to admit that our faith in the capabilities of our soldiers had been shaken, it would indeed have been a time of gloom, but instead of being weaker we are stronger than ever before any national emergency that may arise. We are ready on this side of the House to sacrifice any Minister, the whole Ministry, and even the party itself, to secure the successful prosecution of the war. The time will come to join in fair criticism and put the blame on the right shoulders, but there is not a gentleman on the other side of the House who would dare to come over here and put his little finger on the burden which rests on the shoulders of the Government at the present moment. I apologise for having spoken so long, but I cannot help feeling earnest in this matter. While we politicians have been amusing ourselves, and trying to get the better of the man who spoke before us, the country outside is waiting impatiently and longing for the end of all this trifling and the cessation of this debate, which has been brightened by a very few speeches, but darkened by many which would have been better unspoken. I say we have not done anything during this debate to improve the position which we hold in the regard of our country. I charge it directly upon the Opposition as a whole, and upon the right hon. Gentleman who leads it, that for poor and paltry purposes they have done very much to defame our reputation, and to degrade the position which Parliament holds in the

eyes of the country, by this long and futile debate on an absolutely futile Amendment.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE (Carnarvon): The hon. and gallant Member who has just sat down has informed the House that this debate is a treasonable waste of time. One rather marvels what could have prompted so patriotic a member to assist in carrying on so treasonable an enterprise. The hon. and gallant Member said it was exceedingly undesirable that Members sitting on the front bench on this side of the House should be called upon at the present juncture to take upon themselves the burdens of the Government. I quite agree, and for the very good reason, that the Government has landed the country in a great mess, and the best thing they can do is to get us out of it. I do not wish that the Liberal party should get the opprobrium of paying the enormous bill that has been incurred. The hon. and gallant Member taunted us that many Members who protested now did not foresee the course of events. But that could not be alleged against a good many Tories on his side of the House, and certainly not against the Liberal press. I may call attention to the fact that one very important individual did foresee these disasters. There is a very remarkable communication in this morning's *Manchester Guardian*. That is not a newspaper in the habit of printing unsubstantial gossip. According to that communication Sir W. Butler, early in the course of last year, called the attention of Sir A. Milner to the state of things at the Cape. He pointed out that, if Sir A. Milner ordered him to send garrisons to the front, that would be provocation for war. And he pointed out further that war with the Transvaal would mean sending an army of 40,000 or 50,000 men to South Africa in addition to those then in the Cape and Natal. The communication in the *Manchester Guardian* went on to say that it was a matter of certainty, according to Sir W. Butler, that the Orange Free State would join forces with their brethren in the Transvaal; and in that case the British force would have to be still further augmented by at least two Army Corps. Sir A. Milner scornfully replied, "It is very natural for you to take such a line,

from your sympathy with your friends the Dutch." [Laughter.]

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (MR. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): Where did you get such a statement? I never heard of such a communication.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: It appears in the *Manchester Guardian*, and I think it is worthy of something more than laughter; it is at least entitled to a denial from those who are responsible.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I give it denial.

MR. LLOYD-GEORGE: That suffices for the present. I will not pursue the subject further now. The hon. and gallant Member did not admit that the Government had made any mistakes at all. I point out that that is rather out of keeping with the very remarkable admission made by the Colonial Secretary last night, who said he was prepared to make an admission as to all the mistakes committed by the Government; and proceeded to admit the mistakes of the War Office, the mistakes of the generals, and, in fact, the mistakes of everybody except his own and those of the Colonial Office. I venture to say that in the general opinion of the country the greatest mistakes that have been made are those committed in the diplomacy of the Colonial Secretary. Discussion has been rather deprecated at the present juncture, especially discussion in regard to the merits of the war; but however much we may deprecate discussion, or succeed in stopping discussion in the House, it will not be stopped in the country. The Colonial Secretary said that if the war was unjust and unrighteous it ought not to be prosecuted. That is the view taken, not by a majority, but by a very strong body of people in the country, and a growing one. Whatever line we take in this House, discussion will go on in the country, in workshops and factories, until that conviction is reached. This bloodshed should be put an end to. I think it was John Bright who said that the people took no interest in diplomacy until it had been made interesting by war. That is perfectly true. I ask hon. Members opposite how many people in this country realise that the

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Boer Government, in the beginning of September, accepted an offer made by our Government in the beginning of August, and how many realise that we are at war now after they had accepted the proposals we had offered? I venture to put it to any lawyer in this House, whether in any court of equity specific performance would not have been enforced on that state of facts. Then we hear a good deal about the intolerable oppression of the Government of the Transvaal. How many workmen in this country realise that the wages earned by miners in the Transvaal were four times as high as at home? How many miners realise that an eight hours day, which they cannot get their own House of Commons to give attention to, is provided for by an Act passed under this oppressive Transvaal Government? How many people in this country realise, when they hear wild, vague talk about the oppression and despotism of the Transvaal, that whereas in Rhodesia, under our own Government, the gold mining royalties are fifty per cent., under this oppressive and despotie Transvaal Government they are only one-half per cent.? Then, I would like to know how many Members of the House know really what are the grievances in regard to which we are fighting. Let me give one case in point. No grievance has excited more sentimental opposition to the Transvaal than the grievance regarding the natives. Ministers of the gospel of peace go preaching war because they are excited by tales of intolerable oppression of the native blacks. But what is the native grievance? I give it not as stated by Mr. White, or by Mr. Stead, but by the Chamber of Mines in Johannesburg in its annual report. Native touts are sent round all Western Africa to induce natives to come to Johannesburg, and work in the mines. These touts make false representations to the natives in regard to wages and the hours of labour, and when the natives arrive they say "this is not what was promised us," and there are desertions among them to the number of 5,000 a month. What was it that the Uitlanders said? They complained against the Transvaal Government because it did not pass a law to detain these natives, to imprison them, to fine them beyond their means, and afterwards to send them *per force* to work in their (the Uitlanders') mines under the contracts of employment which had been

entered into by fraud. This is the native grievance which these ministers of religion talk about. My hon. and learned friend the Member for South Shields delivered a very remarkable speech the other day. He said that all revolutionary wars were alike questions of £ s. d., and he compared these reformers in the Transvaal to John Hampden and George Washington. And he said that behind all these questions of £ s. d. was the great principle of human liberty. Now, what is the great principle of human liberty behind the £ s. d. in this case? I will quote as John Hampden a gentleman called Mr. Rudd, who delivered a speech at the annual meeting of the Consolidated Gold Fields on November 14th, 1899, in which he said—

“They should try some cogent form of inducement, or practically compel the native through taxation or in some other way to contribute his quota to the good of the community, and to a certain extent he would then have to work. . . . If under the cry of civilisation we in Egypt lately mowed down 10,000 or 20,000 Dervishes with Maxims, surely it cannot be considered a hardship to compel the natives in South Africa to give three months in the year to doing a little honest work.”

That is a grievance of the Uitlanders. It means that at the price of the blood of our brave soldiers we are going to renew slavery in South Africa. That is the John Hampden of the Rand, and that is the great principle for which we are fighting. Let us come to the George Washington of the Rand. I have called this gentleman George Washington because he is an American. His real name is Mr. Hays Hammond. He was one of the leaders of the Reform party; was in the raid, and was imprisoned. These are the principles he advocated when he addressed this meeting of shareholders on 14th November. These gentlemen are very astute; they speak out after the war has commenced, and when they know that nothing can stop it. If these speeches had been delivered before the war the people of this country would have received them with disgust. He said:—

“With good government there should be an abundance of labour, and with an abundance of labour there will be no difficulty in cutting down wages, because it is preposterous to pay a Kaffir the present wages. He would be quite as well satisfied—in fact he would work longer—if you gave him half the amount. His wages are altogether disproportionate to his requirements. . . . There would also be a

considerable reduction in the cost of white labour.”

“With good government,” he says—and this is really a fine phrase—“there should be an abundance of labour, and with an abundance of labour there would be no difficulty in cutting down wages.” That is his George Washington idea, “because,” he says, “it is preposterous to pay the Kaffir the present rate of wages.” Three pounds per month, I think it is. [An Hon. MEMBER: No, £2 5s.] Well, he says “it is preposterous to pay a Kaffir the present rate of wages; he would be quite as well satisfied if you paid him half that amount. His wages are altogether disproportionate to his requirements.” Now, that is the great principle of human liberty espoused by my hon. and learned friend, who says that these questions are always governed by £ s. d. Then Mr. Hays Hammond proceeds to condescend to particulars, and he gives the exact profit which he has been getting for his company. He thought the war might better not have been, but he came to the conclusion that as the result of it the expected gain to the Consolidated Goldfields per annum would be £2,199,433; and he goes on to say that the increased dividends would amount to 45 per cent. So that apart from the great principle of human liberty there is no mistake about the £ s. d. That is what we are fighting for. That is the natives’ grievance which has excited the deepest commiseration throughout this country. That is what our brave troops are shedding their blood for; they are dying to restore slavery under the British flag. Now let us have another of these grievances. The next is the grievance of the liquor law, and it is really an extraordinary grievance to be fighting for. I quote here from the report of the Associated Chamber of Mines, which contains among other distinguished names those of Mr. Hays Hammond and Mr. Fitzpatrick. Here is the memorial of the Chamber of Mines to the Government. The first statement is that strong drink is by no means indispensable to natives; secondly, that experience has proved that addiction to strong drink is with the natives physically immoral; and thirdly, that the present liquor law is sound in principle, and that certain amendments, if vigorously enforced, will practically stamp out the illicit traffic.

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These gentlemen are the prohibitioners. You are practically fighting for prohibition. But what a spectacle it all presents for a Government which floated into power on beer to engage in a sanguinary war to enforce prohibition in the Transvaal. That is the liquor law; and, by the way, I may say that that memorial had a good effect. Afterwards the assistance of the Crown Office was given to the Uitlanders to put it into operation. Now, another matter that is brought into the discussion is that of the railways, and it is most extraordinary. What is it that the Uitlanders demand? They demand that the railways which are now in the hands of the private companies shall henceforth be managed by the State. What, managed by a corrupt and inefficient Government!—a Government which is said to be so corrupt that it cannot manage its own affairs! They contend that the Government should not only take over the railways, but manage them as well. That is an extraordinary view for the Uitlanders to take. The next grievance is as to the franchise, and with regard to that I should like to point out this. There is a great deal said about equal rights and equal privileges between the two white races; but there is really no distinction in the Transvaal between one race and another. There is only that distinction which you find in every other nation in the civilised world between a man who is born on the soil and a man who comes from another country. In this country we draw exactly the same distinction between an Englishman and a foreigner. President Kruger in the Transvaal fixes a fourteen years residence as the qualification for the franchise. In this country we insist practically on seven years; but hardly any Uitlander in this country could get a vote under six or seven years. Now that, in my opinion, does not amount to intolerable oppression. Is it unreasonable that such a distinction should be drawn in a community like that of the Transvaal, where the foreigner is in the majority? If you think that a foreigner ought to wait six or seven years in your country, where the foreigner is a negligible quantity, surely it is not too much to expect that I should impose a period of fourteen years in my country in order to protect my position against the foreigners. But this is my point: President Kruger, who is all-powerful in the Volksraad, was

called upon to practically hand over the country to foreigners, and he was entitled to say: "If that be so, I must insist that the Government is a local one." How could you ask President Kruger to hand over his country to the control of a people whose patriotism was the due of a foreign nation? I think it is unfair. That is really the effect of the proposition made on behalf of the Uitlanders. Here is a test of it. The country was in difficulties, in constant difficulties with the Kaffirs. President Kruger commanded a number of the British subjects. They said, "No, we won't fight; we are Englishmen." But what President Kruger said was that "the real test of patriotism is, whether a man will die for his country. If you are not prepared to do it, my burghers are." Then if they declined to do that, President Kruger was entitled to say, "You are no part of this country, and until I secure your fourteen years franchise I do not see that your status is different from that of the foreigner." Although there was nothing unreasonable in President Kruger's attitude, I think we would have got the five years franchise. There is good ground for thinking so. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Aberdeen pointed out that there was a great reform party in the Transvaal—the Liberal party of the Transvaal—headed by General Joubert, and he came within 500 votes of defeating President Kruger. In the Volksraad there was a proposal to reduce the franchise from fourteen to five years. That was before the raid. It was defeated only by a majority of four in a House of Dutchmen elected by the Boers. I should like to give you the names of some of the men who voted in favour of that proposal. The first is that of General Joubert, who is fighting for independence at the head of the Boer army; the next is General Schalk Burgher, and the next General Lucas Meyer. In a few years time we might have hoped to convert the best men in South Africa to our way of thinking. I believe we should have got the five years franchise in a few years. The new diplomacy has converted the best friends we had in Africa into those dangerous foes who have inflicted a more grievous succession of blows upon our Empire than any which it has suffered for over a century. The whole disposition of the Boers was changed by the raid,

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and I think there was real ground for the suspicion that they undoubtedly entertained. Here we had three or four men who have sworn that the Colonial Office was implicated in the raid. Dr. Rutherford Harris went into the box and said he believed that there was a coming revolution, and that he wanted this strip of ground in Bechuanaland in order to have the police ready in case of emergency. Another witness, Mr. Cecil Rhodes, and Mr. Hawksley, his solicitor, said the same thing. There were four gentlemen, at any rate, who believed the Colonial Office was behind them, and what is still more important, they said so at the time. Dr. Rutherford Harris believed it, so how can you blame the Boers for believing it? It is rather extraordinary that we have not had all the correspondence published. That would have thrown more light upon the matter. However, the Colonial Secretary knows perfectly well that the Boers had this suspicion in their minds, and every man in this country knows it now. The whole Continent of Europe knows it. Then there is another point—the clearing of Mr. Cecil Rhodes, the gentleman who had assured these men who went to die in the raid that they were dying for their Queen. Who was it who induced these men to commit an act which deprived them of their professional rank and ruined their professional career for life? To my mind there is no word in the English language adequate to characterise the moral turpitude of that action. It is a count in the indictment which still remains. Now, Sir, I doubt very much whether the conscience of this country will tolerate the problem of this war. What, after all, is this grievance as to the franchise in the Transvaal? I think the country ought really to be in possession of the facts. The foreigner landing in the Transvaal is in a better position in voting for the magistrates and for the election of President than he is in this country; and yet we proceed to teach them at the point of the bayonet the doctrine of equal rights. When the Conservatives were in office, in 1888–1892, they discussed swine fever among other things, but not a word was uttered about these intolerable burdens under which our fellow subjects were suffering in the Transvaal. At last in 1894 it dawned upon one bright intel-

lect—that of the hon. Member for the Ecclesall Division of Sheffield (Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett)—that he could strike a fine lode; and he started working it, and it has paid him. He, at any rate, made a long speech about this grievance; but there was not a word from anybody in support of him. Alone he stood. There was not even a word from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, except that he got up and said, “We have no right to interfere.” Not a word against that heretical doctrine which we are now spending millions to abolish. I agree with the hon. Member who has just sat down that this is not the war of the Colonial Office and the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary. It is the war of the hon. Member for the Ecclesall Division, and he has gone out there to watch with parental solicitude and pride the growth of his infant. Only nine years have elapsed since the agitation began for a five years franchise in the Transvaal, and we are now at war with that country, although here it took a whole century to lower the franchise. I do not believe the war has any connection with the franchise. It is a question of 45 per cent. dividends; and yet we hear of the obstinacy of President Kruger. It is said that there was no possibility of concession on the part of President Kruger except through the medium of guns and bayonets. When the war began, we heard a great deal about the obstinate and obdurate conduct of President Kruger, but only in July last the Colonial Secretary spoke of the rapidity with which the modifications made by the South African Republic since the Bloemfontein Conference had followed each other, and said that each new scheme seemed to be an advance and improvement on that which preceded it. The statement that President Kruger was so obstinate that he would not consider anything is untrue, and, seeing that the falsehood has led to this bloodshed, it is a crime perpetrated on the country. I should have thought that the greatest pride of the Uitlanders would have been to take part in this conflict and fight for their supposed rights. But how many have availed themselves of the privilege? They prefer to lounge about the hotels of Capetown while English homes are being made desolate on their behalf. Seven thousand of the Uitlanders are fighting for their intolerable oppressors. How many are fighting for their rights? Barely

a battalion out of the whole 80,000, and the remainder are living in security, grumbling about their losses, and without turning a thought to those who are suffering in the war. I am sure, Sir, that I shall carry the House with me when I declare that such men and their grievances are not worth a drop of British blood.

*SIR JOHN STIRLING-MAXWELL (Glasgow, College): I have no intention

of answering the speech to which we have just listened, because that is altogether foreign to the purpose for which I rise. If you will allow me to say so, as one who has a very sincere admiration for the hon. Member's talents, I have heard his speech from beginning to end with great regret, from the unjustifiable quotation with which he began down to the unjustified use of the sadder aspect of this war, with which he concluded. The right hon. Member for East Fife and the right hon. Member for West Monmouthshire made somewhat scornful allusions to those people who looked on this debate as a waste of time, and I trembled as they spoke; but I felt glad I was one of that devoted band, and I can honestly say that I feel no allegiance to any party so strong as I feel towards those who look on debates like this at times like this as a waste of time, and worse than a waste of time. I have no complaints to make against Members who have addressed the House, because in this matter of waste of time one speech has been as bad as another, but I make one exception due, not only to the brilliant eloquence of the Member for Dover, but to the fact that he was in the unique position of having something to tell us which we had not heard before. I cannot forget that the hon. Members and right hon. Members of this House, the First Lord of the Treasury, the right hon. Member for East Fife, who spoke to-day, and the hon. Member for the Berwick Division, gentlemen to whom we all look as the embodiment of public-spirited unselfishness in this House—even they have been drawn with zest into this discussion. I merely wish to test this Amendment by one test. Could anyone who has read this debate imagine that this House had met at a time of great national peril, or at least of grave anxiety? Could anyone imagine from the

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speeches made in this House that all eyes in the country were turned to this House to learn how defeat was to be turned into victory? It appears to me that the ancient methods of this House have led us into grave neglect of duty. The one thing which we ought to want to hear is what proposals the Government have to make for the reinforcement of the Army, and I should like to appeal to hon. Members on both sides to put an end to this debate. One hon. Gentleman on the opposite side told us that this Amendment had to be moved because it was expected by the country. Surely the country now has had enough of it. It is an idle Amendment, but though idle it may have serious results. Up to this time the right of this House to be considered the central council of the Empire has not been disputed, but as the Empire develops and the population grows larger there may come a day when the claims will not be allowed, and when that day comes I believe the enemies of this House will point to this debate as proving that at the first moment of real peril that comes to the Empire this House wasted more than a week of public time before turning to the pressing needs of the country. I have only now to appeal to the Leader of the House, and I assure him he has underestimated the confidence this House and the Empire has in him, and that the confidence will not be shaken by any inference which might be drawn from an enforced conclusion of this discussion. I appeal to him to bring it to a conclusion.

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith Burghs): I am as anxious as anyone to come to the proposals of the Government with regard to defence, but at the same time I must express my surprise that we have not had the proposals sooner. If, as the leader of the House has stated, the public service is suffering through this debate, it is quite within the rules of the House that this debate can be stopped at any moment in order to consider urgent proposals. Therefore we are not open to any charge of delaying the Government. I think we should have had the proposals before now. There are two results we can claim from this debate, one the speech of the Under Secretary for War, which contained the first state-

ment on behalf of the Government which showed they appreciated the gravity of the situation, and the second the speech of the Colonial Secretary, containing the most important declaration we have yet heard of the Government's policy. It showed us that the fate of the country was in stronger hands than might have been supposed from some of the statements of Ministers, before Parliament met, at Manchester, Leicester, and elsewhere, and from the statement of the Prime Minister in the House of Lords. Although I look upon this as a just war, and a war which has been forced upon us, yet I cannot conceal from myself the belief that there have been grave errors in the diplomacy and the preparations for war. In voting for this Amendment, I record my sense of avoidable disasters, but I do not in the least deny that it is a war in defence of our just rights. No charge can be made that we are unwilling to give a straight vote to the Government on the clear issue of the war. We merely desire to give them a clear perception of those parts of the policy of which we disapprove. The Under Secretary of State for War said that in various quarters this Amendment would not be understood, and that view has been re-echoed by many others. I do not think the Government or their supporters understand it. It has been denounced as a despicable party manoeuvre, inspired by the ignoble aim of uniting the Liberal party in anticipation of office. Who believes that a change of Government is desirable in the country at a time like this? I do not think that charge can be seriously made. Another objection made is that we should not move an Amendment like this unless we are prepared to cross the floor of the House. That is, after all, only a technical objection, because if any discussion is to be raised it is necessary to move an Amendment. In my opinion this Amendment is perfectly fair and reasonable, being inspired by a sense that the Government have failed to prepare for war, and now fail to appreciate sufficiently the grave state of affairs in which we are placed, and that is why I welcomed the declarations made in the most important part of the debate last night. It is the duty of the Opposition to raise a debate of this kind, and endeavour to keep the

question within proper bounds. The supreme end of the Opposition at this time is to strengthen the Government. I have had doubts as to how that end could be best conserved, but to my mind, after the speeches on the opening day of the session, this Amendment was fully justified, and we could not have avoided bringing it before the House. It has been asserted during the course of the debate that the country does not care for an Amendment of this kind at a time like this, and although that is a characteristic statement from Members on the other side of the House, I do not think it represents entirely the feeling of the country. The country does care for the humiliation of the country. Each Minister tells his own tale. Lord Salisbury asks "How on earth we were to know the Boer strength"; Lord Lansdowne, rising within a few moments, said "We know all we care about the Boer strength." The First Lord of the Treasury said "War was inevitable." I am quoting from the *Extra-Parliamentary Hansard*, which purports to give a correct report of speeches of hon. and right hon. Gentlemen outside Westminster. The Under Secretary for War says that every precaution was taken which foresight could suggest. We have had admissions from the Colonial Secretary that the Government had made mistakes. The debate, I feel, will assist the country, and that was the reason this Amendment was moved. As to the unpreparedness for war, we feel that the Army did not have a fair chance at the start. At first it was thought that 20,000 men were sufficient, and that humiliation might be averted. Then we had 60,000, and we were told that we should have an easy time up to the taking of Pretoria. With 180,000 men we have found that the war has partaken of the nature of a drawn battle; and even with 200,000 men there is a long and difficult struggle before us, which will make the final settlement of South Africa all the more difficult, whilst our own position all the world over is more or less vulnerable. The question of the prompt dispatch of troops is one of the first importance, because we cannot conceal the fact that there is a world-wide sympathy with the Boers, which is greatly increased by our failure. It is the misrepresentations that are made of us, that we are shooting down harmless peasants who occupy South Africa in limited numbers, which blinds the world

to the fact that the British Empire, and not the Republics, stands for liberty and freedom. I hope that the proposals which the hon. Baronet wishes to see introduced will show that further preparations will be made. There are many officers and men, tired of civil life, who could be called up, and who would form the nucleus of a fresh force for defensive purposes, or would strengthen the drafts which will have to be sent abroad. There has been anxiety to know who is really head of the Army. We are told that the generals in the field have had a free hand. But unless General White's instructions expressly directed him to ignore Natal and the Natal Government, and to think only of his army, he or any British officer in his position was liable to be swayed by political considerations. One would like to know whether General White considered the forces at his command sufficient to carry out his instructions. The Under Secretary of State for War the other night gave the late General Symons as the sole authority for the affair at Glencoe, while the right hon. Gentleman himself referred at Manchester to the "unhappy entanglement" at Ladysmith in which General White found himself involved, and the late Home Secretary to-night suggested that that entanglement might really have been caused, not by General White, but by his instructions. The First Lord of the Treasury also stated at Manchester that the guns supplied to General White were guns intended for a mobile force. Such statements do not tend to allay public anxiety, and the charge of unpreparedness is almost inevitable. It would seem, from what we are told, that every brigade or division sent out during the earlier part of a war is of the character of a forlorn hope which is necessarily sacrificed. That surely is not a very encouraging message to send either to our regular forces in the field or to the colonial contingents. Real encouragement was given by the statements of the Under Secretary of State for War and the Colonial Secretary, and I hope that we may, even now on the last day of the debate, have a very strong declaration from the First Lord of the Treasury also, because we want to know whether the right hon. Gentleman is more persuaded of the mistakes that have been acknowledged by the Colonial Secretary,

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and of the efforts which may be required to remedy a most serious state of things.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I believe I was the first Minister to state in public that there had undoubtedly been mistakes in regard to this war.

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON: That statement was probably made at Manchester, and the general trend of public opinion in respect of that speech may be judged from expressions used in regard to it by the press of the right hon. Gentleman's own party. The speeches of the First Lord of the Treasury and of Lord Salisbury undoubtedly introduced a feeling of gloom. Certainly that feeling was materially lightened by the speeches of the Under Secretary of State for War and the Colonial Secretary; but until Parliament met we had no declaration which gave any confidence to the country at a time of great trial and anxiety. There is only one other point to which I wish to refer, and that is the subject of unity. We have been exhorted and lectured on the subject of unity. There is no reason to suppose that we are not united for practical purposes. Surely the voting of supplies is a very practical purpose; surely the fact of the statements of the objects of the war made by the hon. Baronet behind me being accepted by the First Lord of the Admiralty shows a considerable amount of agreement with regard to the ordinary circumstances of the war. We have been taunted on our want of unity, but I myself am as anxious as anyone on that side of the House to see unity. We may have to go very far together in pursuing these objects—that there shall be equal franchise for the white races in South Africa, and that there shall never more be any arsenal there by means of which British supremacy may be threatened. I remember many years ago, when I happened to meet Sir Hercules Robinson, as he then was, he told me that, though a strong supporter of the restoration of the Transvaal and the policy of 1881, he thought that peace having been concluded on the frontier was a serious bar to that peace being a lasting settlement, and that the way to secure a lasting settlement was to make peace at Pretoria. This time, at any rate, we shall have to go to Pretoria. That kind of support should, I think, be held to be

sufficient by our opponents if they wish to promote unity. There are other versions of unity held by some hon. Gentlemen, and it is interpreted as meaning that the Opposition is unpatriotic if it does not follow blindly and silently the Government into every hole and corner where its policy may lead us. If a Liberal criticises any part of the policy of the Government he is held up to obloquy; if he holds his tongue he is supporting his party for political purposes; if he speaks here for a few moments he is told the country does not care for the debate, and he had better be quiet; and if he votes against the Government he sinks beneath the notice of any decent citizen. I think the party opposite sometimes set about to create unity on the policy of the war in an odd kind of way. We are compelled to admit that in some parts of that policy most gross mistakes have been made. The Leader of the House says it was the raid which made the Government helpless in the matter of protesting against the armaments of the Boers. No, it was not the raid. It was the conduct of the inquiry after the raid which inflicted a cruel and irreparable injury upon British justice and British character, and that is the reason, if there is any, for our helplessness in making our war preparations with respect to the armaments of the Transvaal. But that is not a sufficient excuse. This matter must be dealt with in the light of plain facts, not by skulking behind the British Constitution or public departments or the "man in the street." We should do better if our troops could take cover and our Ministers come out into the open. We have heard of a weak and discredited Opposition. It is a thousand pities there may be nothing to take their place. The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs said that the country would not turn the present Government out in order to put the Opposition in. That is a small consolation to the country, but the permanent incubus of a weak and indifferent and discredited Government would be the greatest curse that the God of battles could prepare for the British Empire.

*MR. GEDGE (Walsall): I am not one of those who complain of this Amendment having been moved. However small and weak the Opposition may be they have a perfect right to criticise the actions and omissions of the Government, and I do

not know of any way in which they could bring the matter more fairly to the test than by moving such a resolution as that now before the House. In fact I think they have done the very best thing possible for the Government and for this side of the House. If we have been in any way, which I very much doubt, a disunited party this motion will certainly bring us together in the lobby. There is nothing brings a disunited party together so much as a vote of censure on the Government it supports. But there are two things of which we may complain. The first is that the Amendment is so wide, in that it goes back so far as 1895 instead of limiting the proposed censure to the Government's conduct since Parliament was prorogued in October last. The subject of the first part of the Amendment was amply and fully threshed out in the last session of Parliament, and it was certainly unnecessary to again take us over the whole ground. Then there is the conduct of the Opposition, which has unduly extended the length of the debate. Various reflections have been cast from both sides of the House. The hon. and learned Member for West Fife, who always speaks with wit, ability, and eloquence, taunted the two front benches with the fact that the prolongation of the debate arose from their vanity, that they desired to have the best cuts of the joint themselves, and that only one of them could speak each night. I think he ought to confine his censure to the front bench on his own side of the House, because it is an open secret that the Opposition are answerable for not allowing the division to take place until to-night. That being so, if more than one Member of the front bench spoke on any evening they would soon be used up, and the debate would collapse but for hon. Members sitting behind. Therefore, if any one of us gets up to speak I cannot see how we can be held responsible for the prolongation of the debate, because it has to go on until a certain time, and the intervening hours have to be filled up somehow. There being no complaint against us on that account, we complain that so much old matter has been raked up. Things that we dealt with in October have been again brought forward, and we have had to go over the same old ground. In one respect we may regret the recent arrangement by which the

Address in answer to Her Majesty's gracious Speech is limited to one sentence. If the old course had been followed, a clause would have been inserted in the Address reciprocating Her Majesty's sympathy with those who are fighting in the front, and with those who are suffering because of the war, and her admiration of the heroism of the troops. If a short statement in that sense was added to the Address I believe that the hearts of our soldiers, both those who are fighting and those who are wounded, and of the relatives of those who have been killed, would receive very considerable comfort, and would glow with some thrill, knowing that not only did their Queen sympathise with them, but that the House of Commons as a body had expressed in Parliament their entire concurrence in that feeling. There are one or two speeches, which have not yet been sufficiently answered, upon which I wish to make one or two remarks. One complaint only have I to make against Her Majesty's Government. I wish they had shown a little more courage and a little more confidence in the hearty support of the large majority they have in this House, and not have feared, as they seem to have done, to make proposals which might be necessary for the safety of the country, even though they were unable at the time to lay before us all the circumstances which led them to the conclusion that such proposals were desirable. So great is our confidence in the Government that I do not think we should have needed any statement. If they had come to the House and said, "We as a Government tell you we want this or that done for strengthening the forces at home or the fleet," or if they had asked us to vote money, we should have supported them without pressing them for their reasons if they thought it desirable to withhold them. In all other respects they have done on the whole quite as well as could be expected from them. No doubt the Colonial Secretary said that mistakes had been made, and it was contended there was a discrepancy between that statement and the words of the Leader of the House at Manchester, when he said the Government were not going to apologise for any mistakes. I think they were both right. There were mistakes, but there is no need of apology. I never knew of anybody to get on at all without making mistakes. If we were all endowed with prescience,

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if we knew exactly what was on the other side of the hill, or would take place to-morrow or next year, we should make no mistakes. He alone is culpable, and needs to make apologies for mistakes, who does not act rightly on the facts before him. There is no man in business who, on looking back, cannot see that he has made mistakes. But that is no reason for sorrow, it is not a reason for apology, to those who have done the best in their power on the facts before them, who have formed the best judgment open to them on what they knew. If things turned out not as they might reasonably have expected no one has any right to find fault, and there is no need of apology. That seems to me to be the position of the Government in the present instance. I did not have the advantage of hearing it, but I have read carefully a very long speech of the hon. Member the ex-Attorney General. There are other speeches very like his, but I think he is the chief offender in the matter. Here, at a time when great Imperial interests are at stake, at a time when we want to get to work, he thought it well to make a very long speech entirely taken up by details, full from beginning to end of small points. I could not but be reminded of a saying of Burke's about a hundred years ago in connection with the trial of Warren Hastings. An ex-Law Officer of the Crown made a long and elaborate speech on the subject, and Burke said that the hon. and learned Member was very eloquent; he was very great at *nisi prius*; he was a master of small points; his mind was filled with small points; but he was about as capable of understanding a great Imperial question like this as a doe rabbit is of understanding the gestations of an elephant. It seemed to me that the hon. and learned Member to whom I have referred was very much in the position of that doe rabbit. Then I heard the speech of another ex-Law Officer on this side of the House, and he thinks the war unnecessary and unjust, but yet he will gladly go into the lobby on behalf of the Government. I remember the old story of a nobleman many years ago, who was accustomed to ride at the head of his farmers to vote at the elections. One day somebody came up to him and said, "I see Mr. Jones going up with you; I wonder you do not get

rid of him, because he makes Tory speeches." "I do not care what speeches he makes," was the reply, "so long as he votes with me." With regard to the hon. and learned Member, we on this side of the House do not care a bit about his vote, we have votes enough without it, but we do care about his speech very much, and we wish he had not made it. His speech is wrong from beginning to end, and I do not believe it will do himself or anybody else any good. Whom does he represent? We are all representatives in this House. I should not venture to express my own sentiments here, if I did not represent an important industrial constituency. The hon. and learned Member to whom I referred does not represent Plymouth; his constituents would be glad to get rid of him. His constituents distinctly state that he does not represent them, and therefore in taking the course he has done he merely represents himself. Somehow or other, the hon. and learned Gentleman for the last few years has taken a strong line against the party and Government which in political matters he used to support. ["No."] Take the Venezuela question. Almost before anything was known about it he got up and made a public speech and wrote letters to show that the Government were all wrong, the country had not a leg to stand on, and the Venezuelans were all right. But what did the arbitrators say? On almost every point they gave an award distinctly in favour of this country. I only instance that to show that the hon. and learned Gentleman might have had a little more distrust in his own opinion, and before taking a line strongly against his own country and Government have looked back a little and remembered how he had been proved to be in the wrong before. I think the same fate will befall him this time. The hon. and learned Member told us that the Boers were a brave and true-hearted people. Yes, they are brave if you like, but true-hearted! What does he mean by "true-hearted"? Let me read one or two short extracts from letters in the papers from those who are at the seat of war. Here is a letter from a Newark missionary lately in the Transvaal. He says—

"For three years I have been living in the heart of the Transvaal, and I have watched the Boers very closely. The first thing that strikes a stranger is their piety. After one

has been among them for a time the gloss begins to wear off, and we find there is far more profession than possession, and we say with an American evangelist that 'of all humbugs the religious humbug is the biggest.' Taking them on the whole, their religion, their piety, is a farce. They interpret the Scriptures to meet their own purposes, and their prayers are that God will bless them and slay the—Englishmen. God is to them a God of the Dutch only. Some people venture to say the native has been treated little better than a dog. I will go further and say he has been treated worse than a dog. I have been working among 2,000 natives, composed of people from the Zambesi to Cape Town. Not one has a good name for the Boers. Dreadful as it may sound, war was a necessity. A thousand and one things called loudly for it. A government so foul and corrupt must fall. The flag of justice and freedom for black and white must wave o'er the (at present) God-forsaken Transvaal."

They are the true-hearted, are they? What do we get in letters from other parts of the battlefield? From a letter from Belmont I will quote—

"We had a little adventure there. One of our officers and about twelve of us got separated from our company and battalion, and came across a number of Boers among the hills. We attacked them and got close to them, and when we fixed our bayonets in order to charge them they put up the white flag. Of course that put us off our guard, and when we approached them they fired on us, killing two and wounding five or six more, our officer included."

That is not an isolated case. I have another case here which happened at Colenso. A doctor writes—

"This done, the brutes advanced with a flag of truce, and asked to be allowed to collect their wounded. (Of course we allowed them, but instead they gradually worked round and surrounded us, calling on our two companies to surrender. When our colonel refused this, they beat the poor old man on the head with the end of their rifles, breaking all his front teeth, taking our men all prisoners, and marched them off to Pretoria."

That is the sort of thing which is coming from every part of the battlefield. These are the class of persons who are called a true-hearted people, and it is said that we should not go to war with them on that account. We had in October last a terrible statement of the horrors of war, from the hon. Member for Plymouth and he has repeated it in this debate. Well, as a Christian, humane, and cultured people we feel deeply the horrors of war, and there is not one of us who would not be thankful if the war was stopped. But what right have Gentlemen opposite to throw this into the scale upon a question as to whether the Government have done their

duty or deserve censure? Horrors of war are invoked to prove that it is Sir A. Milner's war, or the Colonial Secretary's war. That is most unfair. This is Paul Kruger's war. It has been said that we have gone to war for the franchise, but that was only a means to an end. The franchise was first proposed by a member of the party opposite, the Marquess of Ripon. There were a great many things going on in the Transvaal of which we had a right to complain and remonstrate. Do not let us get involved in such questions as the drifts, the dynamite monopoly, or other things. What was desired was that the Uitlanders would be able to help themselves by having the franchise which would render all this continual nagging and interference unnecessary. The franchise was a simple means to an end, and if Mr. Kruger desired peace he was a very great fool for not giving the franchise which the Colonial Secretary asked for. Only one-fourth of the representatives of the Transvaal would have been returned by the Uitlanders, and they would have been powerless in the Volksraad. They would have brought forth their grievances, but they would certainly have been out-voted, and England could not have interfered. The first thing that opened my eyes to the real intention of President Kruger was the way in which he just got near to what was proposed, and then he put something in which we could not accept, and which showed that he never honestly intended to come to terms because his intention was, as soon as the rains had fallen and there was food for horses, to declare war. We are blamed for breaking off the negotiations, and why? Because they had been entirely upon the franchise. It was found that Mr. Kruger would not come to terms, and the Colonial Secretary very properly stopped the negotiations on those lines so that he might try something else. The right hon. Gentleman was thinking it over, and told President Steyn he would be glad to hear his suggestions, and called attention to the Duke of Devonshire's speech, in which he declared that our proposals would be very moderate. But after only a few days' delay President Kruger sent us an ultimatum declaring war and invaded British territory, and yet we are told that this is the Colonial Secretary's or Mr. Rhodes's war. I

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say again it is Paul Kruger's war, which was forced upon us, and it must be fought to a conclusion. There is another conclusive point to my mind that Kruger intended war, and that is the fact that he took such pains to hide his armaments from the British. If a small State fears to be attacked by its neighbour it endeavours to lead the large State to believe that its armaments are larger than they really are, and that they will find if they attack them that they are only drawing the badger. What about all these cannon that were smuggled in pianoforte cases, and arms concealed in boxes of tapioca and macaroni, which was done because Kruger wanted to hide the fact that he was making a huge arsenal of the Transvaal? All these secret preparations were not for defensive purposes, but because Kruger intended to attack us. We are waging war now for the preservation of peace in our South African Republic. Supposing any one of our Native States in India followed President Kruger's course and imported secretly armaments and got foreign military strategists to train their soldiers? We should be obliged to tell them to stop it. A complaint was made against the Colonial Secretary because he did not at once, in the early stages of the diplomacy, declare war. For a Minister to be compelled to declare war in a case of that kind would put terrible power into the hands of an unscrupulous Minister involving his country in war. It is said that the Government ought to have known all about these preparations, and that they are guilty of want of knowledge and foresight. I maintain that the Government did all they could under the circumstances, and it would be easy to point out in the newspapers which represent the party which is now attacking us that when the troops were sent out they accused the Government of sending out too many troops, and now they charge us with not sending enough. I admit we have suffered what the right hon. Baronet calls checks. We have lost lives which perhaps might have been spared, although I do not think they could have been saved by anything we could have done at home. On the face of it this great loss of life and of prisoners was due to action on the spot, and not due to any orders directed by this Government. The troops sent out have done all they were sent to do. The right hon. Gentleman was very angry because

the Secretary for the Colonies wired his approval of Sir Alfred Milner's statement that an invasion of Natal would not be tolerated for a moment. Would he have wished him to say that invasion would be tolerated and feebly resisted? No, he was bound to tell our colonists that the whole power of the British Empire would be used, and that such an invasion would not be tolerated. Nearly the whole of the boundaries of the Transvaal is British territory, and if we had had 100,000 men on the spot it would hardly have been possible to prevent invasion at some point on a boundary 2,000 miles long. We have done everything that was possible to repair any mistake, and we have succeeded in preventing the invasion coming still further. The Boers thought they were going to succeed in fighting their way to Pietermaritzburg and Durban, and thus drive us out of the country. But what progress have the Boers made? Why that little army which we sent out at first has been able to stop them. Troops are now going to the front in large quantities, and we have no reason to doubt that that invasion will be stopped and the Boers will be driven back. We have gained one or two good lessons from the war. We have been shown the weaknesses of our defences in case we have a quarrel with a European Power. My opinion is that this war has also shown us to be stronger in relation to European Powers than has been hitherto supposed. We have feared Russia's invasion of India, but we have now learned from the experience of Natal that, with thousands of Indian troops, stiffened by British officers, and with the aid of our splendid artillery and of the spade, we can fortify the mountain passes and prevent any Russian invasion. And as long as our Navy maintains its present proud position we have absolutely no fear of a foreign invasion of this country. If England was strong enough to stand against all Europe a century ago it can do so now. We know that the Government is going to profit by this war and remedy the weak spots in our military preparations. Therefore, with all my heart and without hesitation, I shall go into the lobby against this Amendment.

*MR. JOHN BURNS (Battersea): The right hon. Baronet the Member for the College Division of Glasgow, to whom I

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always listen with interest and sympathy, was under the impression that the House of Commons in this, the time of peril, ought to be engaged in a better and more dignified task than criticising the causes and the preparations for this war. He indicated that it was not a satisfactory thing for foreign nations to see the British House of Commons almost squabbling, as he said, about details while our soldiers were at death grips with the brave, plucky, magnanimous, and heroic Boers. I do not share that view. I believe that the proof of the real greatness of the British people is tested by the fact that the House of Commons is doing its legislative duty here as our soldiers are doing their duty in South Africa. In a specialised nation like this it is appropriate that the soldier should fight while the House of Commons is discharging its legal functions in discussing what led up to the war. I think it is a proof of the character and dignity of the House of Commons that while we are engaged in a war of this character, we are not excited like other assemblies or flying at each other's throats on the question as to who began the war and how it ought to be conducted. I will say for the House of Commons that I have never listened to a discussion extending over so many days in which the typical equanimity of the British character was more splendidly displayed than during the whole progress of this debate. And while we are discussing here the minds of the people are working, and the man in the train and the omnibus with almost equally placid demeanour is threshing out the issues and problems of this struggle; and I regard it as complimentary to the House of Commons and to the British people that we all have the moral courage to do our duty, taking no notice of the blind and ignorant criticisms directed against us by a few newspapers outside, owned by blackguards and edited by ruffians who clamoured for this war. I say that we are fulfilling the best traditions of the House of Commons, and we are incidentally imitating the great ones before us—Chatham and Fox and the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, who went further than the House of Commons is now doing by taking the side of the American colonies against their own countrymen when they were wrong. Then we are told by the other side that we ought to be silent; that the muzzling

order should be imposed, that the House of Commons should be inarticulate, and that we should be dumb dogs all. In whose interest and for what? In the interest of some pinchbeck Pitt, some embryonic Cromwell, who has not yet appeared, and whose vain ambitions and plunging policies are to override a free assembly. One man is to be invited—and I hear it with shame—from the Liberal side, to do what Pitt did a hundred years ago, without Pitt's justification. Wild Imperialism succeeded by militarism is to pave the way to autocracy. He backed up the stupidity of the King by assuming power which the House of Commons only should have assumed, and by refusing the overtures of Napoleon Bonaparte, when he humbly sued for peace, the House of Commons being practically silent, involved the country in eighteen years of war and a national debt of a thousand millions. That was because the Opposition did actually, what the present Opposition has virtually done in recent years, abdicate its function of opposing the Government. Out of a mistaken sense of patriotism men have been silent in this House at the suggestion of a clique too long. The financial elements, the military caste, the society set, have dictated African policy too long, with fatal results. In the initial stages of this war, they should not only have been eloquent against it but indignant against all the causes which led up to it. It is stated that the country is disgusted with this debate, which is doing no good and possibly doing some harm. I do not believe it. If it be true, the country must be awakened by protest, and that protest I cheerfully make. Let me first deal with one fact in the speech of the hon. and gallant Member who has recently spoken. He said that the only effect of this debate will be to stimulate the Boers and give them an incentive to fight. What more incentive do they want from the military point of view? Fifty or sixty thousand peasant farmers, market gardeners, and undisciplined troops are fighting under the greatest stimulus men can ever have—a deep religious motive, a patriotic impulse, and a love of liberty. They have kept at bay the skill of our generals and the heroism of our troops. They want no more incentive than their continuous successes, and I would advise military men, who talk without perspective and proportion more befitting

Laffan's Plain than of actual warfare, to remember that the Boers want no further incentive than that supplied them by the baffling of our Generals and the blundering of the Colonial Secretary for the past four years. It was not as high as a church or as wide as a door, but, like Mercutio's wound, it was enough. This debate has evoked from the Under Secretary of State for War one of the most charming speeches I have ever listened to in the House of Commons, and it has enabled us to have departmental preparations and facts put before the country. What is more, it has enabled two or three Liberal Imperialists to state the case from the point of view of jingo expansion more clearly and ably than the Government were capable of doing themselves. This is interesting if disappointing, and illustrates too clearly their departure from Liberal traditions. Then we are also told that every day that this debate goes on there is a stronger probability of the country being involved in external trouble. I am not a jingo nor a Liberal Imperialist, but this I do say, that badly as England has done in a wrong cause against the Boers, and we have done badly mainly on that account, the Germans could not have done better, and the French would, in my opinion, have done infinitely worse. France met defeat in Madagascar; Italy met its fate in Abyssinia, and in West Africa and the Cameroons, where I have been, can be seen what Germany is capable of doing, where climate and strange conditions prevail. If foreign countries went so far as to presume on our difficulties in South Africa to attempt an invasion, in which I do not believe, let me tell the House of Commons, as knowing the man in the street, that there would be a prompt dismissal from the front benches of the incompetent Ministers and of the military mandarins in Pall Mall, who are a disgrace to their office. These gentlemen lack adaptability, promptitude, and seem incapable of meeting difficulty with resource. In a real national crisis prompt, able, and adaptable leaders would be found. The Army would be demilitarised and put on a basis that would enable it to repel invasion. The civilian and mechanical instincts of the people would make short work of those who fill office but cannot inspire confidence, who can exercise empty authority but wield no power. When I hear men

talk about the British Empire being broken up I do not believe a word of it. It is not true. It would not happen even if we lost South Africa, as Empire depends on other qualities than military loss or failure. That kind of clap-trap was indulged in when we lost the American colonies, but from 1780 up till 1900 has been a period of unexampled prosperity, and so long as our people are industrious and our merchants honest the British people will go on. This debate amongst many good results must have the effect of dismissing from the public mind the violent misrepresentations of Paul Kruger, General Joubert, and of the Boer people generally which had been indulged in. Daily papers like the *Daily Mail* represented the average Boer to be a cross between Charles Peace, the burglar and murderer, a West African negro, with a dash of Jack the Ripper thrown in; and when the readers of that mendacious, and shallow and ignorant print read this description of the Boers every morning, they thought that these oracular productions and definitions of the Boer character came straight from the very fountain of truth itself. Did the gullible readers think that the proprietors of the *Daily Mail*, which has been mainly responsible for egging the people of this country on to this war—that Alfred Harmsworth had 500 shares in the Chartered Company; that Cecil Harmsworth was also a “chartered libertine,” and that another Harmsworth was one of the Rhodesian gang? Did they think that Tudor Street and Carmelite Street were poisoning the well-springs of information, playing the low-down game of the *Johannesburg Star* and every one of the corrupt and rotten papers that have excited the man in the street to clamour for war against his better judgment and better inclination? Fortunately the people are sobering, reverses have chastened them, and respect for their opponents has begotten fair play. I am one of those who have seen the Boer in this House when he occasionally visited us and in other places, and know something of him. It is creditable that men like Lord Methuen, Sir George White, General Symons, and, indeed, all who have come into contact with the Boers either here or in the colonies, have admired the strategy, chivalry, devotion, courage, and humanity of every man who follows the Boer flag. We have a right to say that. Respect for

a brave foe is the first step to know how to vanquish him, and when beaten how to treat him. Members will find when the settlement arrives how their harsh words will stand in the way. We have been told in this debate by Members opposite that the debate is useless. Yes, but what about the speech of the Under Secretary for War—the debate produced that—or of the speeches of the hon. Members for Plymouth and Carnarvon? The hon. and legal Gentleman is far too great a man to be worried and troubled by the hon. Member for Walsall, who took the opportunity of attacking him in his absence. This debate was necessary if only for that speech, in which we got out the evidence of the War Office and how bad a defence could be in the hands of such a good advocate. Then it was necessary to have this debate if only to hear what case the Right. Hon. the Colonial Secretary could make out for the position he has taken up. I listened to that speech. It was a kind of speech which might have been delivered at a meeting of medical students, after they had passed their examination, in the Empire Theatre on a Saturday afternoon. No argument for the war—wave the Union Jack. No defence or justification of his policy—sing “Rule Britannia.” A few mistakes committed (by other people)—double the army in South Africa. And then an eloquent peroration about “seeing this thing through” in the language of the pot-house, and in the spirit of the prize-ring.

*MR. SPEAKER: The language of the hon. Gentleman is hardly consistent with the dignity of debate. Such expressions as “the language of the pot-house” should not be used in referring to the speech with which the hon. Gentleman is dealing.

*MR. JOHN BURNS: If you take, Mr. Speaker, exception to the phrase, I withdraw “language of the pot-house” and substitute “language of the Stock Exchange.” I venture to say that if the Colonial Secretary and the Colonial Office had conducted the negotiations which led up to this unfortunate war in the tone and temper of the gentlemanly speech of the hon. Member for Dover, instead of being in the death-grips, as now, with them, President Kruger, President Steyn, and General Joubert would have been

interesting and attractive figures in Her Majesty's Jubilee procession in 1897. But it was not to be. What does the Colonial Secretary say? We are to have no second Majuba. Is that the kind of taunt to placate an enemy who deserves by his splendid fighting qualities to be treated well? Is it the kind of thing to say, that magnanimity is a mistake? Why we shall hear next that meanness is a virtue, charity a crime, and national honour only a mere convention. Then the Colonial Secretary talks about victory. I do not yet see it in sight—although like all men I would like to—when we know that we have lost 10,000 men, killed, wounded, missing, or prisoners; or when this lamentable fact is brought to light, that in three years in the Crimean war we had 851 officers killed and wounded; whereas in three months of this war we have 615 officers killed, wounded, missing or prisoners. It is not for us to boast of victory after four months' war, or to talk about magnanimity being a mistake, in face of tragic facts like these. It is not for us to talk about no repetition of Majuba, which was a military blunder on our side, and for which no fault could be found against the Boers. What we have got to do in our struggle with the Boers, whilst prosecuting our military aim with their ability, resource, and common sense, is to avoid provocation and boastful threats, and what we have a right to do when war ceases, is to make it possible for our enemy to enter into negotiations for a lasting and permanent peace, which shall be beneficial to both sides. I am not to be dismayed from expressing my opinion by very easy taunts from the other side. I do not believe that war, even in a good cause, should be so readily invoked as it has been in this struggle, where incompetence has been followed by bloodshed, and rashness by desolation. I would refer to Edmund Burke's speech on a similar occasion, when the dread arbitrament of war was lightly invoked. Then he said—

"A conscientious man would be cautious how he dealt in blood. He would feel some apprehension at being called to a tremendous account for engaging in so deep a play without any knowledge of the game. It is no excuse for presumptuous ignorance that it is directed by insolent passion."

The right hon. Gentleman taunted the Opposition for voting for the Amend-

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ment. Now, I do not altogether agree with it, but, illogical though it be, I want to swell the majority against this war, consequently I am not a prisoner to phrases. I am going also to vote for the Amendment of the Irish Members, and would support any Amendment that challenges, denounces, or condemns the war, or its causes, or in any way makes for peace, which both the Boers and we will desire before this conflict ends. I am not concerned with being taunted with being inconsistent and illogical. I take up higher ground, and accept the challenge of the right hon. the Colonial Secretary. I maintain as against him that this war is unnecessary, unjust, and immoral, because I recognise the Boer Republics as independent States, owing us no suzerainty except in one particular which has not yet been infringed. There is no difference between Boer and Briton that warrants war. I say we had no right to dictate, no right to demand, only the privilege to persuade. It is because I believe this that I say this war is unnecessary, unjust, and immoral. I take up this attitude and shelter myself behind the language of the Colonial Secretary, who said on May 8th, 1896, in the House of Commons—

"To go to war with President Kruger in order to force upon him reforms in the internal affairs of his State, with which successive Secretaries of State standing in this place have repudiated all right of interference, would have been a course of action as immoral as it would have been unwise."

If he was right then, as he was, I am justified now. I contend that this war might have been avoided, and to that extent was unnecessary. What is more, if the most elementary precautions and patience had been taken the cause of war could have been removed, if what others saw had been seen by the Colonial Office; the crisis we are now in was foreshadowed by many. But before I deal with that point I want to bring to light a prophecy, not by myself, but by the *Saturday Review* on March 6th, 1897. That journal took the view that—

"The return of Mr. Rhodes to South Africa will, we are afraid, mean the outbreak of further trouble. Is he to be permitted to do damage right and left now that he stands self-convicted of conspiracy against a friendly State. . . . Dr. Jameson, his victim, has suffered slightly for his participation in the plot. Is then the arch-conspirator, Mr. Rhodes, himself to escape scot-free? We are not disposed to be vindictive, but we do think

that it is criminal to allow Mr. Rhodes to meddle further in the politics of South Africa. If Mr. Chamberlain countenances Mr. Rhodes's return to active political life and reappearance on the South African stage as a prominent though nondefined character, the results will be on his own head."

Well, it was because the Colonial Secretary had allowed Mr. Rhodes to go back to South Africa, and did not deprive him of his Privy Councillorship, of which he ought to have been deprived; because he allowed Earl Grey to dodge the Committee and slip away out of the country; because he promoted Sir Graham Bower, and retained Mr. Newton; because Willoughby and White had been reinstated whilst the correspondence between Mr. Hawksley and the Colonial Secretary showed how the instigators of the raid, the real cause of the war, had been treated—it is because of all these blunders and entanglements that we are involved in this lamentable war. Following the *Saturday Review*—and I have always taken a strong line against the Chartered Company—on the 6th January, 1896, only a week after the raid, I suggested that the charter should be revoked, that Lord Roberts should be sent out to South Africa with 15,000 men, that all chartered rights should be sequestered, that all commissioners, high and low, especially low, should be dismissed and sent home, that Mr. Asquith should be invited to be Civil Commissioner in South Africa for five years, that a guarantee should be given to the South African Republic of the autonomy for which they were fighting and which they deserve. Now why did I suggest that? Because I knew, as the man in the street knew, the composition of the financial gang which has engineered this war, and whose methods and agents were well known to everybody but the Colonial Office. On the question of independence of the Transvaal I stood with Mr. Gladstone, no act of whose political life deserves more credit than his magnanimous, prescient, and dignified conduct in 1881. I stood with Lord Kimberley, Lord Derby, Lord Salisbury, Sir Evelyn Wood, Mr. Balfour, Mr. W. H. Smith, and the Lord Chief Justice as to the freedom and independent sovereignty of the Boers. We have evidence after evidence that beyond suggesting improvements in franchise, tariffs, and other matters, which President Kruger could or need not accept,

we have no right to do what we have done, and in doing which we have been involved in this terrible and regrettable war. But it may be said that I want to see British subjects in South Africa treated better. Of course I do. I want to see British subjects under British dominion—no, not dominion; that is an arbitrary word—I want to see every British subject treated, wherever he is, as a true man ought to be. But the times are out of joint, when we have Conservatives invoking the cruel arbitrament of war to enforce a franchise on the aliens in the Transvaal, of whom they had such a poor opinion when in this country that they introduce Bills into this House to exclude them altogether from residence in England. The Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs and other Tory Members insisted that the real question before the House was whether the Government were justified in espousing the grievances of the Uitlanders. I say by diplomacy, yes; by representations, yes; by war, no, a thousand times no, because you have no right to dictate to the Transvaal on its internal affairs. But you did dictate, and demand and persuade with such effect that Paul Kruger climbed down considerably, and with such rapidity that the Colonial Secretary himself was astonished at the rapidity and amount of the concessions. And I venture to say that if he had continued to squeeze the sponge it would not have been necessary to grasp the sword. If he had been more tactful and conciliatory, and had known better the traditions of our old diplomacy, we might have done with the velvet glove of conciliation what he is trying to do with the iron glove of war. If the ingenuity for war had been used for peace, this conflict could have been avoided. Mr. Hawksley knows something of South Africa, and this is what he said on 31st January, 1900—

"No doubt Mr. Rhodes believed that reasonable diplomacy would bring the negotiations with President Kruger respecting the grievances of the Uitlanders—the real bedrock of the controversy between the disputants—to a satisfactory and peaceful conclusion immediately on the publication of the June, 1899, Blue-book, disclosing a policy of bully and bluff leading straight to war."

And certainly he was not alone when he said that if it had not been for the Colonial Secretary's despatches of June, 1899, the franchise would have been got without any trouble at all. Now, what was this de-

mand for the franchise? Anybody would think that there had been heads cracked in some Johannesburg Trafalgar Square, or that some Johannesburg park railings had been torn down by infuriated Britishers. Well, we have had in this war gallant deeds done by the fighting 5th Northumberland Fusiliers. I know them well. They are our collier lads from Northumberland and Durham, and fine soldiers they are. When at home every man joins his trade union, and every man is a keen politician and an enemy of oppression of every kind. But what do the Northumberland and Durham miners say of the franchise in South Africa? They say what the Cornish miners say—

"We are not here for votes; we are here for money. We do not want to politically depatriate ourselves. We want to go home to England and remain British subjects and exercise the vote there."

When this capitalist war was brought about the Northumberland and Cornish miners very patriotically refused to fight against their country, but declined to fight against the Boers because they believed, with the best of the Uitlanders, that this demand for the franchise in South Africa is a bogus demand, and a fraudulent pretext of the financiers to cover ulterior designs, to buy up and use the votes of industrial nomads to increase their commercial power, to lower the social standard of the miners, to lower wages and to increase hours. A Cornish miner, when interviewed, said that—

"The five or seven years franchise did not trouble us."

He said further on—

"We had no complaint about the hours; we went to make money; this is a capitalists' job from beginning to end, and we have really no interest in it."

But let us take a higher authority than Northumberland or Cornish miners. The "Reform Union League of South Africa" sent over to England a gentleman named J. R. Dodd—Tommy Dodd he was called out there—and as soon as he landed from the ship in the dock he rushed to the House of Commons to interview the Labour Members, to interest them in favour of the grievances of the Uitlanders. In this he was following the lead of the Chartered Company, whose agents ply their schemes within these walls. I can only say he caught a Tartar when I happened to be the first Labour Member to

meet him. He wrote an article in the *Forum*, in which he said that—

"From 1882 to 1892 there was no serious demand for the franchise, and no great anxiety for reform. The country was rich, and most of the new settlers were making too much money to care for reform. There was still, however, great need for the latter, and the administration was going from bad to worse, while the concessions granted for the construction of railways and for dynamite were sure to work havoc in later years."

There is nothing in this to suggest harsh grievances and oppression to the working people. I asked him, "Have you had any meetings in the Transvaal?" and he said "No." "Have you pulled down any park railings?" "No." "What demonstrations, then? Have you fought for the vote as long as Englishmen did at home?" "No." "Do you know that the Lords, in July, 1898, by 86 to 36, excluded aliens, and that 30 per cent. of your fellow countrymen in England either cannot vote for Commons or influence the Lords?" But he had not any proper answer to give. It was like my experience with another man from Johannesburg, where he had been for thirteen years, who came home, and whom I introduced into the House. The right hon. the Colonial Secretary was at the moment engaged in talking about the difference between the five and the seven years franchise; but the Johannesburg man could not restrain himself and refused to stay any longer. He had been used to getting 30s. a day in Johannesburg instead of 30s. a week in this country, and he showed all the impetuosity of the *nouveau riche*. He said—

"We don't want to listen to the Colonial Secretary and his talk of the franchise; what we want is the confounded country."

He was not so circumlocutory as Mr. Dodd, but more honest. Now who paid the expenses of Mr. Dodd? Look at his credentials and his letters of introduction. The fine Roman hand of Mr. Rutherford Harris will be detected there, as in nearly every grievance-mongering agitation, in the interest of gold and diamonds in South Africa. That is the spurious agitation of the discontented patriotic Britisher who wants to lose his nationality at home for a very doubtful nationality abroad! Again, what did Mr. Lionel Phillips, one of the Rhodesian conspirators, say?—

"As to the franchise, I do not think many people care a fig about it."

Mr. John Burns.

Let us see how the franchise is used by Rhodes, Harris, Fuller and Co. These gentlemen in the Lower House in Cape Colony, in August, 1899, obstructed and got rejected by two in the Cape House of Lords a 6d. in the £1 income tax because the De Beers millionaires would have had to pay the tax equally with the poor people. But not only that, these people who call the Boer Government a corrupt oligarchy were so keenly interested in doctoring the registers of the Capetown Parliament that Rhodes' agents put on 7,000 false votes, largely forgeries, and in over twenty cases Rhodesian agents were convicted by the courts of offences against the electoral laws, and one agent got four months' imprisonment with hard labour. And then we are told that the gentlemen who do these things have sympathy with the British working man, believe in the purity of government and honesty of administration! We are informed that the Boers treat the white labourers badly, but the native labourer worse, but if any one reads the labour papers which come from South Africa he will find that organised labour in South Africa—like the trade union councils at home—is unanimously of opinion that when the Transvaal comes under the Rhodesian domination, white labour will be reduced to what it is reduced in Kimberley, and that things will go from bad to worse, as is proved by the experience of every reliable witness who knows the conduct of the Rhodesian capitalists. As we go on we find instance after instance of intimidation, if white men refuse to arm or organise themselves for political purposes, subserving a commercial end in the interests of the mine owners in the various mines. When we go into the taxes, the eight-hour day, Sunday labour, wages, and freedom from interference, then I say the men who are engaged in the Transvaal are in an infinitely better position than those at Kimberley. The men in South Africa would lose rather than gain by any change taking place. Then, coming to the natives, I have had the pleasure, and perhaps the pain, of being one of the pioneers of Africa—I went to West Africa for a year, and was there, although the right hon. Gentleman may not know it, an engineer in the employ of a company of which the Colonial Secretary was a highly compensated

shareholder. I know how the natives are treated, and I will say there is a tendency in Africa, thanks in no small measure to our Civil Service and captains in the Navy, to do their best to inculcate kindness, that the natives' position in this respect is better than in other parts; yet it is not so good as many people think. At the best I have seen cruelty practised there which has filled me with shame for my country, and both Boer and Briton need not be too proud of their treatment of the natives in any part of Africa. Then take the compound system. In the Wellington Barracks the death rate is 1 or 8 per 1,000 per annum, but when we go into the Kimberley compound, which is filled with people of just as strong physique as the soldiers in Wellington Barracks, we find, from reports of returning miners, the death rate runs from 40 to 70 per 1,000, almost the death rate of the Middle Passage. These men work hard at low depths, are liable to accidents, and when they come up they are not allowed out of the compounds, and the consequence is their only recreation is drinking, gambling, and fighting, with their attendant results in life and limb. Once a week they are subjected to strong purgatives to see that they do not secrete diamonds in their stomachs, and I now read that they go over each native with a sounding hammer to see whether he has a diamond hidden about him in his flesh. We are now told we ought to grant the franchise at the demands of men who desire that all South Africa should come in for that treatment. The franchise for what—Asiatic labour, slavery conditions for the natives, and continually lower wages and lengthening of the hours for the skilled white labour? What hypocrisy it is to talk about franchise when monopoly rule, and commercial serfdom prevails. The right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary, who is so fervent for the franchise, and desirous of giving the Transvaal local government, who involves us in a war in October when we were going to war to enfranchise a lot of Uitlanders—mostly Jews, who if they got their vote would sell it—was depriving by a stroke of the pen in August of self-government one of Her Majesty's colonies, Jamaica, under the British flag, in the British Empire, whilst the Port of Spain, Trinidad, was protesting also against the arbitrary conduct of the Colonial Secretary in taking away its

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powers of local self-government and municipal administration. How can he reconcile war for aliens in Africa, and restricting colonial liberties at the same time? He cannot; this war is for territory, for gold, for capitalist domination masquerading in the guise of freedom and franchise. I believe while we are prosecuting this unrighteous war against these people we ought to prospect for peace; we ought to ascertain Kruger's mind as to what the ultimate terms should be. We can do so without loss of dignity and respect, and without loss of power or prestige. ["No, no!"] I am getting rather tired of this arrogant and everlasting "No." It will have to be settled some day, I am for feeling our way now. I can remember reading, as a schoolboy, with pride and pleasure, how Old England, from King Alfred's time, has been the protector of liberty and freedom. That is the quality that differentiates us from all other countries in the world. Except Ireland, Britain has been through centuries the knight-errant of the smaller peoples. Who set Belgium on its legs, gave Greece its independence, helped united Italy, and stood by Switzerland from time to time? England. In this war England is not fulfilling her traditional task, the protector of the smaller nations, and the British Army, which used to be for all good causes the Sir Galahad of History, has become in Africa the janissary of the Jews, and at whose instance a narrow financial section in and out of this House. I spent my Christmas holidays going through the books of the Chartered Company's shareholders, and I find that nearly every one who has spoken in this debate here, in the House of Lords, and in the country, has his patriotism strengthened and his speeches lengthened by the amount of his holding in the stock of the South Africa Company. It would be interesting if we could have a share list brought up-to-date to see who are the shareholders—the Duke of Fife, the Marquess of Lorne, 350 generals and Army officers, and newspaper proprietors by the yard. Then we find the shareholders in the books of the Chartered Company are also the men who figured as the Johannesburg prisoners; four of whom alone owned £12,000,000 of money, poor oppressed creatures; they were also the Jameson raiders; and we also find them directors of the Savage

South African Show at Olympia. Why was that started? To acquaint the people on this side with the customs and idiosyncrasies of the natives of Africa? No, it is part of a scheme to inflame the minds of the people with regard to the war against their better conscience and their better knowledge. Then we come to the Rhodesian press, and we find all the newspapers were captured by the Rhodesian gang, and I am surprised and ashamed that a great paper like *The Times*, the greatest newspaper in the world, but the smallest organ for oppressed humanity, should have employed the Monypennys and such people as correspondents. Wherever we go in this matter we see the same thing. Wherever we examine there is the financial Jew operating, directing, inspiring the agencies that have led to this war. They were supreme at the South African Committee in 1897. I thought I had landed myself in a synagogue when I went to hear the Commission; when I went to hear the trial of the Johannesburg prisoners before the Chief Justice I thought I had dropped into some place in Aldgate or Houndsditch; and when we see how the delay of the inquiry was brought about, and how the prisoners were allowed to escape with light punishment, and how exalted personages obtruded themselves into the committee and smiled upon the chief culprits, we see the force which is moving this country on to war. And for all this intrigue on the part of smart society for money, the nation incurs the debt of war. The trail of the financial serpent is over this war from beginning to end. I consider it my duty to the labour constituency I represent to say that I have a right to protest against this war. The Highland Brigade with typical valour and character share the brunt of battle with Welsh, Irish, and Englishmen, of the most serious struggles which have ever been compressed into three or four months of hard fighting; those men have shown they were heroes, but it is heroism wasted for ignoble ends. You should have gone to the relief of the Armenians against the Turk if you wanted war merely for war's sake. The crime of it all is that these brave lads from Inverness and Glasgow and the Rifle Brigade are fighting for an unrighteous cause, a cause which brings no military credit, will deprive a brave people of their freedom, and ultimately land us in con-

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scription. The Highland Brigade, for example, who had so nobly done their duty by the side of men of other nationalities, were too good to waste on Mr. Ruthenford Harris and Mr. Beit. I protest against the incompetency displayed in the arrangements for the war, the hollowness of its object, the immorality of its aim, the stupidity with which the negotiations were conducted, and above all the want of taste, tact and temper too frequently shown by the Colonial Secretary, the result being that we have been dragged into a war that has besmirched the fair name of the country. (Cheers.)

*MR. WYLIE (Dumbartonshire), speaking against the Amendment, said no Scotch Member had spoken on the Conservative side, with the exception of one who had confined himself very much to applying to the Opposition to shorten the discussion. The real cause of the war lay deep down in the moral condition of the race which had so wantonly invaded our territory, their ignorance and domineering instincts, which existed, not only prior to 1895, but from the beginning of the century. The real cause of the war was first the oppression of the native races, whom we had done so much to relieve, and secondly, of the Uitlanders, whom we were going to relieve. It was universally admitted that the treatment of the native races by the British was infinitely better than that of any other country. From 1815, the very first year after we had acquired Cape Colony, they had bitterly resented our steady interference with what they believed to be their right to treat the natives not only as slaves, but as worse than beasts of burden. The right hon. Member for Bodmin had said that we should not mention the word magnanimity in connection with our treatment of the Boers. On the contrary, he thought it could not but be admitted that we were displaying great magnanimity even at the present time. It should be remembered that in Basutoland there were 35,000 of the finest cavalry in Africa, who are restrained by British influence from launching themselves against the Boers. Such magnanimity was not appreciated by the Boers, who were actively engaged in trying to induce the Basutos to rise against the British. The Uitlanders had been treated in the same spirit as the natives had been, and if after the petition

in regard to the Edgar case the Government had refused to listen to their grievances, we would have lost all influence in South Africa, and there would have been the beginning of the end to our colonies all over the world. The offer of a seven years franchise was accompanied by such conditions as to render it perfectly inoperative. With regard to the lack of knowledge and foresight of the Government in the preparations for the war, the terms to President Kruger were so moderate and conciliatory that scarcely anyone thought war possible. This Government had spent a great deal to make the Army efficient, and if they had come to Parliament in October last and asked for sufficient money to transport 200,000 men to South Africa, the Opposition would have been the first to have scouted the proposal as recklessly extravagant. This was not the time for mutual recrimination, but rather for friendly co-operation. Let hon. Gentlemen remember, though we had under-estimated the strength and military resources of the Boers they had still more egregiously under-estimated ours, and the determination of this country to carry on the war to a successful termination. We had already secured peace and prosperity to a vast black population in North Africa and we would not slacken our efforts until we had secured even better results to the whites in South Africa. We were fighting for our countrymen in South Africa, who had been ground under the iron heel of oppression. We were fighting for justice for the native as well as the European, and under all the circumstances he believed that the House would reject by an overwhelming majority the Amendment that had been put before it, and that all parties would unite in carrying the war to a successful conclusion.

MR. HAVELOCK WILSON (Middlesbrough): I do not intend to detain the House very long to-night, but, as my purpose is to adopt a course which is against the party I am associated with, I think it necessary to explain my reasons for doing so. Now, Sir, I listened with great attention to the speech of my hon. friend the Member for Battersea, and I may say that he did not convince me that the Government is in the wrong in the course they are pursuing in repelling the invasion of the Boers into British territory. We have been told over and over again that the Government have declared war in the interests of the Uit-

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landers. I do not agree with that statement, because the fact is that the Government have been compelled to go to war in order to repel the invader from our colonies. Now, Sir, I am not one animated by jingo convictions; I do not believe in jingoism; but at the same time I do believe in upholding the integrity of the British Empire. I am a British patriot above all things. I have travelled a few times around the world, and I have found few countries where the same freedom and the same privileges are known as we enjoy. And where I find any encroachment on our territory, any invasion of our rights and liberties, I forget my party and put the support of my country, as a patriot, before all things. We do not need to go back to 1881 to find the cause of the war. I don't object in the slightest degree to Mr. Gladstone's general feelings of humanity and love of peace; but what I did object to at the time, and still think of, is the mistake made when the Government in 1881 declared their intention to go to war with the Boers in order to assert British supremacy in South Africa. Then, after suffering defeat, we climbed down, and we are made to suffer for that to-night. There is no mistake about it that that has been the cause of the trouble in the Transvaal all through. We are told that the Uitlanders have not suffered any serious oppression, and that they have not been knocked down and ill-used; but I have it from many of my friends residing in the Transvaal—and I believe them, despite what my hon. friend the Member for Battersea says—that they have been subjected to all kinds of petty tyranny for years from these Boers. I ask, in common fairness, how long can we tolerate that state of things? We are told that the Jameson raid is responsible for a great deal of this war. I don't believe it. I believe the Boers have been steadily arming for years—and for what object? They have been looking forward eagerly to the time when the South African Republic should haul down the British flag in Cape Colony and Natal. I say I do not believe that the Government have gone to war merely for the purpose of securing equal rights for the Uitlanders in the Transvaal. But, while I am not prepared, and refuse, to vote against the Government on this Amendment, at the same time I cannot approve their action in the conduct of the war. On

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that point I believe there never has been a Government in power that has so mismanaged a war as this one. We have only to read the newspapers to learn of the complaints made by the troops in regard to the arrangements made for sending them out to South Africa, and the bad food that was supplied them. I say it is a scandal and a disgrace that the Government should lay itself open to the charge of under-feeding and ill-feeding with rotten provisions and inferior stores the men we have sent to uphold the British prestige in South Africa. There is no excuse for it. The voyage was only of some twenty or thirty days, and the authorities should have seen that sufficient stores were placed on board. I think there has been sufficient said on this question, so I do not intend to occupy the time of the House any longer; but I must say that I am sorry to disagree with my hon. friends on this side of the House. I do not believe that they are at all pursuing an intelligent policy, because on the one hand they condemn the Government for going to war, and on the other say that they have not gone far enough, and finally they urge the Government to go on vigorously with a war which they call unjust. That is an irreconcilable position and one which I must dissent from. If I did not believe in the war I would do my best to check its progress as far as I could, not merely within the walls of this House, but upon every platform throughout the country.

*MR. BOND (Nottingham, E.): I rise, Sir, practically for the first time to take part in an important debate in this House. And I rise principally to dissociate myself, as representative of a great Midland city—for the majority of whose inhabitants I think I may venture to speak quite fearlessly—from the attitude and the line which has been taken up in regard to this war by certain sections of society and by certain Members of this House, as well as by an influential section of the London press. I for my part am sick and tired of this daily railing and *Daily Mail*-ing. I think that it is little less than shocking that papers which have been calling on foreign nations to admire the calmness and fortitude which our people have exhibited in face of the

reverses which the British arms have sustained should themselves be daily cavilling at our administration and the inefficiency of our military preparations, and in the same breath be complaining of the Opposition for bringing forward this vote of censure. It is a kind of inconsistency which does not commend itself to the minds of reasonable men, and I am certain that in the great provincial centres these views are taken at their right value. I am told on good authority that in Nottingham nothing would be easier or more popular than to arrange for burning in the market place copies of the *Daily Mail*, the *Morning Post*, and *The Times*. Now, Sir, the view expressed in different ways by different speakers is that this is an inevitable war—and that view I share; but when I say it is inevitable, I say it on rather different grounds from those who have preceded me. I will explain what I mean. When this war was begun, or on the eve of the beginning of the war, I noticed a very interesting communication from the correspondent of the *Morning Post*, who was stationed at that time at Newcastle. He was evidently a young man who had gone out to South Africa for the first time, and he said—

“If any Englishman is suffering from what is called ‘swelled head,’ let him come out here, and he will quickly find that not only is an Englishman disliked, but despised.”

Now, Sir, we are accustomed to being disliked, but not despised; and I say that when a feeling of that kind becomes prevalent throughout the Boer Republic, and when we have the natural feeling of resentment which that attitude produces in the mind of an Englishman—we are not accustomed to that demeanour from those whom we come in contact with, as a rule—when we have grievances about the Uitlanders, and suspicion is aroused on both sides by the raid and the consequences of the raid, so that the negotiations we were conducting could not be carried to a successful issue, it was almost inevitable that a conflagration would arise. There was too much loose gunpowder about in South Africa, and whether the explosion occurred yesterday or to-morrow does not, it seems to me, matter very much. Under all the circumstances the collision was inevitable and could not be put off. It was what Lord Bacon would have called “a birth of time,” the result of a long series

of events, all working and co-operating together to bring about a predestined close. I am, therefore, not much concerned with the question of whether the collision might have been put off for a short time; or whether, if President Kruger had shown himself rather more reasonable and amenable to argument, we might not have been engaged in the present desperate conflict. The belief I hold is that, however that might have been, this desperate conflict could not have been put off long. In that strong belief I put aside the question whether the negotiations the Government indulged in were conducted in the most successful or judicious manner, or whether we have any reason to suppose that if the British case had been put differently the immediate results would have been different. As far as this vote of censure is concerned, all that is of comparatively little moment. Then, with regard to the preparations which the Government ought to have made, if the accusations against them mean anything they mean that when the war broke out we ought to have had more forces in Cape Colony and Natal. Now how could we have observed the rules of the game and followed the ordinary course of conduct which one civilised State observes towards another, if we had put more forces or greater military armaments out there before war broke out? The hon. Baronet the Member for the Berwick Division, in a speech delivered in the early part of the debate, said, with his usual acumen and usual fairness, that whilst negotiations were going on, it would be absolutely impossible for us to appreciably augment the forces at our disposal in South Africa. That, Sir, I take to be absolutely true. We could not while conducting negotiations make an ostentatious display of force, nor could we be surreptitiously drafting forces into South Africa sufficient to make the frontier invulnerable against attack. Well, if that be so, if we were precluded by the position we assumed from bringing into Africa forces commensurate with those which the Boers could bring against us what charge can you bring against the Government at the time hostilities broke out? Who can say with truth that the Government fell short of their duty? When the war did break out, who will say that the Government was taken unprepared? Why, Sir, within as short a

time as was humanly possible, the troops were on their way to South Africa. At the present time we have got an army in South Africa which no other European Power could place there in such short space of time and at such a distance from our shores. With regard to the Amendment, we on this side of the House feel that it is a matter of regret that it has been moved. It is not a patriotic Amendment; it is not an Amendment which on further consideration will recommend itself on the ground of party advantage to hon. Members opposite. I hardly know what it is they expect to gain from it. I am perfectly certain that were it carried—a contingency which cannot be contemplated—it would have a most serious effect upon our own country, and upon foreign countries, by evidencing a lamentable difference of opinion with regard to the policy of this war. Whether it be carried or not it can do nothing but harm. As far as I can judge, the only reason for proposing it is to give, for a few brief hours or for a few brief days, a fleeting and spurious semblance of unity to the disorganised battalions of the Opposition. That manœuvre, I feel sure, cannot succeed; it cannot take in the House; it does not take in the country; and I venture to say that we shall see those who are engineering this device hoist with their own petard.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): Mr. Speaker, exactly a week ago I had the opportunity of explaining at considerable length, in the debate on the main question of the Address, my general views of the position of affairs in South Africa and the circumstances which have led to it. I spoke then with full knowledge that this Amendment was immediately to follow, and my observations covered the whole ground of the Amendment; therefore I feel myself wholly disinclined, and, in fact, should look upon it as too great a trespass on the patience of the House, to attempt to repeat much that I said on so recent an occasion. Among other things I expressed the view that there was much to condemn in the general conduct of South African affairs by the Government. I claimed for the Opposition the full right of criticism, and I said that this, so far from being an inconvenient time for criticism, was the proper and most effective moment at which criticism could

be applied—criticism which would be of little value if it were put off to a convenient season, which might never arrive. I noted that the House received without demur the assertion of that claim, and indeed the contrary doctrine could not be sustained either by precedent or by constitutional usage and theory. Sir, I say that it was not only our right, but our bounden duty to make this motion expressive of our judgment, and to record that judgment by our votes. Surely the Government, and even the most ardent friends of the Government, who are often more sanguine than the Government themselves, could not imagine that Parliament could meet and no motion and debate of this kind occur. After recent events, and allowing as we may for every excuse and explanation which may be offered, the members of the Ministry can hardly pose as conquerors upon whose brows wreaths of laurel should be placed. Their diplomacy has failed. The end and object of diplomacy is to gain your purpose without war. Diplomacy has not gained their purpose, and we are at war. And their military operations can hardly be said to have been successful, because very little head—if, indeed, any head—has been made against the enemy, and these facts themselves invite criticism. But here arises one of the strangest phases of the present situation. For venturing to impugn the conduct of the Government we have been railed at day after day by a portion of the press on the ground of our want of patriotism, while the very newspapers that bring the accusation against us are themselves day by day denouncing the Government, calling for its reconstruction, searching about for a scapegoat, and clamouring for a change—[Ministerial cries of “No, no!”]—a change within itself if you like, but a change of some sort. They found their charge of want of patriotism upon what they represent to be the perilous position of the country. I protest against the exaggerated view of the position of the country which they take up, and which has been reflected in some of the speeches in this debate. “Humiliation” is, I believe, the word that the Prime Minister of Great Britain has used of the position of the country at this moment. Sir, disappointed we may be with the course of the war, humbled in their pride and arrogance those among us

Mr. Bond.

may be who went into the war with a light heart, confidently hoping for an easy triumph. But as to national humiliation and national discomfiture, it does not exist. Our difficulties may indeed be great, and a heavy call may be made on the patience and courage of our troops and our people; but the hysterical writers who have of recent years taken possession of a large portion of the press of this country have worked themselves up into a state of panic for which there exists no reason at all. I was glad to hear the composed and sensible tone in which the Colonial Secretary spoke of this matter the other night. Our country is not—although some things have been done and a good many things have been said that might lead to such a conclusion—our country is not at its last gasp. On the contrary, what has been done by this country, what even the much-maligned War Office has done, shows the stuff of which our Army is made, and the spirit which has been exhibited by the British people both at home and in the colonies has at once astonished and provoked the admiration of the world. When we are told, therefore, that we must be silent in our nation's agony because the Gauls are at the gates of Rome, I answer that the Gauls are not at the gates of Rome. We have 180,000 soldiers in South Africa, courageous, well-equipped men, and there is no reason for either despondency or panic. But on this very account we in the House of Commons are free, as we should not otherwise have been, to state our view of the administration of affairs by the Government, and to express our estimate of the spirit and the lines of policy which we think necessary for the peace and prosperity of our South African dominions—a policy by departing from which we have incurred our present misfortunes and troubles. I should like to pass, by in silence, and to treat in the way it deserves, another kind of imputation put upon us because of this motion and the speeches with which we support it—namely, that we are actuated by merely party motives and by a desire to clamber into power. [AN HON. MEMBER: Hear, hear!] My experience, which is longer, I am afraid, than that of the hon. Member who interrupts, leads me to believe that such taunts usually come from those who are themselves the bitterest party men; but I was

amazed to hear this taunt and sneer coming from the right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury bench. Did it not occur to some of them that they were using a weapon which has two edges; that, if there may be sometimes on the one side a selfish desire to obtain office, there may be also on the other side an equally unworthy desire to retain office, which may vitiate the judgment and stifle the conscience of a Minister? I can only say I think little of the cause which needs the support of any such weapon, and still less of the man who stoops to use it. As for us who are supporting this Amendment by our voice and by our votes, I can honestly say that we have no desire or expectation of personal or party advantage from it whatever. There is something that we believe ought to be said in the interest of the Empire, and we desire to say it. We are deeply grieved by the sufferings of our brave countrymen in the field and of those who wait and weep for them at home, and we are moved thereby to the expression of two desires. The first is that every facility should be given to the Government of the Queen for the prosecution of this war. [At this point the right hon. Gentleman was interrupted by loud cheers at the result of the York election from the Ministerial benches.] I was saying, when temporarily interrupted by a cause which I fully appreciate, that the first thing we are led to by the consideration of the sufferings of our brave fellow countrymen is that every facility should be given for the prosecution of the war, in order that it may be terminated as speedily as possible, and that the suffering and hardship may not be prolonged unnecessarily; and the second thing which we are led to by that consideration is that such a policy should be pursued in South Africa as would give the best hope that those sufferings will not have been in vain, and that harmony and peace in South Africa may issue from the struggle. There is only one other observation I would make on the general question of this Amendment. We have heard several speeches, and one of them I listened to with great pleasure from the hon. Baronet the Member for the College Division of Glasgow, that speech being solely devoted to this subject of the uselessness and the unnecessary character of this Amendment and debate. There is one thing which would have entirely stood in the way of a debate such as this.

If we had been imposing the slightest delay in the way of the schemes or preparations which the Government had in hand for the purposes of the war, then I can tell the hon. Baronet and the House that so soon as we were informed of that I should have used all my influence to urge a cessation of the debate. But we have been assured by the Under Secretary for War, and the assurance was repeated by the Secretary of State himself in another place, that this was not the case, that they were in no way hindered or embarrassed. It was our expectation that by this debate we should not only have an opportunity of expressing views on the subject which are largely held in the country, but that we should be able to elicit by means of it from the Government some much-required information on important points. I cannot say that this last purpose of the debate has been very successful. This Amendment alleges against the Government a want of knowledge, of foresight, and of judgment. Let me test this allegation with reference to one particular point, and it is a crucial point. I asked the question in the speech I delivered last week, and I repeat it now—Did the Government, or did they not, know of the disparity between the defensive strength of the colonies and the military resources and power of the Boers when they entered into the negotiations which were conducted so vigorously last summer? If they knew of that disparity and realised it, then no words in condemnation of their course of conduct could be too strong. Let the House think for a moment of what have been the results—apart from the want of prudence which such a course would indicate. We see the results in the calamities which have befallen us in Natal, in the beleaguering of Ladysmith; we see them in the alteration of the plan of campaign and in the deadlock which has occurred in the military operations in other parts of South Africa. But if the Government were informed, and formed a right judgment on the information they received, there were three things which they might have done. They might have held back from their negotiations until they had first taken steps to increase the defensive strength of the Colonies. [Ministerial cries of "Oh!"] There would have been some delay, and the thought of it appears to shock one or two hon. Members on the other side. But can you say that a delay of a few

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months, or perhaps of a year, in gaining the object to which the negotiations were directed would have had consequences, material, social, or political, to be compared for one moment with the state of things which has arisen in the last few months? I repeat what I have said before, and I repeat it in the face of the statement of the right hon. gentleman, if the Government had come to Parliament asking for assistance for the purpose of fortifying the position of the colonies, Parliament would certainly willingly have provided all that was required. But there was an alternative course. The Government might at an earlier period have protested against the armaments of the Boers. They might have cleared themselves of all participation in, or connexion with, the raid and its authors. They might have given the most ample pledges and guarantees that no such enterprise would again be undertaken; and then, with their hands free, they could have gone to the Transvaal Government and insisted upon the cessation of the passage of arms. Either of these courses would have shown knowledge, judgment, and foresight. But take the third course, which the Government adopted. They instituted and prosecuted their negotiations with those whom they knew to be a touchy, jealous, susceptible, even, if you like, a quarrelsome people, because they had formed the mad expectation—I cannot call it other than mad, and we have never yet ascertained on what authority they formed it—that the Boers would not fight. The House will see that here surely was a question to which a plain answer can be given. Did the Government know, or did they not know, of the disproportion between these two strengths? How do we stand with regard to that question at the end of the debate? The leader in one House tells us that the Government knew everything. The leader in the other House asks querulously, "How on earth could we know?" In order to explain his lack of information, he makes an extraordinary statement—that it is due to the action either of Parliament or of the Treasury in cutting down the Secret Service Vote. Lack of secret service money is alleged by the Prime Minister to be the cause of want of information as to the armaments of the Boers. The House will be interested to know what the amount of the Secret Service Vote is. The amount

voted by Parliament for the years 1896, 1897, and 1898 was £90,000. What was the amount expended during that period by the Government at the head of which is this Premier who complains of the deficiency of the vote? It was only £77,948, leaving an actual surplus unexpended of £12,000. We have evidently not got much further in our explanation of this matter. But the one bit of *terra firma*, the one little bit of solid ground for the sole of our foot which we have obtained, was furnished to us by the Under Secretary of State for War, who in the frankest manner told us what I had all along expected would be the case, that the Intelligence Department was fully acquainted with all the armaments and preparations of the Boers; and he gave us an interesting summary of the items of information possessed by the Department. But the hon. Gentleman failed, as he necessarily must fail because he could have no knowledge of the matter, to carry that information higher, and to tell us whether it had been communicated to and considered by the Cabinet, whose policy it was calculated to influence. Unless, therefore, the right hon. Gentleman gives us further and more definite information, we are not now in a position to say that the Cabinet knew the real strength they were provoking; and we cannot, on the other hand, say that they did not know. But this, at all events, is clear—that if they were ignorant it was because they did not care, or did not take the trouble to know, and plunged with wanton blindness into the formidable conflict in which the country is engaged. On one other point we remain without information. Nothing has been a more cogent fact in influencing the opinions of men in favour of the policy of the Government than the assertion of the existence of a great conspiracy against our power, spreading over the whole of South Africa. We have waited, and we wait still, to hear, I will not say sufficient evidence, but any atom of evidence of the truth of this assertion. I must express my own belief that it is an absolute invention from beginning to end. It is quite intelligible that when the Boers began to accumulate munitions of war, and saw warlike material increasing in their hands, the wilder spirits among them might very well begin to entertain larger ambitions, and dream of finding some suitable oppor-

tunity when they could overthrow the British power over them, and relieve themselves of their dependence, however nominal it may have been, on the British Crown. We must hope that wiser heads would have intervened to prevent this becoming an actual outbreak. It is a formidable fact enough in itself, and well calculated, as we may quite believe, to cause considerable alarm and anxiety. But let me point out this—that it falls far short of what is alleged. The desire, even if it took a warlike form—a desire to secure complete independence in matters of that sort—is widely different from the general conspiracy of which we have heard—a conspiracy which, as alleged, was nothing short of—nothing less than—a combination, not only of the Dutch in the Republics, but of the Dutch people in our own colonies, to overthrow the British power in South Africa and sweep the British into the sea. Why, Sir, it would be difficult to imagine a more appalling proceeding than that if there were any solid foundation for it. I say it would be difficult to imagine a greater insult to our loyal fellow subjects among the Dutch. Then why have we not had a word of explanation? I trust some explanation will be forthcoming, because this may have a serious effect. We do not know from what source the information comes outside official sources. It does not come, we are told, from any one in Park Lane, and it does not come from Mr. Rhodes; but wherever it comes from we should like to know who told of this Pan-Hollandic conspiracy. The idea of its existence is contradicted by the highest authorities to whom we are accustomed to look. Sir Alfred Milner in a despatch of June, 1897—what we may call his Jubilee despatch of two years ago—declared that, as far as he was able to judge, these racial differences did not affect any portion of the subjects of Her Majesty; and in a long article in *The Times*, which came from *The Times* special correspondent at Cape Town, whom I believe to be Mr. Garrett ["No"]—well, I cannot enter into that, I may be wrong—but the special correspondent of *The Times* at Cape Town, under the date of December 27th—long after we were told of this gigantic conspiracy, long after the world heard of it—said that from some articles which appeared in the English papers one might think that the whole Dutch population

had been elaborately organised for rebellion and a great conspiracy. For this view the correspondent said there was no evidence whatever. There was nothing to implicate the party as a whole or any of its leading members in an organised conspiracy against the Imperial Government. That was the statement of *The Times* correspondent at Cape Town. Well, Sir, I want to know where this information came from and what is the evidence which has convinced the Government of this conspiracy. I hail with satisfaction some words used by the Colonial Secretary last night with reference to the loyal Dutch. I was not astonished to hear those words as to the loyal Dutch from the Colonial Secretary. On the contrary, I think they were well deserved and well applied; but I am bound to observe that this is the first recognition which these much tested and faithful subjects of the Queen have obtained. It is, so to speak, the first counterpoise to that unfortunate despatch of the High Commissioner which ought never to have been sent. The hon. Gentleman has rebuked me for having spoken of the claims which the loyal Dutch in the colonies have upon our sympathy and consideration, and making no mention of the British who were suffering by their side. I have equal sympathy with our Dutch and British fellow-subjects. ["Oh!" and cheers.] If I have not dwelt, except in a lesser degree, on what our British fellow-subjects are enduring it is for two reasons—first, because they, being looked after by the Government and their officers, do not require the adventitious advocacy of anyone like myself; and, in the second place, because, after all, however much they may have suffered, they have not been subjected to the strain of having their own near relatives amongst those who were fighting against their country, and therefore harassed and torn by conflicting sympathies between relatives on one side and their duty on the other. I cannot but think that these words of the Colonial Secretary may indicate a small ray of light—that they may prove to be the introduction of a wiser spirit into our future dealings with the mixed races in South Africa. I wonder if it has occurred to any hon. Member, as it has to me, that a striking illustration of the close intermixture of the two races is afforded to us by the very names with which within the

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last few weeks we have become conversant. We read of Glencoe and Dewdrop side by side with Spion Kop and Elands-laagte. Why, the very collocation of the names shows the equal interests and the close connection of the two races. Let me repeat once more the memorable words, which ought to be again and again repeated, and which ought to be written up in front of the table at which the Colonial Secretary—not this Colonial Secretary only, but every Colonial Secretary—sits and discharges his ordinary daily work, the words, "English and Dutch have got to live together at the Cape." That is the key of the whole position. This war must be prosecuted with vigour, and the vigour must not be of the kind which is actuated by despondency, but of the kind which is actuated by confidence and hope. The First Lord of the Treasury made an attempt—not a successful attempt, and I think not altogether a very worthy attempt—to beguile me the other night to say more than I wished to say, and to give my conception of what the military end ought to be. He himself knows of no bounds to his military ardour. He gives us to understand that he will hear of no peace and no settlement until he has had a full glut of conquest. Well, Sir, I agree with my noble friend who moved the Amendment, that such a declaration by the right hon. Gentleman was an unusual declaration, and not a very wise declaration. Provided that our territories are free and our military superiority asserted, what matters it at what time or at what place a settlement is arrived at? What does matter is the nature of the settlement; and, as regards the objects to be kept in view in that settlement they could not be better laid down than they were by my right hon. friend the Member for East Fife to-day, who classed them under four heads. He said that the settlement must be a permanent and not a patched-up settlement. He said, and I agree, that it must effectually guard against any armed invasion or quarrel of this kind. He said it must provide for political equality, and he said, lastly, that it must guard against racial ascendancy. I do not know four heads that could better express a wise policy in this matter. But, after all, what can sound diplomacy, what can generous and equitable considerations do, in face of the bitter feelings and memories which will be left behind after this war.

is over? The Colonial Secretary the other day said he thought that, after this particular war, there would be no bitter memories and no bitter feelings. But a few years ago he spoke of the enmities which a war would excite, and which it would take generations to extinguish. I fear that his earlier forecast was more trustworthy than his later one. The large-hearted British people will be ready to do all that forms, arrangements, and settlements and constitutions can do to bring the mixed races together, but the efficacy of all these must depend upon the spirit in which they are framed and administered. I vote for this Amendment to-night because it condemns the errors and failures in the past which, if renewed after war is over, must inevitably again be fatal to the harmony and good government of South Africa.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It is the duty that falls to the Leader of the House on these occasions to go through the process of what is called winding up the debate, and winding up the debate is usually supposed to signify a survey of all the arguments, or of the main general line of arguments, which have been adopted by the various Opposition speakers during the course of the debate, and an attempt to concentrate against those arguments the reply of the Government for whom the Minister speaks. If that be the duty of the Minister who has to sum up the debate, I ought frankly to preface the ont very long observations which I intend to address to the House by informing them that it is a duty which I do not mean on this occasion to perform. I do not believe it would be possible within the compass of a reasonable speech to traverse the vast field of discussion deliberately opened to the House by this Amendment; and, if it were possible, I would say that it would be inexpedient. There is nothing connected with South Africa between 1895 and the present time—nay, there is nothing between 1895 and the future settlement of the South African problem just raised by the right hon. Gentleman—which has not been touched on, indeed elaborated, by one speaker or another in the course of the five nights debate in which we have been engaged. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Monmouthshire found even this extended border insufficient for his gigantic activity, and he went back to 1879, 1880, and 1881, and actually asked the House of

Commons, called together in the face of an important crisis, and at the time of a great war, to consider the internal politics of the Cabinet of which he was a member in those years.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I was challenged to that course by the speech of the Prime Minister.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes. It is a peculiarity of the right hon. Gentleman that he always insists upon answering speeches made in the House to which he does not belong, rather than dealing with speeches made in the House of which he is a most distinguished ornament. But even the right hon. Gentleman will admit that for me to attempt, in the first place, to reconcile his version of what happened in 1881 with the versions given by other members of the same Cabinet, and then to travel slowly down the stream of time until I get to 1895, work through all the Blue-books down to the beginning of the war, then deal with the war and all questions raised by the war, and then plunge into the realms of prophecy, like the right hon. Gentleman, would be a task beyond my intellectual powers and the powers of endurance of the House whom I am addressing. But, if I do not propose to touch on these questions even in the most distant way, I may, *a fortiori*, be forgiven for dealing with a very small personal matter, which I should scorn to allude to if it had not been brought up in every single speech of every single right hon. Gentleman who has spoken from the Front Opposition bench, and also referred to in the debates in another place by these right hon. Gentlemen's colleagues in that House. That is that small, and I think quite unimportant, controversy raised by the speech which I made not very long ago in Manchester. I do not mean to occupy the House with a defence of that speech. Judging from the debate, there are a great many gentlemen opposite who would still learn a great deal as to the war and the circumstances which led up to it if they would peruse what I have said in that speech in an impartial spirit. [A LIBERAL MEMBER: Have you read it yet?] Yes, I have refreshed my memory in regard to it. But in any case, holding these views, the House, I am sure, would feel that it is due to them that I should not spend their time in explanations, and, I will add, it is still more due to myself that I should not spend their time in

apologies. I leave these relatively unimportant matters to ask the House, now about to proceed to a division—what is the object of the Amendment, what is the object with which it was moved, what is the object which it is likely to attain? We might have supposed, from the course of the public controversy, which took place before the House met, that there would be an attack, or a very serious criticism, upon one department of the Government at all events—I mean the War Office. There has been no such attack, no such criticism. The noble Lord who moved the Amendment occupied a great deal of his speech in defending the War Office. The right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down in a few words took the same line; and had there been anybody disposed to make a harsh or unjust criticism of that Department in the early stages of the debate, I am sure that desire would be removed by the most brilliant defence that I have heard in my time of that Department, made by the Under Secretary for War on Thursday last. But, in truth, I think the House and country are beginning to realise that whatever may be said about the conduct of the war—and a great deal may be properly said about it—the fact remains that the War Office is not open to the charge which there is always the danger that the War Office would be open to after a long period of peace. The danger which our military machinery runs, after long periods of peace, is that the War Minister who is responsible for the conduct of the department may come down year after year and tell the House of Commons, and tell the country, that the War Office can do this and can do that, can put so many men and so many guns in the field, and then, when the day of trial comes, when the country is placed in the position which France was placed in just before the Franco-German war, or which this country was placed in just before the Crimean war, it may be found that this military machine, so successfully defended session after session in Committee of Supply, and in general debate, may, after all, be found utterly incapable of carrying out the functions which it professed to be able to carry out. Whatever charges may be made against the conduct of this war, that question will have to be thoroughly examined. It cannot be said that professions have been made by the War Office during the last five years which the War Office, when the

time of trial came, were found incapable of fulfilling. That, in my judgment, is great praise. I admit it is asking no more of the War Office than the War Office was bound to do. But it did it; it did it in overwhelming measure; it did it, and it did much more than it ever promised to do—it is now doing much more than it ever promised to do, and it is doing it, broadly speaking, without a hitch, without difficulty, and without friction. Let us give praise where praise is due. The doctrine of responsibility was insisted upon by the right hon. Gentleman. I admit that we who sit on this bench, who had nothing to do directly with the administration of the War Office, are yet responsible for its failure and responsible for its success. But, after all, I think the House will admit that, speaking at this moment, I stand sufficiently outside the details of that administration to be able, without egotism, to praise it; and, when I say it has carried out those duties, it is not with any intention of asking praise for the Government as a whole, but it is for the purpose of giving praise where praise really is due—namely, to those responsible for War Office organisation. Well, Sir, I leave that; no serious criticism has yet been made, though I daresay it will be made, of the War Office, and it would be unpardonable of me to spend more time on a subject which has apparently fallen outside the scope of this Amendment. Then, Sir, if this Amendment was not an attack upon the War Office, on whom was it an attack? [An Hon. Member: The Government.] It was an attack on the Government? That I am coming to directly. I have listened to the speeches night after night, and gradually the conclusion has been impressed on my mind that this was not an attack upon the Government, except in form, but that in substance, in truth, and in reality, it was an attack on my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for the Colonies. It was not the conduct of the war, it was not the foresight or provision of the Government that really interested hon. Gentlemen opposite. No; whenever a speech flagged or an orator felt he was not holding the attention of his friends, he had only to make an attack on my right hon. friend and immediately from a small but vocal part of the House a hearty response was obtained. I think my right hon. friend may well ignore these persistent and reiterated attacks. He may remember, and we may remem-

ber, that it is during his term of office as Colonial Secretary that the British Empire as a whole has first shown its full and corporate consciousness of what it is and what its destinies are. I admit that he alone is not responsible for that being done. Others have worked in that fertile vineyard, other architects have contributed to build that stately edifice; but my right hon. friend may surely justly boast—[AN HON. MEMBER: He will boast.]—that it was during his term of office, and in no small degree through his great administrative abilities, that that dramatic moment occurred for the first time in our history—[AN HON. MEMBER: Magersfontein.]—when every British colony joined with the mother country to carry out a great Imperial campaign. When all these petty and contemptible charges against the Government are buried in the oblivion they so well deserve, his name will be for ever associated with that great moment in our history. [Mr. W. REDMOND: "Great slaughter."] I fully recognise that some more worthy purpose was intended by the Amendment than any mere attack on an individual or set of individuals. What was that purpose? I listened with astonishment to the version given of the Amendment by its authors. They have told us, over and over again, that an Amendment is an occasion for criticism. Right hon. Gentlemen opposite know that our proceedings offer ample opportunity for criticism at this stage, at all events, of the session, without moving any Amendment of this kind. We could have heard the eloquent speeches of the right hon. Members for East Fife and West Monmouthshire, or that of the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down, without any Amendment at all on the Queen's Speech, which affords occasion for criticism not intended to be followed by a vote of censure. That was the natural and obvious course. It has not been adopted; but instead of that there has been adopted a course which makes this motion not only an ordinary vote of censure, which an ordinary Amendment to the Address in reply to the Queen's Speech is, but a motion brought forward with all the pomp and trappings and importance which can be given to it by the fact that it is moved on the Queen's Speech by a member of the Front Opposition bench. Why was that done? And are we responsible for the importation of party politics into the debate? The right hon. Member for

the Forest of Dean reproached me the other night because some remarks of mine had been in a party and controversial spirit.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: On the question of artillery.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I was not aware that it was as limited as that. But I grant that I did make remarks comparing the late Government with the present in their capacity for dealing with military organisation and administration. How could I help it? This motion is to substitute gentlemen opposite for us. If this motion means anything it means that A is to be put out of office and B put in, and in order to know whether the motion is to be carried you ought to know whether A or B is the more qualified to carry on the work of the country. But the right hon. Gentleman opposite went further. He started the doctrine of Ministerial responsibility—to which none of us object. We do not repudiate any responsibility that can be thrown upon us. We are responsible for all that has occurred at home and abroad. But, after all, is not this a rather barren doctrine, when the problem before us is who is to carry on the government of the country? If your object is to judge the Government, not according to any abstract doctrine of responsibility, but according to the doctrines which ought to regulate the conduct of each of us in our private life, you will consider what the Government knew and what they ought to have known at each successive stage of these negotiations or military transactions; you will put yourselves, by an effort of historical imagination, into the place of the Government you condemn. If you come to the conclusion that the Government, knowing what they did, took the wrong course, or that they ought to have known, and had the means of knowing, what they did not know, you will justly condemn them. But to judge by what happened in the field in November, December, or January is to apply principles to the selection of a Government which you would not apply to the selection of an errand boy. But Sir, I do not wish to defend the Government. I do not think the time has come to do it. I wish really to ask what is the course which each member of the House ought in conscience to adopt with regard to the division in which he is to take part. The Opposition, as far as I

can make out, are divided in this matter of the war into three quite separate camps. There are those who think the war is unjust and inexpedient, and therefore ought no longer to be prosecuted, and that peace should be as hastily as possible patched up. That is one section of opinion; and I know what gentlemen mean who say that; I think I can gauge their motives; at all events, I think I understand their policy. A second division into which I will venture to divide the Opposition is, those who regard the war as unjust and the diplomacy that led to it as extremely blundering, and who, nevertheless, think that the war should be prosecuted. I have great difficulty in understanding that point of view, and I fear those who take it are so little clear in their own minds on this topic that no argument I can use is likely to have much effect upon them. But there is a third class among the ranks of the Opposition who think, as we think, that the war is just, who think, as we think, that it should be prosecuted, but who, nevertheless, intend to vote for this Amendment. Now, I confess I am utterly unable to understand how hon. and right hon. Gentlemen can by any conceivable process of logic make their opinion harmonise with the course they are going to pursue. Let me assure them I do not attack their motives. The right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down, the right hon. Member for East Fife, and the hon. Member for Leith Burghs, who spoke earlier in the evening, seem to think that we accuse them of some sinister transaction, some curious design by which they may obtain a party advantage which it is difficult to understand. I honestly avow I do not believe they are animated by any motive other than the public good. We profess no monopoly of patriotism and public spirit, and, as we ask the House to believe that we are not moved by party motives; so I am ready to give these gentlemen the greatest credit for being animated by principles of action not less elevated than those which we claim for ourselves. But is it a wise and, in result, a patriotic course they mean to pursue? What is it at this moment that the country has to fear? What is it at this moment that the House of Commons can do for the country? What the country has to fear is that foreign nations and Transvaal politicians may think that in our division is to be found their opportunity, and that that which they

cannot expect from the fortune of war they may expect from party divisions and the party system of this country. I do not imagine for a moment that there is any Boer leader of importance who supposes that if the duel between the two nations is indefinitely prolonged success in the long run can rest with them. What is it that they look forward to?

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): God.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: They have their hopes in the first place in the possibility of some foreign complication embarrassing to this country, and, in the second place, that this country, distracted by internal dissension and wearied by the cost and sacrifices of a long war, may agree to a dishonourable and insecure peace. Now, it seems to me, that is an answer to my first question. My second question was, what can the House of Commons do to help our arms under these circumstances? The House of Commons cannot do much, but this it can do. It can show that behind our soldiers in the field there is a united and undivided country. There have been many speeches from that side of the House with almost every word of which I am in complete agreement—I am in complete agreement, for instance, with the speech of great ability of the hon. and learned Member for South Shields, the speech of the hon. Baronet the Member for the Berwick Division—though a good deal of that speech was occupied in abuse of myself—and, in the main outline, with the speeches from the two Members for Fife, and other speeches which will be in the recollection of the House. Those speeches were so good that on an ordinary occasion I would gladly say, "Give me your speech and vote as you like"; but I cannot say so on an occasion like this, because, after all, these speeches will not penetrate beyond that comparatively narrow circle who take interest in the details of our Parliamentary life, but the record of votes will go forth far and wide, and these votes will be held as indicating the policy of those who give them towards the war. Be it as you like, no subtlety of argument can get over the fact that a Parliamentary victory which would destroy this Government would destroy the policy of which those right hon. Gentlemen and hon. Gentlemen have made themselves such brilliant and courageous advocates in this House. If they say, as I daresay they do say, "We are ready to vote because we

know that our votes will not turn out the Government," that is something very like—as I think my hon. and gallant friend said earlier in the evening—a Parliamentary fraud, if I may use that word with no unkind significance towards any individual. Every man in this House when he gives a vote ought to wish that that vote should lead to the conclusion to which it points; and I cannot believe that those who have spoken in the sense which I have indicated would regard otherwise than with absolute horror a victory for themselves in the lobby into which I understand they are about to go. Well, I do not think that is sound Parliamentary morality or sound Parliamentary tactics, but I dare say many of us have in our time given votes which we should be very sorry to see called into action, and I do not wish to play the moralist on this occasion or to preach any impossible standard of Parliamentary action. I would appeal more directly to the patriotism of these gentlemen; I would venture to point out to them that even if they do not defeat the Government—and I do not affect to suppose that they will—every abstraction from the Government lobby of the votes of men who agree with the Government in the main policy is really a weakening of the forces of their country in the field. Every such vote tends, and must tend, to prolong this contest. Can they contemplate with equanimity that their very first action in the session of Parliament meeting in the circumstances in which we meet should be to weaken a Government whose hands they profess to desire to strengthen, whose hands I believe they genuinely desire to strengthen, in every succeeding operation connected with this war? Can they contemplate with equanimity the reflection that possibly their vote may lengthen the war, and, by lengthening the war, may increase that tragic list of losses by the war which we already have to contemplate? If, in giving their vote, they add one fraction to the chances of a European complication, one fraction to the chances that an unnecessary life may be lost or a family thrown into mourning who in different circumstances might have looked back without regret on this war, can they easily reconcile that with their duty to their own principles and to that country of which they are, I believe, as devoted servants as we are upon this side of the House? Well, I think not. I think it is a violation of every Parliamentary tradi-

tion that men who desire to keep a Government in office should vote for an Amendment which, if carried, would turn out that Government, and that it is contrary to every patriotic instinct to vote even in a minority against the Government when the size of that minority may affect the whole course of European policy, the whole course of the South African war. I have stated the problem as it presents itself to my mind; I know them to be men of conscience and men of honour, and I must leave it to them to decide the problem, each man as his own conscience and honour dictate. But to the House at large I can only make one appeal in conclusion; it is that we who are the representatives of the country may rise to the height reached by those whom we represent. I ask no more, and I can ask no more of this House than that they should imitate—for they cannot exceed—the courage, the steadfastness, the resolution, the firmness under adversity, the calmness of temper with which our countrymen all over the world have dealt with the difficult situation in which we find ourselves. If the House of Commons, as I doubt not they will, imitate the conduct of those who have sent them here, then, Sir, who can doubt that the clouds by which we are at present surrounded will in a short time be dissipated, and that the Empire will issue from the struggle in which it is now engaged stronger not only in its own consciousness of strength but in the eyes of the civilised world?

Mr. HARWOOD (Bolton): I rise to make an appeal to the noble Lord who moved this Amendment to save the House from a division. I make this plea—with great trepidation and hesitation—only because I feel that such a course is most in harmony with the true dignity of the House of Commons. It is not that I fear a party defeat—I am too used to them—but I would appeal to hon. Members in this crisis of our history to rise above trumpety party considerations, and follow a course most consistent with the traditions and glory of the House of Commons. It is not that I condemn this Amendment in itself. I think most Members of the House would agree with it as an abstract proposition. I think it is true that there never was a war since the Norman Conquest in which the Government did not show some want of foresight and judgment and some lack of

preparation. Nor do I disagree with our having had this discussion. But I would plead with the noble Lord and his friends that at a time like this we should think of something higher than ordinary party considerations. I plead on two grounds. In the first place, in a crisis of this kind there are only two courses open to us; we ought either to knock down the Government or back it up; we have no hope or desire of being able to knock down the Government, therefore I say it is our duty to back it up. In the second place, I plead with the House to consider the effect of this motion, not in this House itself, nor in England where we understand these matters, but throughout the world. I am quite sure that not only will foreigners misjudge us but that the Boers will misjudge us also. We have all read of the glory of Parliament, and I hope the House of Commons will now rise to the greatness of that glory and show that at a time like this they are able to present a united front to the world.

MR. C. E. SHAW (Stafford): I rise to second the appeal which has just been made to the noble Lord to withdraw his Amendment even at this late hour. It places many of us on this side of the House in a very invidious position, and no Members could be placed in a more invidious position than the fifteen who had the courage of their convictions and voted with the Government in October last. I had hoped against hope, day after day, that this Amendment would be withdrawn, and even up to ten o'clock this evening there was a strong movement on this side of the House to have it withdrawn. The Amendment is divided into two parts. With regard to the first part,

which distinctly states that the war is unjust and unnecessary, all I can say is that my vote in October last has cleared me of that charge. I believe this war is just and necessary. With regard to the second part I am very largely in agreement with it. I think that the Government have not gone far enough, and I stated in June last and again in September that they ought to safeguard the position by pouring troops into South Africa. The speeches of the hon. Member for Dover and the Colonial Secretary will enable me to support the Government to-night. The country has been asking for a lead in this matter; they have been asking for something strong from the front bench, and I venture to say that in those two speeches they have got a very definite lead. I may be asked why, if I cannot vote for the Amendment, I do not abstain. I am not sent to this House to abstain. I certainly should not feel myself at rest if I found myself in the same lobby as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Montrose or the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Dumfries. I am sorry to part company with the hon. Baronet the Member for the Berwick Division and those who think with him, but I think my action is more consistent. I for one am not deaf to the appeal made by the Leader of the House: I want this House to present a united front to the world, and I have never given a vote in this House with greater pleasure and with greater determination than the vote I shall give in support of the Government to-night.

Question put.

The House divided: — Ayes, 139; Noes, 352. (Division List No. 3.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Rhondda)
Allan, William (Gateshead)
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hon. H. Henry
Atherley-Jones, L.
Austin, Sir John (Yorkshire)
Baker, Sir John
Barlow, John Emmott
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Billson, Alfred
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Broadhurst, Henry
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Burns, John
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles

Caldwell, James
Cameron, Sir Chas. (Glasgow)
Cameron, Robert (Durham)
Campbell-Baunerman, Sir H.
Causton, Richard Knight
Channing, Francis Allston
Clark, Dr. G. B. (Caithness-sh.)
Colville John
Dalziel, James Henry
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Dewar, Arthur
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Edwards, Owen Morgan
Ellis, John Edward
Emmott, Alfred
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Fenwick, Charles
Ferguson, R. C. Munro (Leith)

Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond
Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gold, Charles
Gourley, Sir E. Temperley
Grey, Sir Edw. (Berwick)
Gurdon, Sir William Brampton
Haldane, Richard Burton
Harcourt, Rt. Hon. Sir Wm.
Harwood, George
Hayne, Rt. Hon. Charles
Hazell, Walter
Hedderwick, Thomas C. H.
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Horniman, Frederick John
Humphreys-Owen, Arthur C.
Hutton, A. E. (Morley)
Johnson-Ferguson, James E.

Mr. Harwood.

Joicey, Sir James
 Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
 Jones, Wm. (Carnarvonshire)
 Kay-Shuttleworth, Rt. Hon. Sir U.
 Kinloch, Sir John George Smyth
 Kiteon, Sir James
 Labouchere, Henry
 Langley, Batty
 Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cumb'lnd)
 Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington)
 Leng, Sir John
 Lewis, John Herbert
 Lloyd-George, David
 Lough, Thomas
 Lyell, Sir Leonard
 McCrae, George
 McEwan, William
 McKenna, Reginald
 M'Leod, John
 Maddison, Fred.
 Mead, Sigismund Ferdinand
 Montagu, Sir S. (Whitechapel)
 Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
 Morley, Charles (Breckonshire)
 Morley, Rt. Hon. John (Montrose)
 Norton, Capt. Cecil William
 Nussey, Thomas Willans
 Oldroyd, Mark
 Palmer, George Wm. (Reading)

Pearson, Sir Weetman D.
 Pease, Alfred E. (Cleveland)
 Pease, Joseph A. (Northumb.)
 Pease, Sir Joseph W. (Durham)
 Perks, Robert William
 Philipps, John Wynford
 Pickersgill, Edward Hare
 Price, Robert John
 Priestley, Briggs (Yorks.)
 Randell, David
 Reckitt, Harold James
 Reid, Sir Robert Threshie
 Rickett, J. Compton
 Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
 Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
 Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
 Robson, William Snowdon
 Runciman, Walter
 Samuel, J. (Stockton-on-Tees)
 Schwann, Charles E.
 Scott, Chas. Prestwich (Leigh)
 Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
 Sinclair, Capt. J. (Forfarshire)
 Smith, Samuel (Flint)
 Soames, Arthur Wellesley
 Souttar, Robinson
 Spicer, Albert
 Steadman, William Charles
 Stevenson, Francis S.

Stuart, Jas. (Shoreditch)
 Tennant, Harold John
 Thomas, A. (Carmarthen, E.)
 Thomas, Alfred (Glamorgan, E.)
 Trevelyan, Charles Philips
 Ure, Alexander
 Wallace, Robert
 Walton, J. Lawson (Leeds, S.)
 Walton, J. (Barnsley)
 Warner, T. Courtenay T.
 Wason, Eugene
 Wedderburn, Sir William
 Weir, James Galloway
 Whiteley, Geo. (Stockport)
 Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
 Williams, J. (Carvell (Notts))
 Wills, Sir William Henry
 Wilson, Fredk. W. (Norfolk)
 Wilson, H. J. (Yorks, W.R.)
 Wilson, J. (Durham, Mid.)
 Wilson, John (Govan)
 Woodhouse, Sir J.T. (Hudd'rsfld)
 Woods, Samuel
 Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
 Mr. Herbert Gladstone
 and Mr. McArthur.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir Alex. F.
 Aird, John
 Allhusen, Augustus Henry E.
 Allsopp, Hon. George
 Anson, Sir William Reynell
 Archdale, Edward Mervyn
 Arnold, Alfred
 Arnold-Forster, Hugh O.
 Arrol, Sir William
 Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
 Bailey, James (Waltham)
 Baillie, James E. B. (Inverness)
 Baird, John George Alexander
 Balcarres, Lord
 Baldwin, Alfred
 Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r)
 Banbury, Frederick George
 Banes, Major George Edward
 Barnes, Frederic Gorell
 Barry, Rt. Hon. A. H. Smith- (Hunts)
 Barry, Sir Francis T. (Windsor)
 Bartley, George C. T.
 Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
 Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir M. H. (Bristol)
 Beach, Rt. Hon. W. W. B. (Hants)
 Beckett, Ernest William
 Begg, Ferdinand Faithful
 Benrose, Sir Henry Howe
 Bhowmaggree, Sir M. M.
 Biddulph, Michael
 Bigwood, James
 Bill, Charles
 Blakiston-Houston, John
 Blundell, Colonel Henry
 Bolitho, Thomas Belford
 Bond, Edward
 Bonser, Henry Cosmo Orme
 Boulnois, Edmund
 Bowles, Capt. H. F. (Middlesex)
 Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn)
 Brancey, Albert
 Brodric, Rt. Hon. St. John
 Brookfield, A. Montagu
 Brown, Alexander H.
 Brymer, William Ernest
 Bullard, Sir Harry

Butcher, John George
 Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin)
 Carlile, William Walter
 Carson, Rt. Hon. Edward
 Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
 Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbysh.)
 Cayzer, Sir Charles William
 Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
 Chaloner, Captain R. G. W.
 Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. (Birm.)
 Chamberlain, J. A. (Worc'r)
 Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
 Charrington, Spencer
 Chelsea, Viscount
 Clare, Octavius Leigh
 Clarke, Sir Edward (Plymouth)
 Clough, Walter Owen
 Coddington, Sir William
 Coghill, Douglas Harry
 Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
 Colomb, Sir John Chas. Ready
 Colston, Charles E. H. Athole
 Cook, F. Lucas (Lambeth)
 Cooke, C. W. R. (Hereford)
 Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
 Cornwallis, Fiennes Stanley W.
 Cotton-Jodrell, Col. E. T. D.
 Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
 Cripps, Charles Alfred
 Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
 Cross, H. Shepherd (Bolton)
 Cubitt, Hon. Henry
 Currie, Sir Donald
 Curzon, Viscount
 Dalbiac, Colonel Philip Hugh
 Dalkeith, Earl of
 Dalrymple, Sir Charles
 Davies, Sir H. D. Chatham)
 Denny, Colonel
 Dickinson, Robert Edmond
 Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P.
 Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
 Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
 Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. Dixon
 Donkin, Richard Sim
 Dorington, Sir John Edward

Doughty, George
 Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
 Douglas-Pennant, Hon. E. S.
 Doxford, Sir Wm. Theodore
 Drage, Geoffrey
 Duncombe, Hon. Hubert V.
 Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir Wm. Hart
 Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
 Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
 Fardell, Sir T. George
 Fellows, Hon. Ailwyn Edw.
 Fergusson, Rt. Hon. Sir J. (Manch'r)
 Field, Admiral (Eastbourne)
 Finch, George H.
 Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
 Firbank, Joseph Thomas
 Fisher, William Hayes
 Fison, Frederick William
 Fitz Wygram, General Sir F.
 Flannery, Sir Fortescue
 Fletcher, Sir Henry
 Flower, Ernest
 Folkestone, Viscount
 Forster, Henry William
 Foster, Colonel (Lancaster)
 Foster, Harry S. (Suffolk)
 Fry, Lewis
 Galloway, William Johnson
 Garfit, William
 Gedge, Sydney
 Gibbons, J. Lloyd
 Gibbs, Hn. A. G. H. (City of Lon)
 Gibbs, Hon. Vicary (St. Albans)
 Giles, Charles Tyrrell
 Gilliat, John Saunders
 Godson, Sir Augustus Fredk.
 Goldsworthy, Major-General
 Gordon, Hon. J. Edward
 Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir J. Eldon
 Goschen, Rt. Hon. G. J. (St. Geo's)
 Goulding, Edward Alfred
 Graham, Henry Robert
 Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
 Green, W. D. (Wednesbury)
 Greene, Hy. D. (Shrewsbury)
 Gretton, John

Greville, Hon. Ronald
 Gull, Sir Cameron
 Gunter, Colonel
 Guthrie, Walter Murray
 Hall, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
 Halsey, Thomas Frederick
 Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord Geo.
 Hanbury, Rt. Hon. Robert Wm.
 Hanson, Sir Reginald
 Hardy, Laurence
 Hare, Thomas Leigh
 Haslett, Sir James Horner
 Heath, James
 Heaton, John Henniker
 Helder, Augustus
 Henderson, Alexander
 Hermon-Hodge, Robt. Trotter
 Hickman, Sir Alfred
 Hill, Rt. Hon. A. Staveley (Staffs.)
 Hill, Sir E. Stock (Bristol)
 Hoare, E. Brodie (Hampstead)
 Hoare, Sir Samuel (Norwich)
 Hobhouse, Henry
 Hornby, Sir William Henry
 Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
 Houston, R. P.
 Howard, Joseph
 Howell, William Tudor
 Howorth, Sir Henry Hoyle
 Hozier, Hon. J. Henry C.
 Hubbard, Hon. Evelyn
 Hudson, George Bickersteth
 Hughes, Colonel Edwin
 Hutchinson, Capt G. W. (Grice-
 Hutton, J. (Yorks., N.R.)
 Jackson, Rt. Hon. W. Lawies
 Jebb, Richard Claverhouse
 Jeffreys, Arthur Frederick
 Jenkins, Sir J. Jones
 Jessel, Capt. Herbert Merton
 Johnston, Wm. (Belfast)
 Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
 Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir J. H.
 Kenyon, James
 Kenyon-Slaney, Col. William
 Keswick, William
 Kimber, Henry
 Knowles, Lees
 Lafone, Alfred
 Laurie, Lieut. General
 Lawrence, Sir E. Durning (Corn
 Lawrence, W. F. (Liverpool)
 Lawson, J. Grant (Yorks.)
 Lea, Sir T. (Londonderry)
 Lecky, Rt. Hon. Wm. E. H.
 Lees, Sir E. (Birkenhead)
 Leigh-Bennett, H. Currie
 Leighton, Stanley
 Llewellyn, Sir Dillwyn (Swans.
 Llewellyn, Evan H. (Somerset)
 Lockwood, Lt.-Col. A. R.
 Loder, Gerald W. Erskine
 Long, Col. C. W. (Evesham)
 Long, Rt. Hon. W. (Liverpool)
 Lopes, H. Yarde Buller
 Lorne, Marquess of
 Lowe, Francis William
 Lowles, John
 Lowther, Rt. Hon. James (Kent)
 Lowther, Rt. Hon. J. W. (Cumb'land)
 Loyd, Archie Kirkman
 Lucas-Shadwell, William

Lytton, Hon. Alfred
 Macartney, W. G. Ellison
 Macdonald, John Cumming
 MacIver, David (Liverpool)
 Macleure, Sir J. William
 MacArthur, Charles (Liverpool)
 Macalmont, Col. J. (Antrim, E.)
 McIver, Sir L. (Edinburgh, W.)
 McKillop, James
 Malcolm, Ian
 Manners, Lord Edward W. J.
 Maple, Sir John Blundell
 Marks, Henry Hananel
 Martin, Richard Biddulph
 Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
 Maxwell, Rt. Hon. Sir H. E.
 Mellor, Col. (Lancashire)
 Melville, Beresford Valentine
 Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
 Middleton, J. Throgmorton
 Milbank, Sir Powlett C. J.
 Mildmay, Francis Bingham
 Milward, Colonel Victor
 Monckton, Edward Philip
 Monk, Charles James
 Montagu, Hon. J. S. (Hants.)
 Moon, Edw. Robert Pacy
 Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
 More, Rt. J. (Shropshire)
 Morgan, Hn. F. (Monmouthsh.)
 Morrell, George Herbert
 Morrison, Walter
 Morton, A. H. A. (Deptford)
 Mount, William George
 Munz, Philip A.
 Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
 Murray, Chas. J. (Coventry)
 Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
 Myers, William Henry
 Newdigate, Frns. Alexander
 Nicholson, William Graham
 Nicol, Donald Ninian
 O'Neill, Hon. R. Torrens
 Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
 Parkes, Ebenezer
 Pease, H. Pike (Darlington)
 Penn, John
 Phillpotts, Captain Arthur
 Pierpoint, Robert
 Pilkington, R. (Lanc. Newton)
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick
 Plunkett, Rt. Hon. H. Curzon
 Pollock, Harry Fredk.
 Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
 Pretymann, Ernest George
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edw.
 Purvis, Robert
 Pym, C. Guy
 Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
 Rankin, Sir James
 Rasch, Major Frederic Carne
 Renshaw, Charles Bine
 Rentoul, J. Alexander
 Richards, Henry Charles
 Richardson, Sir T. (Hartlep'l)
 Ridley, Rt. Hon. Sir Matthew W.
 Ritchie, Rt. Hon. C. Thomson
 Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
 Robinson, Brooke
 Rollet, Sir Albert Kaye
 Rothschild, Hon. Lionel Walter
 Round, James

Russell, Gen. F. S. (Cheltenham)
 Russell, T. W. (Tyrone)
 Rutherford, John
 Ryder, John Herbert Dudley
 Samuel, H. S. (Limehouse)
 Sandys, Lieut.-Col. T. Myles
 Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
 Saunderson, Rt. Hon. Col. E.
 Savory, Sir Joseph
 Scoble, Sir Andrew Richard
 Seely, Charles Hilton
 Seton-Karr, Henry
 Sharpe, Wm. Edward T.
 Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
 Shaw-Stewart, M. H. (Renfrew)
 Sidebotham, J. W. (Cheshire)
 Sidebottom, T. H. (Stalybr.)
 Sidebottom, Wm. (Derbysh.)
 Simeon, Sir Barrington
 Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
 Skewes-Cox, Thomas
 Smith, Abel H. (Christchurch)
 Smith, J. Parker (Lanarks.)
 Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
 Spencer, Ernest
 Stanley, Edw. J. (Somerset)
 Stanley, Sir Henry M. (Lambeth)
 Stephens, Henry Charles
 Stewart, Sir M. J. M. Taggart
 Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
 Stock, James Henry
 Stone, Sir Benjamin
 Strauss, Arthur
 Strutt, Hon. C. Hedley
 Sturt, Hon. Humphry Napier
 Sutherland, Sir Thomas
 Talbot, Rt. Hon. J. G. (Ox. Univ.)
 Thorburn, Sir Walter
 Thornton, Percy M.
 Tollemache, Henry James
 Tomlinson, Wm. E. Murray
 Tritton, Charles Ernest
 Ushorne, Thomas
 Verney, Hon. Richard Greville
 Vincent, Colonel Sir E. E. H.
 Wanklyn, James Leslie
 Ward, Hon. Robert A. (Crewe)
 Warr, Augustus Frederick
 Webster, Sir R. E. (I. of Wight)
 Welby, Lieut.-Col. A. C. E.
 Wentworth, Bruce C. Vernon
 Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
 Whiteley, H. (Ashton-under-L.)
 Whitmore, C. Algernon
 Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
 Williams, J. Powell (Birm.)
 Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
 Willox, Sir J. Archibald
 Wilson, John (Falkirk)
 Wilson, J. W. (Worcestersh. N.)
 Wilson-Todd, W. H. (Yorks.)
 Wodehouse, Rt. Hon. E. R. (Bath)
 Wortley, Rt. Hon. C. B. Stuart
 Wylie, Alexander
 Wyndham, George
 Wyndham-Quin, Major W. H.
 Wyvill, Marnaduke D'Arcy
 Yerrburgh, Robert Armstrong
 Young, Commander (Berks, E.)
 Younger, William
 TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
 Sir William Walrond and
 Mr. Anstruther.

Main Question again proposed. Debate arising.

Debate further adjourned till to-morrow.

Adjourned at twenty minutes after Twelve of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, 7th February, 1900.

PETITIONS.

GOVERNMENT PROPERTY (EXEMPTION FROM RATES).

Petitions for alteration of law, from Fulham; St. Giles-in-the-Fields and St. George, Bloomsbury; and Ratchiff; to lie upon the Table.

GROUND VALUES (TAXATION) (SCOTLAND).

Petition from New Monkland, for alteration of law; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL.

Petitions in favour, from Leeds; Kingsbridge; and Fulham (two); to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS TO CHILDREN BILL.

Petitions in favour, from Barrowford; Colne (three); Hull; and Yeovil; to lie upon the Table.

TOWN COUNCILS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Kirkcudbright, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

VIVISECTION.

Petition from Wandsworth, for prohibition; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TRADE REPORTS (MISCELLANEOUS SERIES).

Copy presented,—of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Miscellaneous Series, No. 521 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copy presented,—of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, No. 2378 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

VOL. LXXVIII. [FOURTH SERIES.]

UNITED STATES (No. 1, 1900).

Copy presented,—of Convention between Her Majesty and the United States of America, supplementary to the Convention of 19th April, 1850, relative to the establishment of a communication by Ship Canal between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Signed at Washington, 5th February, 1900 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

NEW BILL.

TRUSTEE SAVINGS BANKS BILL.

"To amend the Trustee Savings Banks Acts," presented and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Monday next, and to be printed. [Bill 69.]

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[SEVENTH DAY'S DEBATE.]

Order read for resuming Adjourned Debate on Main Question [30th January], "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, as followeth:—

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Captain Pretyman.*)

Question again proposed.

Debate resumed.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): Mr. Speaker, I do not rise for the purpose of endeavouring to renew discussion about topics which have been the subject of the debate for the last week. I have no intention of perpetuating the wearysome and shameful story of the inefficiency and insincerity of the diplomacy which has led this country into a war for an ostensible object which could easily have been obtained by a little patience and goodwill, and a little conciliation. Still less do I desire to enter into any criticism of the political and military blunders which have brought disaster on

2 H

Seventh Day

your arms since the commencement of the war. My object is entirely different. I desire as far as possible to leave the past alone. I may say, I have no particular sympathy with the recriminations which have passed between both the front benches as to the responsibility for this war. In my view both are responsible, though in different degrees, for its initiation, and both are equally responsible for its prosecution. My object is to explain and justify the feeling of Ireland upon this subject, and that will be evidenced by the votes of eighty Members of this House, who think and will act as one man. The sympathy of Ireland is with the two South African Republics. We abhor this war; we call for its stoppage, and we declare our intention to do all that in us lies to maintain the independence of these two little Republics, which was won by untold sacrifices, and defended by a heroism which is without a parallel in the history of the world. I know, of course, that putting this view forward in this assembly must be unpalatable to many Members on both sides, but every sober-minded man must agree with me, that if a large body of Members hold this view, it is well that the view should be expressed; and I trust the expression of opinion of eighty Members of this House, representing the majority of the people of Ireland, will be listened to, if not with respect, at any rate with patience. The sympathy of Ireland is with the Boers. Why is this? On what foundation is it based? What is the explanation of it? I propose to answer shortly those questions. We in Ireland have been accused of being indiscriminate in our sympathies and our views of this war; we are told we know nothing of the merits of the quarrel, and that our sympathies with the Boers have one real and only motive, which is antagonism to England; that we should be against England, right or wrong; and I have even heard it said that if it was Germany who was fighting, and England was defending the Boers, we should turn right round. And it was alleged that if England had gone to war, as she undoubtedly ought to have done, three years ago to avenge the massacre of the Armenian Christians, our sympathies would have been on the side of the Great Assassin. I want to be perfectly frank and candid. There is both truth and untruth in that charge. It is true that wherever the Empire is

involved in a difficulty or complication which diminishes its great strength, a feeling of hope and satisfaction stirs through the veins of men of the Irish race both at home and abroad. This is a fact which stares you in the face, and it is folly to conceal it. It is one of those facts which statesmen should study and observe and try to understand. It is not our fault that it is a fact, but yours. It is the fault of the history which you and your predecessors have made. You thought you had got rid of the Irish question when in 1895 you overwhelmed Home Rule by a majority of 150. You thought you had got rid of it in 1800 when you abolished the Irish Parliament, because, twenty years before, when you were engaged in your wicked American war, a war which particularly compares with the present war, you were confronted with this same phenomenon of the Irish seeking to take advantage of your difficulties and sympathising with your foe. Why was Ireland prone to these views then as it is now? It does not lie in the cussedness of the Irish, it is due to the simple fact that Ireland one hundred years ago felt she was treated with systematic injustice and deprived of her true rights. She had the same feeling before, and the same cause will at all times produce the same result in the history of nations. Some day, not perhaps far off, in that Ireland which you are about to create for yourselves in South Africa, you may find white people rejoicing in the Empire's difficulties and sending messages of sympathy to your foes. I would urge this country, before it is involved more deeply in this ill-fated war, to endeavour to learn something from the history of your own experience in Ireland and the American colonies, and from contrasting the history of other great portions of the Empire, and to beware of pursuing to the bitter end the chapter which, whatever way the military operations may go, whether you succeed in this war or not, can only be a story of misfortune and disgrace. I admit, in the frankest manner, that the feeling of the mass of the Irish people is hostile to the Empire. At this moment it would be hypocrisy for me to attempt to deny it, and it would be the utmost folly for you to attempt to minimise it. One of the greatest Englishmen of our time, John Henry Newman, in speaking of Irish discontent, drew a picture which explains to some extent

this feeling that I have spoken of and admitted. He describes the feelings of an Englishman travelling in Ireland. He says—

“He finds that the wrongs which England has inflicted are faithfully remembered, her name and fellowship are abominated, the news of her prosperity heard with disgust, the anticipation of her possible reverses nursed and cherished as the best of consolations. The success of France or Russia over her armies, of Yankee or Hindoo, is fervently desired as the first instalment of a debt accumulated through seven centuries, and that even though those armies are in so large a proportion recruited from the Irish soil. If he ventures to ask for prayers for England he receives one answer, a prayer that she may receive her due. It is as if the air rang with the old Jewish words, ‘Oh, daughter of Babylon, blessed shall he be who shall repay thee as thou hast paid to us.’”

I admit, therefore, the sympathy of Ireland with the Boers in this matter is, to a certain extent, due to the feeling which I have described. But having said so much I entirely deny that the attitude of the Irish people towards this war is governed wholly or even mainly by that sentiment. Irishmen are just as capable as anyone else of judging the policy and the merits of the conflicts in which this Empire chooses to embroil itself, more especially when, as in the present instance, an impoverished and over-taxed country is called upon to pay so heavy a proportion of the cost, and when so many thousands of Irish families, rich and poor alike, are called upon to pour forth the still more precious treasure of their children's blood. Do not imagine that this war does not come home to us in Ireland. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that there is scarcely a family in Ireland, from the poor people who live in Dublin slums to the highest in the land, that is not represented, in one shape or other, upon one side or other at the front. This is more the case with regard to Ireland than it is here, because in proportion to the population a larger number of our people take to soldiering for the mere love of the calling than with you, and when they do get to the front a far larger proportion of them are thrust into dangerous posts. I candidly admit that in one sense I cannot but rejoice that so many Irishmen are fighting in this cause. I recognise the duties and obligations of the soldier's calling—“His not to reason why; his but to do or die”—and recognising that, I, as an Irishman, cannot help feeling a thrill of

pride at the record of the heroism of the Irish lads from Mayo and Roscommon, who have suffered so terribly in this war. I could not help noticing that, while those brave and devoted press correspondents who have sent accounts of the operations to this country have paid generous tributes to the gallantry of these Irish regiments, in the official reports from General Buller and other officers in command no such mention has been made. I saw a calculation made the other day in a newspaper as to the number of men killed and wounded of various nationalities, and it was shown that since the war commenced there were 120 Irishmen killed or wounded to 56 Englishmen, and when it is remembered that these Irishmen are, as I have said, boys from Roscommon and Galway and other Irish counties, Catholics in creed, Nationalists every man of them practically in their sentiments, I can understand the impatience, almost the disgust, with which the taunt of the hon. and gallant Member the other night was heard by this House.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.): I never made any such taunt.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: I will not enter into any conflict with the hon. Gentleman. What he said is in the recollection of the House. It is not only that Irishmen are entitled to judge of this war, and the merits and policy of this enterprise, but as a rule their judgment is more likely to be sound than yours. For one thing, Irishmen are not subject to those passions of Imperial greed and pride and arrogance which habitually obscure the judgment of large classes of Englishmen on these occasions. They are not as materialistic in their aims, and they have, moreover—and it has often been accounted one of their weaknesses that they have—what is called a sympathetic temperament. They have a faculty for understanding other races, and so long as it is true that no Imperial policy can be wise or sound which is not morally right, so long I maintain that these instincts are more likely to lead the nation to a sound conclusion than, say, the instincts of the average modern jingo in this country. By this means the Irish people, by a perfectly natural and, as I think, unerring process, have come to entertain a genuine abhorrence of this war, and a genuine admiration for the little heroic

Republics that are facing and thwarting your effort to destroy their independence. I assert emphatically that the sympathies of the Irish people would be in precisely the same direction if England were not concerned in the matter at all. Our sympathies would be on the side of the independence of these Republics, no matter what was the Power that was attempting to act as the bully and the oppressor in South Africa. If you look back over your own history you will see that in every war of this kind in which the Empire has been engaged the sympathies of Irishmen have always gone in the right direction, and not their sympathies only but their counsel and advice, and their counsel and advice have invariably been disregarded and rejected. Go back for a moment to the conflict which lost you America, and the memory of which is the real reason why to-day you cannot win the friendship and alliance of the United States. Go back to the history of that war. Who led the Opposition; who inspired, who planned, who worked through steadfast years in opposition to that luckless war? An Irishman, and in doing so he poured forth a wealth of political wisdom which has been the nourishment of your wiser statesmen ever since, and which if it could be only understood and acted upon by your statesmen of to-day would induce you even now to retrace your steps, and by an early peace to retrieve to some extent what I believe is the worst mistake of your Imperialism. Yes, Burke and Sheridan and Grattan and the mighty Irishmen of that day took precisely the same stand in that eventful controversy that we their humbler countrymen take to-day upon the question of this war. They had to face the self-same abuse, the same unstinted criticism that we have to do. But who in the world of politics dares to say now that they were not absolutely in the right? No; the organised and obstinate pride of the rulers of that day would not accept advice from the treacherous Irish Members, and America was lost. In crises like this your best advisers have always been Irish statesmen and Irish soldiers. But you have always distrusted their advice, whether in the case of the present war or in other struggles. Had you taken the advice and heeded the warning of one who was your representative in South Africa until recently—I

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mean General Butler (who was described as labouring under the disadvantage of being an Irishman and a Catholic), had you hearkened to his advice, instead of the advice of Sir Alfred Milner, you would not be the spectacle of humiliation before the civilised world which you now are. I say, therefore, that we arrive by quite a natural process at our sympathies with these Republics. How could it be otherwise? We would be stocks or stones if our admiration were not aroused by one of the finest spectacles that the world has witnessed since Thermopylæ—the resistance of these two little Republics to the most powerful Empire of modern times. I think I am speaking the sentiments of all generous-minded men in this House—no matter what view they take of the war—when I say that we admire the pluck and heroism of the old grey-bearded Boer side by side with the dauntless courage of the Boer of sixteen in the stand they have already made against this mighty Empire in defence of what they believe to be right. Do they surrender their independence without a struggle? Do the Free Staters, thinking only of their crops, abandon their brothers in the Transvaal? Had they done so we should all, without distinction of creed or party, have heartily despised them; and it seems to me that but for this bloody struggle the world would have been robbed of one of its most stirring episodes. I think the world at large owes a deep debt to these two little Republics for showing, in this degraded age, that there are other things to fight for than gold, and for which they are prepared to lay down their lives. Sir, the cant we have heard that this war was set on foot to remove the grievances of the Uitlanders, to obtain for them the five years franchise, no longer deceives anyone. If that had been the object of this country, it could have easily been obtained without war, as the question was on the eve of settlement on the 19th August, when the five years franchise was offered. And it is clear from the course of the diplomacy and the discussions in this House that the responsibility for the breaking off of negotiations rests with this country. However, that is not worth while arguing now, because after the speech of the Colonial Secretary the other day no man will deny that this war between Boer and Briton is to establish the supremacy of the British

in the two Republics, and if that be so I for one pray God that the effort will be frustrated. Sir, these may sound strong words, but do you remember the words uttered by one of the greatest of your Parliamentary figures, one of the greatest of your orators, and one of the greatest of Imperialists? I refer to Lord Chatham when, speaking of the American war, he said—

“The Americans struggling for their rights I love and admire. It is the struggle of free and virtuous patriots. The time demands the language of truth. In a just and necessary war, to maintain the rights and honour of my country, I would strip the shirt from my back to support it. But in such a war as this, unjust in its principle, impracticable in its means and ruinous in its consequences, I would not contribute a single effort or a single shilling. I am glad the Americans have resisted. Resistance was as necessary as it was just.”

Let me then add as to this attitude of Ireland that it is not governed either slightly or mainly by hostility to England, but is based on the merits of the struggle. It is not Ireland alone which takes this view. It is England that stands to-day in isolation, in splendid, may be, but disgraceful isolation; for all the nations on the earth, as far as one can make out, share our antipathy to the war. The solitary exception whose sympathy you win is Turkey. [Interruption.] Does anyone doubt that? [“Yes.”] I am judging by your own newspapers. The other day in the *Standard* newspaper there were published extracts from articles from all the leading papers from all the capitals of the world—from Vienna, Berlin, Brussels, St. Petersburg, Madrid, Paris—and, not least, from America. Every one of these expressions was hostile to you and was exactly the same as the expressions which we make to-day on behalf of Ireland. Let me take the case of America. I myself have recently been in the United States, and I there had the pleasure of meeting, not merely prominent Irish-Americans, but many leading statesmen of purely American extraction, and while I admit that public official expressions of hostility to you are not heard, chiefly because America, being embroiled in the Philippine war, does not feel herself in a position to rebuke you, as she otherwise would—still the overwhelming opinion of the leading statesmen of America and of the mass of the people is hostile to you.

In the issue of the *Standard* to which I have referred there were extracts from the *New York Herald*, which, like *The Times* in this country, generally throws in its lot with the strongest side, but which may be taken very fairly to express the dominant view for the moment. The *New York Herald* in the article to which I am alluding declared that the overwhelming mass of opinion was against England in this war, and the *New York Sun*, which was the most pro-British organ in America, addresses a remonstrance and expresses its fear lest the experience of Lord North in America should be repeated in South Africa, and asks whether the animosity of the Afrikanders would be lessened by years of war, even though they result in victory through the slaughter of all their kinsmen, whose children would simply inherit an implacable blood feud. That is the view expressed in what has been of recent years the most pro-British paper in the United States. They think it is an unjust war, and they desire to induce you to bring it to a speedy termination in accordance with the views that I am expressing here. I do not want to use a rather hackneyed illustration, but it is worth repeating. The universal opinion of the civilised world being against France in the Dreyfus business was quoted by all the organs of public opinion in this country as conclusive proof in itself that France was wrong. I ask now does this universal opinion of Christendom against you to-day count for anything, and is this war to be allowed to go on until the Union Jack waves over Pretoria or until tens of thousands of brave men have been slaughtered, and perhaps hundreds of millions of treasure have been expended, and all in an enterprise which cannot bring you credit or glory, but which must undoubtedly end in the establishment of a state of eternal enmity between the white races in South Africa? Let me ask, if this war is persisted in to the bitter end, what will be the result? I do not mean will you get to Pretoria. I take that for granted. As we were reminded some time ago, eleven armed men are more than a match for one man in his shirt. I conclude that if you continue to pour in troops the end is inevitable. But that is not the result I am speaking of. What will the future of South Africa be? The Boers have added a new page to the

annals of political and military heroism. Do you think you can blot out that page, that you can trample upon it and that it will be forgotten? Do you think with such a page behind them you can wipe out Boer nationality? I say the only chance of retrieving the mistake is this. You may devastate these two Republics; you may exterminate the entire male population. If so, what then? Well, I say let a woman answer. This woman is the sister of the Prime Minister of Cape Colony. I think I heard some one smile at that. Why is he Prime Minister of Cape Colony? Why, because he has at his back the support of the majority of the white races in South Africa. This lady says—

"You may see all of the fighting men in arms slain. But what of the women? If there were left but 5,000 pregnant South African-born women and all the rest of their people destroyed, those women would breed up again a race like the first. Grandchildren and great grandchildren of the men who lie under the stones, who are not English or Dutch, but only African, will say as they pass those heaps, 'There lie our grandfathers or great-grandfathers who died in the great war of independence.'"

With these facts staring you in the face, how can any man look with confidence to the future of South Africa? It may be asked what can be done now. I said at the commencement of my remarks that I would not go back as far, at any rate, as the past is concerned. The situation now is that you are at war. Even if you wrongly went to war, hon. members say you must go on. [AN HON. MEMBER: Hear, hear!] Ah! "hear, hear" says a feeble voice. I do not think that even the Colonial Secretary would cheer that sentiment. This war in my view, and in the view of those for whom I speak, was an unjust war in its inception. We say that the only course for you is to recognise that at once, and, before further slaughter takes place in South Africa and before the future of South Africa is further imperilled, to retrace your steps and allow these Republics to maintain their independence. We call, therefore, for the stoppage of this war. We ask that the independence of these gallant Republics shall be guaranteed and maintained. In the words of the hon. and learned Member for Plymouth, we ask for some settlement honourable to that brave people whose conduct

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in this war has vindicated for them the right to maintain their independence. Yes, Sir; those are brave and courageous words, and it is a singular coincidence that they are almost identical with words used in this House with regard to the Boer War in 1881 by the late Mr. Parnell. In 1881 Mr. Parnell gave notice of the following motion—

"To call attention to the Transvaal War, and to move that in the opinion of this House the Boers by their gallant resistance have earned the right to their independence."

To-day, after eighteen years, we make the same declaration, the only change in the situation being that the gallantry of the Boers in those days has been completely eclipsed by the gallantry of the Boers of to-day. In conclusion I cannot do better than say that we desire to put this case before the House with moderation, but with clearness. We do not desire to be guilty of the hypocrisy of pretending that we are solely moved by the merits. While admitting frankly that in these cases we are prejudiced to a certain extent by an antecedent hostility, at the same time in most cases in the past we have been right, and in this case we have been undoubtedly influenced by the merits of the controversy. We ask you in time to reconsider your position. We believe that you can do it without injury to yourselves, certainly with far less injury than must come to you if you persist in going on to the end of the chapter and imperilling the future of the white races in South Africa. We at any rate make our position perfectly clear. We are not influenced one whit by the odium that may come upon us because of our action. We know that we are a small minority in this House—possibly some people say a contemptible minority. We look back on the past, and we know that when Chatham and Burke were right in denouncing the American War they were in contemptible minorities, and were the objects of odium and misrepresentation. We know that when in the Crimean War John Bright attempted to stem the flood of war passion he was in a contemptible minority, and was a mark for odium and taunts. And we care still less for the threats of injury to the cause of Home Rule. We know that we are right, and are profoundly convinced that Ireland our country has nothing to lose, but has everything to gain, by raising her voice

on the side of justice and liberty. I therefore beg to move the Amendment standing in my name.

MR. POWER (Waterford, E.): I have been asked to second this Amendment, and I do so with pleasure, only regretting that I had not longer notice. It has often been said that Irish Members have one voice when addressing audiences in Ireland and another when addressing the House of Commons. I do not think that that could ever be said, but certainly on this occasion it could not with any degree of truth. Before this war was entered upon Mr. Davitt and others protested in the name of Ireland against the policy of the Government, and here to-day, speaking for the vast majority of the people of Ireland, my hon. friend who has just sat down has expressed in terms unmistakable the feeling of Irish people on this question. The pity of the thing is that all must recognise that this war was distinctly preventible. It is within the recollection of this House that when an angry debate was proceeding during the autumn session of last year, and when passions on both sides were considerably inflamed, an hon. and gallant Gentleman on the other side of the House rose and deprecated the tone in which the debate had been conducted, and paid a high tribute to the gallantry and bravery of the foes with whom you are fighting.* Those few words from the hon. and gallant Member changed the whole tone of the debate, and a debate which would probably have been prolonged for another day was brought to a conclusion. I think we often find that the braver a man is the more considerate he is for the feelings of his opponent. My hon. friend has spoken of Ireland's voice on this question. Looking at it from a financial point of view, of course we have to pay the piper for this most iniquitous war, and very much more than our proper share. But I hope and believe that if we were a self-governing country to-day the voice of the Nationalists of Ireland would be raised for the weak against the strong in protest against this most unjustifiable conflict. I may be told that we do not speak for the majority of our people in this matter, and that the blood of Irishmen which has been so

freely spilt is proof that they sympathise with this war. We are a martial race, and a military life will always have its attractions for the Irish, but at the same time—and anyone who doubts the truth of what I say, if he takes the trouble of inquiring among the masses of the Irish people, will find that it is correct—in those families where the twos and the threes of young men have laid down their lives for your cause—because we all recognise that when a man is in a post of danger he must do his duty—but even under those conditions you will find that the prayers of the people of these very families are offered almost nightly for the success of the Boer arms. I must say that I have not feelings of satisfaction with regard to the way in which Irish blood has been spilt in this war and in many other wars. I think our most bitter enemy must acknowledge, if he studies the history of this country, that Irish brains, Irish arms, and Irish blood have done their part in building up, extending, and maintaining your kingdom. And when I look at the sacrifices which Irishmen have made on your behalf I ask what has been done for us to justify them? We have been far too prodigal with our blood in your causes. Our country is a byword, and as for poverty, is not the present reign the most hideous, from an Irish point of view, since the time of Elizabeth? The First Lord of the Treasury, I believe, in one of his much criticised Manchester speeches, made mocking allusions to the “union of hearts” between England and Ireland, and certainly the Irish Secretary spoke in that vein at Leeds; they say that events have proved the insincerity of that “union of hearts.” On that subject I may be allowed to say that the Irish people have approached the English on this matter in a spirit of friendliness and, to some extent, of honourable compromise, but we must recollect that if there was any breakage of the contract entered into it was a breakage by the English people, who on two different occasions rejected the treaty proposed by Mr. Parnell and also proposed by Mr. Gladstone in 1886 and 1895. Upon occasions when treaties have been entered into between England and Ireland, Ireland has not been the country to break them. I will not enter at any length into the merits of the case, because it has been so ably and amply stated by my hon friend the Member for the City of

* See *The Parliamentary Debates*, Fourth Series, Vol. lxxvii, p. 475. (Speech of Col. Kenyon-Slaney, 20th October, 1899.)

Waterford. The fact that you have Irish regiments fighting under your colours wherever fighting is to be done does not disprove the statement that the vast majority of the Irish people disapprove of this war. We should be unworthy of the sacrifices made for our cause if we did not detest this war, and as a protest against it we shall have the satisfaction of, at any rate, recording on the part of those who sent us here the fact that Ireland hates and detests this war and wishes for the success of a people who, by their conduct, have merited the right of free men.

Amendment proposed—

"[At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'But we humbly represent to Your Majesty that the time has come when the war at present being waged in South Africa should be brought to a close, on the basis of recognising the independence of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.'"] — (*Mr. John Redmond.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. J. H. M. CAMPBELL (Dublin, St. Stephen's Green): I have not either the intention or the desire to question in the slightest degree the sincerity of the motives or the convictions of hon. Members opposite who have already, or may later on, take part in this debate. It would be impossible to deny that the sentiment of this Amendment and the language of the speeches just delivered is calculated to fill hon. Members' from Ireland who sit on this side of the House with an acute sense of despair and indignation. I say despair, because I believe the proceedings in this House of to-day are fraught with injury and disaster to the best interests of our country. Not merely are they calculated to deter the inflow of English capital and English commerce into our country, but they are certainly calculated to widen the breach which already exists between hon. Members opposite and hon. Members from Ireland who sit on this side of the House. Even at the present day there is much in the financial and commercial policy of Great Britain that is beneficial to the best interests of Ireland, and a hope had sprung up in recent years that it would be possible by the united efforts of Irishmen sitting on both sides of this

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House to obtain some redress for recognised grievances. The Unionist Members from Ireland claim to be as sincere patriots as any of the hon. Members opposite.

AN IRISH MEMBER: You show it by your votes here.

MR. J. H. M. CAMPBELL: Our interests for the present and our future and all that belongs to us are all centred in this country. Such actions as these are calculated to postpone indefinitely, if not to destroy all hope or prospect of ever securing an amicable settlement of our differences. We also have a very strong feeling of indignation that such speeches as these are a slander on our country in the face of the civilised world, for they present a scene of disloyalty and disaffection which is opposed to the best interests of the Empire. At the present moment, and for some months past, Irish valour and Irish bravery has been conspicuous in the forefront of this war. It has not been merely the rank and file of the soldiers, but it has been the bravery of General White, of General French, and last, but not least, the fact that Lord Roberts, with the weight of years and the weight of domestic affliction upon him, responded nobly to his country's call and placed his services at the disposal of Her Majesty. As we read of the efforts of our Irish soldiers, we find that no blood flows more freely, and that none is more dearly avenged in this war than that of our fellow-countrymen. I say it is a slander upon their manhood and their courage that our country should be exhibited as a hotbed of disloyalty and disaffection. It was suggested in the speech of the hon. Member for the City of Waterford that Irishmen were not receiving their proper recognition for their services in this campaign. I do not know whether within the last few days the attention of the hon. Member was called to a Gazette in which the names of four persons were honourably gazetted for the Victoria Cross for distinguished bravery in the field, and two of these were Irishmen. But it is not merely in the front and at the front that Irishmen have vindicated their loyalty and devotion to Queen and country. Even at home we find, if you judge it by any standard capable of recognition, that the assumption of hon. Members opposite that they

represent the feelings of the majority of the Irish race is contradicted. Test it by the subscriptions to the various funds for the relief of the suffering and the wounded; test it by the number of those who have volunteered for service at the front, and by the number of those who are being recruited. What has Ireland done in the interests of the Boers? I know that a subscription list was started for the assistance of the people of the Transvaal. I have in my hands a record of the magnificent total which has been obtained after six months efforts, and it amounts to £300. That, so far as I can make out, is the only active sign on the part of any Irishmen of sympathy with the Boers in this war. Perhaps I can best dispose, once and for all, of the pretence that hon. Members opposite are entitled to speak for the majority of the Irish people, by reading an article from an Irish newspaper. The authority, I think, will not be challenged from the other side, for it is an article in the *United Irishman* of the present week, which is the recognised organ of the physical force party in Ireland, and I will read from this article a description of how the Irish people look upon this war. It says—

“The Irish people are satisfied with the present system of Irish government, as their deeds testify. A community works for its government and shows its satisfaction with it by supplying it freely with men and money. Ireland supplies these quite as willingly as England, or more so. And so long as Ireland supplies men and money of her free will she is *prima facie* contented with her Government and her complaints are merely the popular grumbling—a little exaggerated, being Irish—and a little more of it because we have more leisure time, that is all. The Irishman's patriotism is not strong enough to keep him from entering the army of his conqueror. In both of these vital matters, therefore, those of taxes and of physical forces, the practice of the Irish people gives the lie to their professions. The latter cannot be taken seriously, and they are no so taken by any Englishman or foreigner who knows the facts. Deeds are the true test of sincerity. The North Cork Militia are loyal because they work for England; the Irish people are also loyal because they work for England. In both cases deeds are the proof, not words.”

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): Is that an argument for Home Rule?

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): I have no desire to interrupt the hon. Member, but as he has quoted an extract

from that paper, I should like to ask him whether in that very same paper, and every issue of it that has been printed, there is not an article containing a strong denunciation of the enlistment of Irishmen in the British Army, and an appeal to Irishmen not to enlist at all?

MR. J. H. M. CAMPBELL: I am quite prepared to admit that the fact is as stated by the hon. Member, but it is a strong corroboration of the argument which I am endeavouring to advance, that a paper which on the admission of the hon. Member has been for months struggling to prevent Ireland aiding and assisting England in this war should have to admit that in the end the English people will judge Ireland not by words but by deeds, and that if that test were applied to the deeds of Ireland, beyond all question Ireland is in favour of this war. It has been suggested by the hon. and learned Member for Waterford that the unity of the Irish Members opposite on this question is a convincing proof that Ireland is opposed to the war. “Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.” Judging by appearances, however, one would hardly imagine that the Irish Members are enjoying that goodness and pleasure to the extent they would wish, but it may be internal and not external gratification. Be that as it may, is it true that this war has been the cause of unity? Has it not rather been the occasion? Let me quote from a source which I think will be recognised and admitted as an authority on this matter. I refer to the *Evening Herald*, a well-known Nationalist newspaper published in Dublin. To what does it attribute this sudden outburst of unity? Is it to feeling on the Transvaal War? Here is its explanation—

“Unity has become necessary because funds have only empty boxes, because American support has become estranged, and at home subscriptions for any purpose have died a sudden death. This state of affairs could not continue.”

But what is the real cause of the present demonstration—if I may so describe it without meaning any offence—of disloyalty and disaffection on the part of hon. Gentlemen opposite? It is to be

found in the simple fact that at the present moment in Irish Nationalist politics the party of physical force is, for the time being, in the ascendant. It is true of every Nationalist movement in Ireland for all time that there is behind it and in control of it this party of physical force—a party which though in a minority among Nationalists is yet irresponsible, unscrupulous, and dangerous, and has been able at all times to suggest the tune though hon. Gentlemen opposite may perform the dance, and I think that the best illustration of this is to be found in the fact that it is the increasing strength and power of the United Irish League—

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is quite at liberty to discuss the attitude of the Irish party—if I may call it so—towards this war, but he is not entitled on this Amendment to discuss the attitude taken up generally by them in Parliament.

MR. J. H. M. CAMPBELL: Knowing all this, I wonder why hon. Gentlemen opposite attempt to disguise the truth by the suggestion that this present movement arose out of sympathy with the Boers. "England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity," and whether we are at war with savage or barbarian enemies, or with brave and valiant foes like the inhabitants of the Transvaal, it is not to love for our enemies, but to that implacable hostility to the English race and the English Constitution that has always dominated a section of the Irish people that is to be attributed the disloyal demonstration of to-day. I have heard it said by hon. Gentlemen opposite that it is idle to talk about the grievances of the Uitlanders, that Irishmen at home are subject to greater grievances than ever the Uitlanders were victims of. I can hardly believe that that is seriously meant. Does any Irishman who comes to this country and makes his home in England fail to enjoy to the fullest extent every right and privilege the ordinary English citizen possesses? I would test this statement by taking two illustrations, which I consider are two of the greatest possessions which free men can hope to enjoy—I refer to freedom of speech and the liberty of the press. With regard to freedom of speech, I would like to ask

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hon. Gentlemen opposite what would be the fate of the unfortunate Uitlander who at a meeting of his countrymen in Johannesburg advised them if they were compelled to take service with the Boers to turn their weapons upon their own officers. Yet in this distressed and tyrannised country of Ireland the hon. Member for Kilkenny has been allowed to do that without objection or remonstrance. If a Uitlander did that in Johannesburg, he would receive a fate which, on account of the amiable and active personality of the hon. Member for Kilkenny, I would very much regret to see carried out in his case. Then with regard to the freedom of the press, the *Evening Herald* of Dublin, on November 18th, published the following—

"Fallen.—We publish great news to-day. Ladysmith is reported to have fallen into the hands of the Boers. Ladysmith has fallen. If it is proved to be true and that the Irish Brigade contributed to so dire a British reverse, the hearts of Irishmen the wide world over will thrill with a keen delight they have not experienced in our time before. 'God send it is true' will be the fervent prayer in many an Irish home—stead to-day."

A country or a constitution that tolerates such language in the press at a time when that country is at war with the country of which it is written can hardly be open to the charge that the fullest liberty of the press is not allowed. With regard to the grievances of the Uitlanders and the extent to which they have brought about this just and righteous war, I do not at this stage propose to enlarge on them. There can be no doubt that the Uitlanders by their efforts and their energy succeeded in realising the enormous mineral resources of the Transvaal, which the Boers were either too indolent or too indifferent to realise, and that as a result of their industry they were compelled to pay these exactions which the Boers have spent in building strong fortifications, in the accumulation of immense military stores, and in perfecting their splendid military equipment, which have enabled them to carry on this war with such success, while at home the English nation had been lulled into apathy by hair-splitting diplomacy about the franchise. It was not until the Jameson raid that the English people for the first time became really awake to a few of the indignities and outrages that their fellow-countrymen were suffering at the hands of the Boers, and, speaking for myself, I

can only say that, while there were many bad features in that raid, the worst was its failure, and the best was that it awoke the English nation to a sense of these indignities, while it encouraged President Kruger to throw off the mask and put forward the insolent pretence that the Transvaal was a sovereign State, and had a constitutional right to ill-treat the subjects of the Queen. The British Empire has always been believed to be able and willing to assist its subjects in any part of the world, and it is that feeling which is not only the cause but the justification of this war, and which has swept aside all these squabbles in reference to suzerainty and all differences of party and politics in this country, and has enabled the British Empire to present a united front to the foe. Many hard things have been said of the Government in the course of these debates, and more especially of the Colonial Secretary. All I can say is, speaking on behalf of hon. Members from Ireland who sit on this side of the House, that we are never likely to forget what we owe to that statesman for his splendid efforts in the cause of the integrity of the Empire, and I do not think the nation is likely to forget what they owe to him also.

*MR. SPEAKER: If the hon. Member reads the terms of the Amendment now under discussion he will observe that it states "that the time has come when the war at present being waged in South Africa should be brought to a close." I quite understand it is impossible to deal with the question without expressing an opinion as to the justice or injustice of the war, but the hon. Member is now going into the discussion of matters dealt with on the last Amendment, namely, the policy of the Government leading up to the war, and that is not in order.

MR. J. H. M. CAMPBELL: Just a word or two as to the latter portion of this Amendment. I confess that I listened with considerable amazement and curiosity to the speech just delivered, having regard to the contribution which it contained for the solution of the present difficulties between England and the Transvaal. Because, so far as I understood the purport and tenor of the observations of the hon. Members who proposed and seconded this Amendment, the solution of the difficulties that recom-

mends itself to them is that, after our colonies have been invaded by the Boers, this Empire is to content itself with getting rid of the invader, and to retire on the laurels of a disgraceful and humiliating peace. I do not think that is a policy to recommend itself to the English nation. It seems to me very much as if, having found a burglar in possession of your house and of your goods, which he had ransacked from your house, you were asked to be content with politely showing him to the door. I believe that the English nation will require that this war should be pursued to the proper and vigorous vindication of the nation's honour, which requires that these attempts at invasion shall be impossible in the future, and that our fellow-subjects in South Africa may rest assured for all future time that they and their possessions shall be free from depredation. I do not expect or imagine that what I have said will have much effect upon hon. Members opposite. They are entitled, of course, to the fullest credit for honesty and sincerity of conviction and purpose, but on the other hand, I think it is of some importance that this country should know what is the real extent and anticipated effect of this demonstration of disloyalty and disaffection. It is well the country should see that this cloud, by which they have attempted to obscure the picture of patriotism and loyalty presented by the Empire generally, must be dwarfed to its proper dimensions, and that they should know that the discordant note which has come from hon. Members opposite can have little effect upon the harmonious chorus of loyalty and patriotism which has been re-echoed to the furthestmost corners of the world in which are gathered the subjects of the Queen.

*DR. CLARK (Caithness-shire): So far as I could see any argument pertinent to the Amendment in the speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman who has just sat down, it seems to be this—that we must not pass this Amendment, that we must not have a peace upon the basis of the independence of the Boer Republics, because British subjects want to win the same electoral rights in these States as Irishmen get when they come from Ireland to England, because there will not be the same freedom of speech in the Transvaal as here; further, because they

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would not have the same liberty and licence of journalism in these countries as in this. Well, these arguments only show the confusion of thought of which we have seen a great deal on these benches during the last fortnight. Some Hon. Members appear to think that we are engaged in a just and holy war in behalf of the Uitlanders; but hon. Members who have listened to the speech of the right hon. the Colonial Secretary, which brushed aside all that, and said that the franchise had nothing to do with this war. The Colonial Secretary is right, the franchise has nothing to do with the war. You cannot object to the franchise in the Free State. The problem involved is much more serious than the franchise, and the hon. Gentleman, like many others, is utterly ignorant of all the fundamental facts underlying this question. Does the hon. Gentleman know that if a Boer from the Orange Free State or the Transvaal came to this country he would require to remain five years the same as a Frenchman or a German, then petition the Home Secretary, who might or might not give him naturalisation? The Boer position in this country is entirely different from that of the Irishman. Why does the able and learned Gentleman come before the House of Commons to offer us an argument of that kind? There is equal freedom of speech in the Transvaal, as we have here. The same law obtains in Johannesburg as in London. The British can meet anywhere in a public hall, or a private assembly, but not in the streets. In London you cannot have a meeting in the streets unless you get the consent of the authorities.

THE SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. T. W. RUSSELL, Tyrone, S.) dissented.

*DR. CLARK: Does my hon. friend say I am wrong?

MR. T. W. RUSSELL was understood to say that the limitation of public meeting in London only applied to Trafalgar Square.

*DR. CLARK: My hon. friend is wrong there. There are regulations. What took place in Manchester? What was Mr. Brocklebank sent to prison for? You lay down here rules for public meetings in the streets; the Boers do the

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same. I have had some experience of freedom of speech in London. I went to a meeting in Trafalgar Square where there were 30,000 people present, who allowed me free speech by howling, and throwing stones and knives. I went to Birmingham, where there was a great crowd of people, and I talked to the reporters for half an hour, because they only could hear me. Half a dozen meetings were being carried on in the hall at the same time. Why, there is no freedom of speech here at present; you cannot get a hearing. There is no freedom of speech scarcely in this House, as I knew to my cost last session. The last time I spoke an hon. Baronet told me that my speech was paid for. As to freedom of the press, there is no country in the world, not even excepting France, where you had, as in the Transvaal, treason written daily in all the papers. I support the Amendment because I think it is the wisest and best solution of the Boer problem. This Boer problem is a serious one for the British Empire. It may be solved on lines that will strengthen and consolidate the Empire, or on lines that will weaken it, and the settlement will test the ability and wisdom not only of our statesmen but also of our people. I will tell you what the Boer problem is. You have not got a dying race in South Africa, but a very virile race. When in 1814 we got possession of South Africa by purchase, we found 30,000 unwilling Dutch subjects, who objected to our buying them without their consent. These 30,000 have grown until they are 500,000. They are the most virile race in the world. They attain maturity, legal and physical, at sixteen; they marry early, and no race on the globe has developed so quickly. Again, in other countries the aboriginal blacks have disappeared before the white man; but in South Africa the Kaffir race has increased in almost as great a ratio as the Boers. This is therefore a virile people with whom you are dealing. They are now in a majority in the two Republics, and in one of the colonies. In Natal only have you men of British race in the majority. If you refuse the solution suggested by the Amendment, I take it that the only other solution is that you are going to destroy the independence of these two Republics—to destroy for the first time in a hundred years two Christian States. Well, I shall drop Christianity, as we are

told there is a good deal of cant in that phrase—but two civilised States. Poland was destroyed, but the descendants of those responsible for its destruction rather feel inclined to wish that their forefathers had not done so. Is it likely that men of British birth will ever outnumber the Boers in South Africa, and so from that standpoint solve the problem? We have a certain number of men who every year leave this to go to foreign countries.

We have three great continents competing with each other for our surplus population, the first and most important section of which has only got its manual labour to dispose of. America wants them, Australia wants them, but does South Africa want them? I must put a qualification on America wanting them, because black labour obtains in the Southern States. Now, all manual labour in South Africa is done by black men. The standard of comfort is such that no white men will go to South Africa to engage in manual labour, although of course you have there skilled artisans like blacksmiths, joiners, etc., who get 20s. to 30s. a day as wages. Next to the gold fields the most important industry in South Africa is agriculture, in which there are very few British born people engaged; but 95 per cent. of those engaged in that industry in the Cape and in the two Republics are Afrikanders. Both as regards agriculture and manual labour Australia and America offer greater advantages than South Africa.

We have, of course, got the diamond mines and gold fields there, but will the development of these enterprises draw more men to South Africa? The oldest industry is the diamond industry, and twenty years ago the population there was twice as great as it is now. Kimberley was then a thriving town with 200 companies, and I do not know how many private claims. Now you have but one company and a few white men to overlook the natives, who are kept in the compounds, where they have to buy everything they want of the company, and where the only things they can do are to drink and gamble. What is taking place in Johannesburg? Nine-tenths of the mines are in the hands of four firms—Rhodes and Co., Wernher, Beit, and Co., J. B. Robinson, and Barnato Brothers—and within six months of the settlement of the present dispute you will probably have them all consolidated into one, and

things will go on at Johannesburg as they have done at Kimberley. There is consequently no evidence that a sufficient number of men of British birth will be drawn to South Africa to swamp the Boer population, and thus pave the way for a practical and permanent solution of the existing difficult problem by getting rid of the two Republics and establishing one great British colony, either federated or in its present form. Hon. Members opposite seem to think that when we have thrashed the Boers we shall be able to change them from free citizens into loyal subjects. People who say that do not know the history of South Africa; they know nothing about the people. They are not of the Celtic race: they are the most stubborn people on the face of God's earth. Their forefathers fought as great an Empire as the British, with odds against them just as great. They were defeated again and again, as I believe you will be able to defeat them. This is our fourth Boer war. It will not be the last if you settle it on the basis of converting these free citizens into unwilling subjects. What reasons are we to give for the course we are taking? There has already been a great deal of misrepresentation, but we must, as the Colonial Secretary recognises, give some reason for destroying these two sovereign independent States. I call them sovereign independent States deliberately: I say there is no difference in international law between them and the free States of North and South America. The Orange Free State attended the Hague Conference in the same way as the American Republic, as Belgium, and as Russia. Is not Russia a sovereign free State? Yet you extorted from her the right of having her own ships in her own waters.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): No.

*DR. CLARK: The Black Sea belongs to Russia.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: Several countries own the Black Sea.

*DR. CLARK: I am speaking generally. Russia owns a large portion of it, and you took away from her the right to have her warships in her own waters. The sole right you have in South Africa is.

the right of veto which they conceded to you, and they no more lost their status as sovereign independent States by conceding that to you than we have lost our status by giving special preference for trade or any purpose whatever to any other State. Why are we going to destroy these two nations? The Colonial Secretary casts doubt on their right to claim to be sovereign independent States. We occupied South Africa, and we did it in order to prevent the French doing so. In 1814 we bought from the Dutch a portion of their possessions. The people objected, and in twenty years the great bulk of them left our territory. An attempt was made to stop the Great Trek, but the Attorney General of the day declared that the people had an absolute right to go from British dominions, and to form a State for themselves, so long as they went beyond our territory. They did so, and they started their Republic. We have had four wars with them. In one we captured Natal, and we have kept it. In our second war we captured the Orange Free State, and after holding it for six years we almost forced the people there to become a sovereign independent State. That was done by the British Government. We also recognised the South African Republics, and I say that their status in international law is exactly the same as the status of the North and South American Republics. What is the basis of your interference with them now? Why should you crush a native free State? Your interference in the Transvaal is based upon the two Conventions, and it is doubtful if one of those is now in existence. If you have a suzerainty, you cannot replace it by a sovereignty. It may be argued that the 4th Article of the Convention of 1884 does create a kind of suzerainty, but I cannot admit that that is a fair interpretation. But did the Boers ever consent to the 1881 Convention? The right hon. Gentleman says we can no longer permit them to remain an independent State because by their bad faith they have made it impossible for us to live with them in South Africa. The first act of bad faith was in 1881, when the Boers tried to break away from the Convention. But what really happened then was that a preliminary peace having been established, a Convention was drafted by three High Commissioners, who with some difficulty obtained the signature of the Boer

triumvirate; but the Convention was to be ratified within three months by the Volksraad. The Volksraad refused to ratify it, and instructed agents to commence negotiations *de novo*. They complained that Great Britain took greater powers under the suzerainty than under sovereignty, and they refused to ratify the Convention. Yet we are told the Boers are guilty of bad faith. They never acknowledged your right in the first instance, but it was said by Lord Kimberley, "Oh, give the thing a trial," and they gave it a provisional trial. Then in 1884 they met Lord Derby, and in order to get rid of the suzerainty and all control by Great Britain they gave up the whole of the western border, and now we are told—

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! This appears to relate more to the Amendment already disposed of. The hon. Member is going into the whole history of the Transvaal. The question before the House now is whether the war should go on or not.

*DR. CLARK: Perhaps I have gone rather too much into detail. I was trying to rebut the argument of the Colonial Secretary.

*MR. SPEAKER: A different question was then before the House.

*DR. CLARK: The question we are discussing now is whether we will end the war on the basis of independence of the two Republics, and I take it that this subject underlies the whole discussion. If we recognise the independence of these States, war will at once cease. The Colonial Secretary has said we cannot do that, but must take steps to prevent in South Africa what will militate against the predominance of Great Britain. So long as you have those two States you cannot have predominance, and that is the problem which the present war is trying to solve, and which I do not think it will determine. I am trying to rebut that argument of the Colonial Secretary, and show that there has been no bad faith on the part of the Boers. The right hon. Gentleman gave three reasons for this war—bad faith on the part of the Boers immediately after signing the Convention—

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member will be out of order in dis-

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curring any negotiations which took place before the war.

*DR. CLARK : Very well, Sir ; I think there is no proof that any convention or treaty has ever been broken by either of those States, and one great reason why we should end this war is because of the bad faith, not of the Boers, but of the British. The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House said at any rate the Orange Free State had no complaint against Great Britain. He evidently has not read the controversy in the *Nineteenth Century*, or he would know that the Orange Free State had good cause for complaint. There was the stealing of the diamond fields from the Free State, and the payment of £90,000 which was given to the Free State for them. Had he read that discussion he would have been able to see why the Free State was fighting. The Boer States have carried out faithfully their obligations, and the blame of broken treaties lies, not with them, but with the British. This is the fourth war we have had in order to arrive at a permanent settlement. In my belief the only way in which we shall obtain a permanent settlement will be a policy on the lines of this Amendment. You have tried the Colonial Secretary's policy in Ireland for 700 years, and to-day you have had a lesson from which you may learn if you will. If you continue this war with the idea of crushing absolutely these little States I believe you will fail. At the same time, I do press this House and the country to carry this Amendment, and put an end to the war on lines honourable alike to the Boers and British, and so secure that friendly feeling between these races so necessary for the peace and prosperity of South Africa.

*MR. T. M. HEALY : As we left the House last night in consequence of a resolution of our party declining to take any side between the British parties upon an Amendment with which we had no sympathy, the hon. Gentleman the Member for West Belfast cried out after us in derision, "There go the Clanna-Gael !" That expression, intended as an insult, we take as a compliment. It sums up the position taken by the Irish party in regard to the past debate. No one, I think, Sir, is entitled to complain that in discussing a question of this kind

the condition and prospects of Ireland should first engage our thoughts. For myself I dislike very much entering into any debate that is not concerned with Ireland. I have no Imperial soul. As I was born, so I will remain a parish politician. I am concerned first of all with my own country, its privations and misfortunes and struggles ; consequently no one can complain that in dealing with the Transvaal we see in the vast distance the figure and the form of Irish nationality. Now, Sir, as to this Amendment, I confess that the note which has struck me in the course of the late debate as the most remarkable, in exposure of the British mind, was the phrase which dropped from the First Lord, in, I think, his opening address, when he said that the conduct of the Free State was "idiotic." I think one will acquire from it some illumination of the English mind, and the English point of view as to this war when such a man could employ such an extraordinary ejaculation. Do Englishmen think that ties of brotherhood, kinship, language, and race are idiotic ? Why, then, is it strange to see one Afrikaner, one Dutchman holding out the hand of comradeship and the rifle of salvation to another. Yet the First Lord of the Treasury could find no other definition of a character like that than that of an idiot, and he lays down the principle that these Free States must be afflicted with imbecility, and be actuated by the ties and impulses of blood and kinship, although, indeed, they were also bound by treaty with the Transvaal, and are impliedly called "idiots" for not breaking it. Yet the right hon. Gentleman in the same breath and at the same moment hails with acclaim, and with wondering surprise and admiration, the fact that when the British drum-beat sounded, your own distant colonies have come to your assistance. And this is British statesmanship. It is deemed idiotic that the Free State should go to the assistance of its brother across the border ; whereas it is the highest patriotism, the noblest deed of loyalty and devotion for distant New Zealand and Australia to rush into the breach to the aid of the British in South Africa. Sir, if you wish to get into the interior tabernacle of the British mind you must take that sad illustration I have just given you from the speech of the First Lord of the Treasury as the key to its recesses.

We are here to-day to consider on this Amendment what policy you will adopt during the war, and what policy you should adopt when the war is over; but we know in advance that our voices and our expressions will fall on deaf ears, and yet is there no lesson for the Tory party to learn in this fact that whether the inception of this war dates from Majuba or from October last, it is brought about by the Liberal Unionists? Do you hear no warning voice in this, that if you pursue towards the Transvaal and the Free State a policy founded on the doctrines of Liberal Unionism, it will land you in the same mess as it has landed you in Ireland? I think, Sir, that the Irish may well say that the defeat of the Home Rule Bill was avenged at Spion Kop. The Tory party proper have had nothing whatever to do with this war, and they will have nothing to do with this settlement. You ancient gentlemen of England will be excluded, and all the clauses and articles of the arrangement will be signed, sealed, and delivered between the Unionists at the Colonial Office and the Unionists at the Cape—Chamberlain, Milner and Co. This war has been made, and the settlement is to be made, by the right hon. Gentleman who declared yesterday, in answer to an interruption, and when twitted by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Fife with the suggestion how much he would enjoy the task, if he could, of editing his speeches; and he declared that he would not alter one word of them. That is to say, of course, not one word since 1894. There are three members of the Liberal Unionist party in the Cabinet to-day; there were three in the Cabinet of Majuba. The right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary was himself leader of the Majuban host; the Duke of Devonshire was, I will not say his aide-de-camp, but at all events he was his disciple. The noble Duke once excused himself for some inconsistency by explaining that his "financial conscience" was in Mr. Gladstone's keeping, but who kept his warlike conscience in 1881? Lord James and another distinguished member of the Unionist party were answerable for the Treaty of Majuba. They are all to-day the presiding geniuses of this war, and will preside when the terms of settlement come to be made in the Transvaal, the Tory party lying out-

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side the breastworks. I think we have had a very considerable revenge for 1886. And it is a remarkable fact that now, in 1900, we hear exactly the same platitudes about Africa which we then heard about Ireland: "Twenty years of firm and resolute government" and "an unlimited secret service," and that by the joint effect of these two operative causes, in a brief time the two opposing races will become mingled in a common blend, and will stand shoulder to shoulder in defence of the Empire. How utterly history contradicts this, not merely our version of history, but the Tory version of history as we understand it in Ireland! Spion Kop was only yesterday, but who gets up celebrations in Ireland of the Battle of the Boyne? Who is it that sports sashes, at the annual "closing of the gates" of Derry? Yet you think the Boers will be more likely to forget their triumphs than your own "garrison" in Ireland. We are dealing with a race who, at the present time, have only two feast days in their calendar—Dingaan's Day and Majuba Day. You have now given them Buller's Day, Methuen's Day, Gatacre's Day, Yule's Day, Warren's Day, and Symons' Day. [Cries of "Shame!"]

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! Cries of "Shame" are out of order.

*MR. T. M. HEALY: There is no man in the House who has a greater respect than I have for the memory of General Symons. One of the noblest and most touching incidents of the war is the correspondence which passed between General Symons in his dying moments and the Boer commander. It was an episode worthy of both sides, and the only touch of unworthiness in it was the action of the English in turning their backs on their dying general.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): Why do you not cry "Shame" now!

*MR. T. M. HEALY: I was saying that, dealing with people with these stubborn memories, we have now given them a long list of further celebrations, and do you think, from your point of view, whose chief glory in Ireland is to celebrate the Battle of the Boyne, and Derry, and Aughrim, that these tenacious Dutchmen will not keep up all these days, especially if they add to them White's

Day or perhaps a day of Kitchener? How can you, in approaching this question of a settlement from any reasonable point of view, suppose that you can extirpate from the Dutch heart that which you are unable to expel from your own? The most eloquent speeches that were made against us six or ten years ago were those of the Colonial Secretary when he asked, "Are you going to desert the loyal minority whom you settled in that country, who fought with such vehemence at the Battle of the Boyne, Aughrim, and Derry?" These were the speeches that were made at that time, when we were reminded of your "Dutch Deliverer," and to-day, I say, we have our revenge. It would not be human in us if we did not regard as the worst heritage of Tory policy, and as the greatest infliction on a party which at all events boasted of a love for liberty and truth, that they should have got themselves into this impasse, into this mess, into this disgrace, by the action, statesmanship, and policy of the persecutors of Ireland. A compliment was paid, and I think justly, to Lord Salisbury the other day by a distinguished speaker on his own side, and I do trust that when the terms of settlement come to be arranged with the Dutch people—if you ever get to that stage (I am not a prophet)—personal feeling, the suggestion of individual revenge, the crafts of "crooked statesmanship" will be laid aside, and that some man who is not always boasting of Imperialism with his lips, but who has it in the recesses of his breast, will for the sake of your own domestic peace arrange the terms and clauses of the treaty. But is your ultimate triumph so certain? It seems to be in the minds of some Englishmen that the Almighty has given them a lease for ever of the universe, and they treat any reverse which arises as a sort of breach of the covenant for quiet enjoyment. For all through this debate, and all through your newspaper press, when you are arranging where the Boers will make their last stand—it is dotted out on the map—how long the siege of Pretoria will take, and whether the dividends of the Goldfields Deferred will be 15 or 45 after the war, you seem to leave the Almighty out of the process; He does not enter into your calculations. I admit that at this very moment, while one great Protestant nation is

slaughtering another great Protestant nation, you are sending out missionaries to the heathen in Africa to teach them how these Christians love one another. This, no doubt, must greatly edify the blacks. Is there no warning for you from history? Is there no warning for you from Ireland? Do your colonies give you no warning? You boast of the bonds between the colonies and yourselves, and we heard the First Lord of the Treasury re-echoing the Colonial Secretary and rejoicing at the support of the colonies, your great self-ruling communities, and at how they had rallied to your trumpet call. All these things have no warning for you, for actually in the name of freedom and self government you declare that you will wipe out in blood the independence of these two peoples. If we are to believe the doctrine of Napoleon that Providence is always on the side of the best artillery, you will succeed. But I do not think that God is going to be always English. Greater empires than yours have passed away and perished. And as to the threat that by our attitude on this war we have woven the winding-sheet of Home Rule, I answer, "My brothers, we can wait." We are not tired; we will carry on the cause. A successful issue may not be achieved in our time; it may not be in our children's time; but the same tenacity that the Irish race have shown through all these centuries will continue. Never will you make Ireland a British hinterland. Even from your benches to-day two voices are heard. One voice says, "In sympathising and actively showing your sympathy with these people and your determination that peace shall be concluded with them on an honourable basis, you are forfeiting the sympathies of England and destroying the chances of Home Rule." That is one argument. The other argument we have heard to-day, that we do not represent Ireland at all—that whereas the brewers and distillers of Ireland have sent out a hospital train and subscribed £10,000, the poor and lowly have only subscribed £300 for the Boers. If you bring everything to the test of £ s. d. we are nowhere at all. I grant you that. I heard a poor man, whose son is at the front, the other day give expression to this sentiment: "My son," said he, "is fighting for the English in Africa, but I would rather hear of his death than of an

English victory." That is unaccountable to you; we are unaccountable to you, and you are prepared and determined—I know it—you make no secret of it—that so long as you can rule over us with the arm of oppression so long will you do so without ruth or regret. The Colonial Secretary the other day was taunted with the fact that he could have made a settlement with the Boers if he would consent to submit the matter to arbitration. He was taunted with the fact that at the Blomfontein Conference he could have made a settlement if he would give a guarantee that he would make no further intervention. But he would not, because, he said, "we could not break our word." Seeing that you have broken other Conventions again and again, was not this squeamishness excessive? Why should you not break your word for the fifteenth time? You made treaties with us. I will not allude to the Treaty of Limerick, because that was a treaty between armies in the field, which you would not suffer your Dutch Deliverer to keep. You made a treaty of Union; you did not keep it. This House made a solemn treaty with Ireland, of which I will read one sentence, in the English Act of Renunciation in 1783—

"Be it enacted that the said right claimed by the people of Ireland to be bound only by laws enacted by His Majesty in the Parliament of Ireland in all cases whatever and to have all actions and suits at law and equity which may be instituted in that Kingdom decided in His Majesty's Courts of Law without appeal from thence shall be and is hereby declared to be established and ascertained for ever, and shall at no time hereafter be questioned."

Seventeen years later you bribed your way to the Act of Union. You broke three treaties with us in two centuries, and you could easily have broken another with the Boers. No nation can ever depend or will ever depend on the honour of England. In saying that, perhaps I should add this qualification—so long as statesmanship of the type which now reigns at the Colonial Office, the statesmanship of the Stock Exchange, prevails in the mind and spirit of your countrymen. In this matter may I say one word in vindication—I have no right or claim to do so—of the statesmanship of Mr. Gladstone. It was directed alike and almost at the same time to this trouble across the channel and across the seas. Those who talk about Majuba Hill and taunt him

with having been the author of that settlement, and who now declare that in the next peace treaty there is to be no hint of Majuba, little reflect upon the position of Africa and of England in February, 1881. You had at that time there six or seven regiments, scarcely a good regiment among them, composed, some of them, of raw recruits from Whitechapel, men who would not stand fire. I am not throwing discredit upon the bravery of the British Army taken as a whole, because that surely is beyond question. I am dealing with the material that that statesman had at the moment, without railways in that country, far from transport, oppressed at that time, 1880-81, with troubles piled up for him in Bulgaria and Armenia by the statesmanship of Lord Beaconsfield. I say that instead of being taunted as his memory has been, if Mr. Gladstone had never had to his name anything except the treaty he made with the Boers after Majuba, his action and his fame would serve to defend British honour, and to enlarge the British name for magnanimity when your broken treaties and your treacheries might well make you hide your heads. We are told that you have gone to war to get the franchise from the Boers. You have gone to war for the franchise, and yet the first act of the Tory Lord Lieutenant, on taking office in Ireland, was to move the House of Lords to reject the Irish Municipal Franchise Bill. We are told that the Uitlanders were overtaxed, and that you were entitled to go to war on the question of taxation. But the Uitlanders had no treaty with the Boers. We had a Treaty of Union with you. You made it part of the Treaty of Union that Ireland was to be entitled to exemptions and abatements. But now we are to be crushed with war taxes, in order that more German Jews may have houses in Park Lane. Why should we not be against this war? Why should we not be in favour of an immediate peace? Some English interests may benefit by this war. Your ships, your foodstuffs, your armaments—I can well understand Birmingham and Sheffield being in favour of the war. I can well understand those who run cordite manufactories refusing to re-echo the cry, "Blessed are the meek," and refusing to join in that other blessing in favour of the peacemakers. But what is the position of Ireland, our wretched country—for you have

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made it wretched; you have destroyed our manufactures, and you are emigrating our people — what is our position to-day? The more our population sinks the higher our taxes rise. English taxes have gone down per head on a declining scale since the Union; Irish taxes have risen in the other proportion. What have we to gain by this war? You do not buy in Ireland if you can help it; you do not expend the price of a percussion cap. I heard a story the other day about your war supplies which is worth telling at a time when you are importing foreign meat, foreign wheat, and foreign emperors to sustain you. For ten years you were paying the Dublin Tramway Company, under some system of war arrangement which I do not profess to understand, £600 a year for the option of taking their horses—a pretty good bargain for the tramway company. You wanted horses, as I understand, six-year-olds, that is, fairly good working horses, and your price was £65 per horse. The Dublin trams have just been electrified, and the 4,000 or 5,000 horses they had were suddenly thrown out of work. The Dublin Tramway Company, as they had been getting £600 a year for nothing from the British, wrote over to say, "You are giving £65 to London bus-drivers for horses; we will give you the pick of our horses for £30 apiece." The War Office wrote over to say they were not having any such horses, although London tram managers are complaining that their stables are denuded by the war. The only thing Irish the Government want are Irish fools. We have heard a good deal of praise of the Irishmen at the front. I read a message the other day from Mr. Winston Churchill, the honoured son of an honoured father, who in this House never showed us anything but kindness. I read his description of an Irish regiment at Spion Kop—

"The Irish regiment was exposed to an annoying cross fire from Creuzot and Maxim shell guns. The casualties were, however, slight—about a dozen up to noon. The demeanour of the troops under this fire—which they have now borne passively for three days—has been most admirable. The quality of the private soldiers is wonderful. During the morning I visited the Irish infantry, remaining half an hour, in which time eleven shells discharged from a Maxim shell gun exploded in a place where the sheltering soldiers were smoking and playing cards or sleeping, utterly unmoved. They are still the finest infantry in the world—cheery, dignified, magnificent."

Most English papers copied that from the *Morning Post*. It had put the *Morning Post* to some expense to telegraph that message, and even to telegraph the word "Irish," I suppose, must have cost them half-a-sovereign. But the papers which copied that message nearly all omitted the word "Irish." It was a British economy of type-setting. If it be true, as the hon. Member for West Belfast said when we were asking why Irish militia regiments were withdrawn from Ireland—the hon. Gentleman, with his soul full of 1688, and charged with memories of the Boyne, said, "Because they were rebels."

MR. WILLIAM JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.): He never said that.

*MR. T. M. HEALY: That is his correction. I should have said South Belfast, not West. The hon. Gentleman is most anxious that I should associate the name of South Belfast with that affair.

MR. WILLIAM JOHNSTON: I wish to do justice to my colleague.

*MR. T. M. HEALY: These are the people you want to put over the Dutch in South Africa. You want a settlement. You want the two races to mingle hand in hand waving the Union Jack and singing "Rule Britannia," and you would put in ascendancy over the Dutch such men as have made their ascendancy in Ireland hateful, and who call your own Irish soldiers "rebels." What wonder, then, if there is disaffection! I understand the principles of Pirate Smith who hoisted his black flag at Bristol and made war with all and sundry for the sake of booty. He had not a Bible on board. He swore by the Jolly Roger and not by the Ten Commandments. You want to syndicate Christianity, and take the Twelve Apostles into your limited liability company. Then you hold up your hands like the pharisee and invite other nations to rejoice that the English possess such virtues. The Irish people are a feeble folk, and the only advantage which the Irish have is that we are able to contemplate your virtues at close quarters. But the Dutch, you see, are 7,000 miles away. Therefore misunderstandings may crop up between you and the Dutch. They have not the advantage which the

Irish have in this House of seeing the British constantly, of reading your newspapers, and chanting Rudyard Kipling. But I am told that Rudyard Kipling is an author whom it is extremely difficult to translate into Dutch. Therefore, I am inclined to doubt the theory that in the furnace of this war the Afrikaner and the Briton will be fused by the bloody flux of battle. No, we are here to-day to testify in the name and for the cause of race nationality. As I have already said, you may win. All your calculations are based upon that. If you win you will think that the results have justified your efforts. You will not think of the statesmanship of Gladstone, who held that there were bounds beyond which empire should not go, that there were limits even to British strength, and that by excessive effort, the extensor and contractor muscles of even the British right arm might tire. You disdain Gladstonian Councils, and you will go on and on and on in so far as time and circumstances permit you, and as long as you are successful you chant hosannas to the glories of your jingo statesmen. Is this wisdom? By what means do you hope to keep the Empire you have got? By what means do you hope to conciliate the races which you govern? Do you think the excuses on which you annex territory satisfy anyone but yourselves? I remember in 1879, when you were thinking of annexing Burma. The Tory Government was about to go out, but nobody knew that in India, where Reuter's telegrams are the great adjunct of civilisation, as anybody who turns up the history of that time will see. There came over suddenly one day a telegram from Rangoon, "King Thebaw is drinking." I do not think the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle was much disturbed at that. I had never heard of King Thebaw myself, and I was a little more surprised when I read the next day, "The king is drinking still." A week elapsed, and then came a telegram, "King Thebaw has murdered his mother-in-law and three maiden aunts." Nothing more was heard for two days, and then there arrived another telegram, "Thebaw is drinking still." Shortly after this there were troops on the frontier. This was something like the Uitlanders' grievance. But before righteousness could invade Burma the Beaconsfield Ministry fell,

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and another five years elapsed in which Thebaw and his misfortunes, his want of temperance and the loss of his maiden aunts were entirely ignored by the British public. In June, 1885, a most appropriate circumstance occurred, for we put out the Gladstone Government over a dispute about the whisky tax, and within a week Baron Reuter telegraphed from Burma, "Thebaw is drinking still," and within a month or two after that you made war on Burma and King Thebaw was himself a Uitlander. Your pretext for taking Johannesburg is just the same. There, there is gold, and in Burma there were rubies, and commercial principles must triumph over backward native ways. Your policy is a policy of grab, and I do think it is pitiable that a nation whose qualities are great, whose courage is indomitable, whose resources are endless, should have, at this day, the canker of corruption eating at her heart. The principles which made you great are forgotten. The principles which make the British name a terror are represented by a statue of Cromwell outside Westminster Hall. You put up that statue to the memory of the author of the massacre of Drogheda after "quarter" had been promised to its garrison, at the very moment when your own forces are besieged in Ladysmith. Where was your historic conscience? We represent a small country and a small fraction of the Queen's dominions, but we have memories and we have hopes, and here lift up the voice of that country in protest against your policy, and we declare that the men of Ireland will never join you in any composition of wrong or of injustice.

*MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I have listened with much pain to the hon. Member for North Louth. His speeches are always brilliant, but I think I have rarely heard from him a speech characterised at once by so much bitterness towards this country delivered within the precincts of this House; by so inappropriate a levity, producing roars of laughter from the Irish benches; and by so little relevancy and regard for the seriousness of the subject under discussion. When I heard the peals of laughter provoked by his jokes following each other with great rapidity, it seemed to me as though the Irish party had set itself the task of discrediting this

House, and come here not to assist in Parliamentary work, but to throw discredit upon England and the Parliament of England and to give encouragement to the enemies of the Empire. The hon. Member for Waterford and the hon. Member for North Louth himself are never tired of telling us that they are a small and insignificant minority, but if one cannot regard without serious misgiving the attitude which they have taken up upon this occasion. I congratulate the Irish party upon their choice of a leader in the Member for Waterford, for he has, in my opinion, improved on the tone of the speeches which we so often have to deplore from the benches opposite. He has lifted the tone of debate and improved the style of oratory, and as we heard him those of us who are most anxious to do all we can for Ireland did cherish the hope that perhaps with such a leader there might come some chance of removing those bitter feelings which have hitherto existed. With regard to the Amendment itself, it is one of the greatest possible importance. It declares that this is the time to make peace, and it declares the terms of that peace. But from whom does this advice come? It comes from those who have avowed that their main purpose is hatred of England. Surely that throws a certain amount of suspicion upon the advice itself, a certain amount of improbability over the theory that this advice is for the good of England, and a certain amount of possibility that it may be intended to lure her to destruction. I am glad to know that all Irishmen do not share this hatred of England, and that there are gallant Irishmen in South Africa who are spending their blood in defence of the United Kingdom. Even the Commander-in-Chief is an Irishman. With what feelings will those Irish soldiers and generals read the account of this debate, filled with jibes and jeers and laughter, and embodying to them this message: that they should cease to fight for the cause which they are fighting. With what feelings will they receive that message? Not with encouragement, I think. The war, as I have said again and again, is a most lamentable war. Even if it were inevitable I should have wished and striven to postpone it as long as possible. I deplore it. I never looked forward with confidence to the prospects it opened. I expected reverses and calamities, and I have seen in front of us

prospects of the very greatest difficulties and even of calamities. I do, however, declare that this time is the most inappropriate time of all to end the war. Where do we stand? Our country is invaded, we have lost 10,000 men killed, wounded, and prisoners, and have not yet repelled the invader. We are under the stress of reverses unmatched in our history, for reverses of this kind and quality we have never had before. Therefore, I say of all moments this is not the moment for us to sue for peace. Much as I deplore this war, I do declare for myself, and I believe for many sitting around me, that rather than sue for peace, at this moment and under these circumstances, I would sell the shirt from off my back and give my last possession to carry on the war. What would the hon. Member for North Louth say if Ireland were in the same position? Suppose Ireland had been invaded, had lost 10,000 soldiers, and were in the same position as our South African colonies? I know he would be the first to protest against the action of any Irishman who proposed to make peace with the enemy at that time, and under those conditions, upon any terms whatever. The Member for Waterford told us that England is isolated. It is true that she is isolated, but notwithstanding this I believe that France still entertains friendly feelings towards us. There is, however, no doubt that the Powers of Europe are closing ominously round us in various directions. No doubt there is an ominous movement of Russia towards the Indian frontier. There is a revival of that ancient and notorious movement by which Germany has long sought to bring Holland into the German Empire. And there is the invariable, secular, necessary alliance, always existing though not always avowed, between Russia and Germany, which may before long be turned against us. We are isolated, but is that a reason for making peace? By suing for peace under the stress of such a feeling you would only add to your isolation and to the hatred and contempt of foreign countries. If you want to provide against isolation it is at any rate only to be done by making good your own claim to your own territory, by expelling the foe from the land on which they stand now. Then alone you will be able to deal on equal terms with foreign nations. This argument is one of the strongest against even a

suggestion of peace at this moment. It is said in this resolution that peace shall be made on the terms of maintaining the independence of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. I do not know that the independence of the Transvaal was threatened before the war, though now it is quite another matter. What the end of this war may bring we do not know, for who can tell what incidents may occur? President Kruger has said that before this war ends a price will have to be paid which will stagger humanity. Suppose then that some awful, horrible, unheard of event such as has never happened before in history should occur? Suppose some terrible revenge should be taken? Surely that would change the situation. We cannot at this moment commit ourselves to any such declaration as that, at the end of the war, the fullest independence will be granted. I have always held that there is very little to be gained by this war, and have always hoped that the independence of the Transvaal would be respected. But at a moment when you are entirely unaware of what may happen it is absolutely impossible to pledge yourselves to the future. The hon. Gentleman the Member for North Louth has said that we should send out a man who will be competent to make good terms of peace, and I agree with that. I was much struck by the suggestion made by my hon. friend the Member for Plymouth that Lord Rosebery should be sent out for that purpose. I believe he would be a very good man, for he is under no suspicion of stock jobbing, under no suspicion of being an object of dislike to the Cape Dutch or of having used offensive language to or concerning them, and he is therefore to that extent specially qualified for the delicate task of negotiating terms of peace, and even if he did displace Sir Alfred Milner he has occupied such high positions in the State that this would be no slight to that functionary. There is one other subject cognate to this resolution. Sir Alfred Milner has issued a notice declaring invalid all transfers of Transvaal property effected by the Transvaal Government during the war, and I desire to know how far that extends. Does Sir Alfred Milner assume that Her Majesty's Government can and should interfere with the transfer of property of foreign subjects, as between French and German, for instance, or as

between Boer and Boer, or between Englishman and Boer? I can hardly suppose it, but to my mind this notice is one of the most amazing I have ever seen, and I should like to hear some explanation of it from Her Majesty's Government. And are the terms of this notice to be made part of the terms of peace? I do not know whether any Minister on the front bench will be able to answer that question, but it is an important one, and should be answered. As for this Amendment on which we are to vote to-night, it is on the face of it little less than an absurdity. This is not the time to make peace, and when the time does come you cannot now say that it should certainly include the independence of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. Were it not for the frank expression of hatred to England we have heard from the benches opposite, I could not understand the proposition being mooted at all, but certainly when our territory is in the possession of the enemy, that is not the moment when England should either declare or feel herself ready to treat for peace.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): The hon. Member for King's Lynn said this is an unfortunate time to bring forward an Amendment of this character. He also called the Amendment an absurdity. When does the hon. Gentleman suggest that it should be brought forward? Is it when Pretoria has been taken, and when thousands of lives have been lost on both sides in this conflict? This resolution possesses the great merit of going directly to the question, which is, as far as we on these benches, and not a few hon. Members above the gangway, are concerned, that this war is unjust and unnecessary, and that the sooner it is ended the better. The whole controversy, according to the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down, turns on the independence and integrity of the two South African Republics; but the Colonial Secretary takes quite a different view, and notwithstanding the Conventions of 1881 and 1884, declares that the whole controversy turns on the question of British supremacy in South Africa. Now it would have been thought that when the abstruse term "suzerainty" was got rid of by the sanction of Parliament, hon. Members would hear no more about it; but "British supremacy" is a still more sinister phrase, and when the Boers

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come to know that that is the view of the Colonial Secretary, I very much fear it will increase the intensity of the struggle by forcing on them the conviction that their independence is aimed at and that no settlement short of placing them under the heel of this country will satisfy the elements now moving the politics of this country. The question of suzerainty has been very much discussed during these debates, but it cannot be too often insisted upon that it is the pivot on which the whole controversy turns. I read with some astonishment a speech made by Lord Salisbury in the House of Lords.

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member should not refer to a speech delivered in the House of Lords.

MR. FLYNN: I shall not further refer to it, Sir. The question of suzerainty is inextricably mixed up with the justice or injustice of this struggle, and is accordingly relevant to the Amendment. The Convention of 1881 unquestionably contained in its preamble a reference to this question of suzerainty, but the Prime Minister himself has declared that President Kruger was so anxious to get rid of the word "suzerainty" and all that it conveyed that he made considerable sacrifices of territory for that purpose. I am sure the House listened with great attention to the speech of the hon. Member for Caithness, which was closely packed with arguments and facts giving us the inner history of these transactions as it had not been previously given. He proved to the satisfaction of every fair-minded man that the Boers were dissatisfied with the Convention of 1881, and refused to ratify it in their Raad, and that a final settlement was based on the Convention of 1884. The Colonial Secretary in this House, on behalf of the Government and for the enlightenment of the British people, defended the abolition of the word "suzerainty" and the settlement of 1884. I would ask is this Government entitled, if it finds a Convention inconvenient, or the terms of a treaty unsatisfactory, to tear it in pieces? I was very much struck by a very forcible expression in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the member for Montrose to his constituents. He asked—

"If you are going to tear up this treaty and Convention, what is going to become of the little pieces?"

To any man not carried away by the dominant spirit of aggressive jingoism the answer to that question is one of the greatest importance. Have the Boers violated the Convention of 1884 or not? No such allegation has been made during these debates; not in one valid particular have the Boers violated that Convention. Why, therefore, did the Government tear it to pieces? The grievances of the Uitlanders might meet with sympathy, but you had no right to go behind the Convention of 1884. This Government, or any Government, had only the right to make strong representations to the Boer Government with a view to the removal or modification of these grievances. The hon. and learned Member for the St. Stephen's Green Division stated in his speech that there was no free speech in the Transvaal and no absolute liberty of the press. Why, Sir, in Ireland within the last month three meetings at which members of this House were announced to address their constituents were suppressed on the unsupported affidavit of an unknown policeman before a resident magistrate, and yet this Government is prepared to pour out blood and money to establish free speech in Johannesburg. Where is the consistency? We are told that trade follows the flag. Will it follow the flag of death; and will your relations with the Transvaal and the Orange Free State be improved after the bloody massacre on both sides? There is something connected with this war entirely outside the question of the Uitlanders' grievances or breaches of the Convention. Politics in this country are in a bad way when they are dominated by Stock Exchange considerations; and if there is one thing more patent than another to every patient reader of the Blue-books, it is that the members of the South African League, directed by the Stock Exchange, are the men who are really responsible for this disastrous war. With regard to the Uitlanders' grievances, we now know in connection with the franchise that it was a matter of only two years difference.

*MR. SPEAKER: That was one of the matters raised by the debate which ended last night. The question now is, war being declared, what are the terms on which it is to be closed.

MR. FLYNN: It will not be necessary for me to follow that line of argument, because it has been sufficiently discussed already. I think every thoughtful man must come to the conclusion that the time has arrived when peace ought to be made. This Empire can gain nothing by pursuing this war to a bitter and bloody close. It may satisfy those who believe in the policy of "wiping something off the slate." That is a policy which the Tory Poet Laureate has commended in doggerel verse. It is a policy which is applauded in the music halls and in a portion of the press of the country; but is it not a reversal in the face of the world of the noble policy Mr. Gladstone inaugurated fifteen years ago? In pursuance of this policy you are prepared to drench the veldt with still more blood, and to squander millions of money; and instead of pacifying the Boers, all who survive and their descendants will be the irreconcilable enemies of the British Empire and the British race. The hon. and learned Member for North Louth drew a very apt comparison of the unfortunate results of this policy in Ireland. If you are going to extend that policy to another latitude and longitude, then continue the war. But if this Empire is to revert to the noble traditions which helped to build it up, if you are prepared to listen to wise councils of humanity and Christianity, then, even if this Amendment be not accepted, I trust the Government will take prompt steps to pursue a course similar to that now suggested.

MR. WILLIAM MOORE (Antrim, N.): I should like to contribute a few remarks to this debate mainly on one ground; I believe that the experience of mankind is that if a certain statement is repeated often enough the person repeating it eventually comes to believe it. I have often heard it asserted by hon. Gentlemen opposite that they have an absolute monopoly of Irish nationality and of aspirations for the good of our common country. They have repeated it so often that they now consider it is absolutely true, but with this effect, that they ignore the loyal Irish minority. It is unfortunate that we, the loyal Irish minority, have not taken on ourselves on all occasions the duty of representing to the

people of the United Kingdom our own existence and our own power as a political force, and of establishing to the satisfaction of our fellow-subjects that we are prepared to share in the burdens as well as in the glory of the Empire. I regret, as an Irishman first and a Unionist afterwards, that on this occasion it is not possible for us to take common ground on one topic in which our countrymen are much interested. Ireland has contributed to the Army of the United Kingdom 27,000 men, and it would have been at least a graceful thing on the part of hon. Members opposite if they had joined in paying a tribute to the courage and valour of these soldiers. As regards the Unionists in Ireland, the matter is one of which we are all proud. I have an intimate knowledge of my own constituency, and it is no exaggeration to say that the name of Sir George White is revered there as if he were the hero of the hour. There is one matter, however, in which I am in accord with the hon. Member who has just sat down, and also with the hon. and learned Member for North Louth. The hon. and learned Member said that Ireland was now having her revenge for the rejection of Home Rule. I do not care for these maxims and suggestions of revenge. The only way in which a country can be prosperous is if the dead past is allowed to bury its dead. But putting questions of revenge out of the way, I agree there is a very important lesson to be learned from the policy of this country as regards the Transvaal in 1884. When the Transvaal was given its own Parliament and its own independent legislature, it was stated it was sufficient to satisfy all the aspirations of the people and to make them firm and loyal friends of England in South Africa. That was the policy which hon. Gentlemen opposite suggested would have the same effect if set up in Ireland. The policy, fortunately, was rejected in the case of Ireland, but it was carried out in South Africa. Can we now point with any satisfaction to the results of that policy? Has England received that loyal support from the Dutch majority, from Mr. Schreiner, Mr. Hofmeyr, and other members of the Cape Parliament? I would thank the hon. and learned Member for North Louth for one of the declarations

he has made. He declared the unalterable determination of his party to insist on Home Rule, notwithstanding the fact that time after time when they have made proposals in this House their votes have left them in a minority. That is a declaration of war which every Unionist will lay to heart. I am glad the hon. and learned Gentleman has given it to us, because we shall know how to meet it. With reference to the speech of the hon. and learned Member for Waterford, I should like to express my sense of the dignified position he took up, but I should also like to add that the tone he adopted, although so worthy and befitting, is entirely different from the language and sentiments he indulges in across the Channel. I venture to say that he has never claimed on an Irish platform the right to tender advice to the House of Commons as to what its conduct should be in the present position, although of course he has a perfect right to do it. He justified himself by saying that he was only treading in the footsteps of Chatham, Burke, and Grattan. I should like to be satisfied that his sentiments towards this country are similar to those of Chatham, Burke, and Grattan. I find in a newspaper of which the hon. and learned Member is a director a reference to the rumoured fall of Ladysmith, a portion of which has been already read in the House by the hon. and learned Member for St. Stephen's Green. The remainder of the extract is as follows—

"For if it is indeed the case that this important strategic point has come into the hands of the brave Boers it marks the beginning of the end, not alone of British prestige, but of the whole robber system that has for so long plundered and dominated so large a portion of the habitable globe. Therefore it is that we join heartily in the universal prayer of the Irish race to-day."

These are the gentlemen who are now offering us friendly advice, and who claim to be the humble followers of Chatham, Burke and Grattan. Does the hon. and learned Member agree with the sentiments of Grattan? Speaking on the 27th of May, 1782, Grattan said—

"Common interest, a perpetual connection, the recent conduct of Great Britain, a native affection to the British name and nation, together with the constitution we have recovered and the high reputation we possess, must ever decide the wishes as well as the interest of Ireland to perpetuate the harmony, stability, and glory of the Empire."

Is the hon. and learned Member following in the footsteps of Burke? Burke was never treated as a traitor, and I cannot find any suspicion or suggestion that he was disloyal. Speaking on the 14th December, 1778, when he heard that the American colonies claimed independence, Burke said—

"On the day that he first heard of the American states having claimed independency it made him sick at heart, it struck him to the soul, because he saw it was a claim essentially injurious to this country, and a claim which Great Britain could never get rid of."

These were the sentiments of Grattan and Burke with regard to this country, and when we find the hon. and learned Member for Waterford approving of these sentiments, and advising the House of Commons, surely we should think of the quarter from which the advice comes. I should like to understand what motive the hon. and learned Member has in giving us this advice. Is it to strengthen and encourage the enemies of the Empire? Is it to humiliate Great Britain? When I remember that the party which the hon. and learned Member represents has cheered the Zulus and the Mahdi, it seems to me extraordinary that he should display such disinterested sympathy. The statement has been made by hon. Gentlemen sitting opposite that the whole civilised world is against England in this struggle, and in support of the Boers. I think it is hardly right or respectful—I am not a member of their Church—for any of them to declare that the civilised world is against us, when a cardinal priest of their own Church has blessed the war. Is it suggested that he would do that if he did not believe that the war was just, or that he is not a member of a civilised community? The explanation of the whole thing is, I believe, well summed up in the expression which we borrowed from America, and which is mainly used with reference to authors—log-rolling. Hon. Gentlemen would be very glad indeed if they were able to establish the principle of independent legislatures in the two Republics in South Africa, because by so doing they would be increasing the chance of the same policy being applied in Ireland. That is the obvious explanation of the interested advice of the hon. and learned Member, and I hope that the House will give it the attention it deserves. This war has established one

principle for which as an Irish Unionist I am grateful. We have heard a great deal about the affection which the colonies have shown the mother country, but I value still more, as an Irish Unionist, the loyalty which the mother country has felt bound to extend to her colonies. We have had in South Africa a loyal British community, which has been subjected to Dutch domination for years. They sent their complaints to this country, and the policy of conciliation, as applied in Ireland, was adopted, and these complaints of our fellow-subjects in South Africa were treated with contempt. But there comes a time when the last straw breaks the camel's back, and this country is now determined to assert in South Africa, and every part of the globe, the right of our loyal fellow-subjects to ordinary liberty, and to a recognition of their loyalty. If in Ireland, where our loyal fellow-subjects have for long complained of a domination of a majority, there is to be a recognition in the future that you will abide by your own people, and distinguish friend from foe, then I shall welcome the adoption of that principle. It was suggested that the Government had made one mistake in committing themselves to the defence of Northern Natal. I do not know whether strategically that was a mistake, but I venture to say that politically there could be no mistake about it.

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman is now entering on a matter discussed on the previous Amendment.

MR. WILLIAM MOORE: Sir, I bow to your ruling at once. It was with the object of surrender that this Amendment was moved. There are times when surrender can be considered, but I venture to think that these are only two in number. You may surrender after a victory, after a gigantic success; and then that surrender would be called magnanimity. Or, again, you may surrender when you cannot lift another arm, or wield another sword, in the crushing gloom of defeat. That surrender is not magnanimity. At present we have reached neither the one stage nor the other; and any surrender could only be treated as having one meaning, the meaning of cowardice. We have given

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up territory, we have lost valuable lives, we have shed blood and treasure. Is all that to be in vain? If we were to surrender now, would hon. Members call it magnanimity? Sir, the country would have none of that. The City of York would have none of it; and the feeling exhibited there will be exhibited in every town in England and of loyal Ireland. I hope that this war will be prosecuted, I need hardly say with success, but until a termination has been arrived at which will satisfy the wishes of all real patriotic lovers of the Empire.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I recognise that the terms of the Amendment submitted to the House by the hon. and learned Member for Waterford are exceedingly narrow, and that it is perfectly impossible for anyone to argue the general question of policy upon it. The hon. and learned Gentleman, I am bound to say, introduced his Amendment with great moderation, and in the most temperate language. He put what he believed to be the Irish Nationalist point of view strongly, and I am very far from denying that he has behind him a considerable amount of Irish public opinion. I cannot help saying that I admit the seriousness of the fact. I think it is a lamentable fact that, with practically the whole of Great Britain on one side, with the whole of the self-governing colonies ranged behind us in this war, there should be an Irish party of eighty members in this House who, from whatever motives, will vote against England in this matter. Whether it comes from hatred of England or from a mistaken view of the facts, the fact is there, and I am not in the least inclined to underrate it. But it is, I confess, a rather curious condition of affairs that the representatives of a country which they claim to be an oppressed country, although I am not prepared to agree to the oppression to the extent they believe, should stand behind what I cannot help calling one of the most odious tyrannies of the century. [HON. MEMBERS on the Irish benches: Oh, oh!] Hon. Gentlemen opposite may disagree, but facts are facts. Now what would have been the position of the Irish people had they been in the condition of the British population in the Transvaal? if they were denied the franchise? [An

HON. MEMBER: So they were till the other day.] If they had had an embargo put upon the education of their children? [HON. MEMBERS: So they have! What about the university?] If they had had the right of public meeting suspended? [HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear!] If freedom of the press had been abolished? I know that hon. Gentleman will tell me that all this has happened in Ireland. [Cheers from the Irish benches.] Yes, but what was the view of the Irish Members in regard to it, and what did they say in this House about it? They never ceased to protest against it, and in many respects they succeeded in getting a remedy for great wrongs. But here they are ranged, not in protest against this iniquity, but in defence of it. [IRISH MEMBERS: No, no!] I say it is one of the most extraordinary facts of the situation that the representatives of a country claiming to be oppressed, and protesting against these things, should be standing in line for the oppressor. [AN IRISH MEMBER: For his independence only.] The hon. and learned Member for Waterford had an analogy, used repeatedly in this debate, of the most extraordinary character. He claims to stand in the position of Chatham and Burke, in protesting against the war with the American colonies. What was the net issue involved in that war? [AN IRISH MEMBER: A tax on tea.] Was not the grievance taxation without representation? But that is the grievance here, or one of them. The Uitlanders contribute most of the taxation of the Transvaal without an atom of representation.

MR. JONATHAN SAMUEL (Stockton): Have you not aliens in this country without representation?

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: Yet hon. Gentlemen shelter themselves behind the great names of Chatham and Burke, altogether oblivious of the fact that these men stood for a principle; and that they are revering that principle and standing for the opposite: taxation without representation. They are not alone to blame in that matter, for on the front bench opposite the same position has been taken. The hon. Member for Caithness had some debate with me as to the right

of public meeting in the Transvaal. He advanced the extraordinary argument that the law of public meeting in Johannesburg was precisely what it was in London. That is not so. And then the hon. Member went on to describe how he himself had been pelted with stones in Trafalgar Square. But that is not the law. Next, he went on to tell us that he had gone to Birmingham, and had been refused a fair hearing. Yes, but there is one place where he has not gone, where the law of public meeting is perfectly free. He has not gone to Caithness, his own constituency. He has gone up and down the country, but his own constituents have been clamouring for his presence and advice; and although the law of public meeting is perfectly safe in Caithness, he has not gone there. The hon. Member for North Louth, opposite to whom I have sat for fourteen years, and who never makes a speech, whether I agree with it or not (and I often agree with a great deal of what he says), but what I enjoy most heartily, spoke of the Boers having two gala days in the year, but that they were about to add many more. There is one which will never be added—the day on which this Parliament surrenders to most ignominious conditions like those of the Parliament of 1881, suggested by this Amendment. Sir, a good deal has been said during these debates about judgment and forethought. I have not seen much of it on the oppositese, and precious little of it in the Amendment before the House; and probably hon. Members are aware of it. This is not a question of forethought at all. He who runs may read. What are the terms of the Amendment now submitted to the House? The hon. and learned Gentleman does not pretend, because he is incapable of making a pretence, to prejudice the matter. What are the terms on which the war should be stopped? The Leader of the Opposition, the other night, finessed a good deal in his speech on that point. He committed himself almost, and then drew back. What he did commit himself to, if he committed himself at all, was that peace should be made when our territory was clear of the invader. [AN HON. MEMBER: Why not?] I am not saying why not; but it is a very different thing to make peace when the invader is on our territory. There is no mistake what this Amendment means.

The Irish Members know what they are doing. They have been perfectly logical and consistent in the whole of their proceedings. They refused to vote for the Amendment of the noble Lord the Member for Cricklade, because they did not approve of it. But this is an Amendment seeking to pledge the House of Commons to stop the war—now, with part of Natal and parts of Cape Colony in the hands of the enemy. All I have got to say is, that there are a great number of people in this country who think there was a shameful surrender after Majuba—I believe the majority of the people of the country think so—but the surrender of 1881 would be as nothing to the surrender of 1900, if this Amendment were carried. I say it is an impossible Amendment, and the sooner the House of Commons comes to a division upon it the better.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON (Cumberland, Cockermouth): The hon. Member who spoke last but one suggested that to accept the Amendment would be an act of cowardice. I think that it would be an act of the greatest cowardice for anyone to refuse to admit that he is in the wrong, if he is in the wrong. I am very glad that this Amendment has been brought forward, and for one reason—that it is a clear Amendment which we can all understand. We have had five or six nights debate over an Amendment which people did not seem able to understand, and of which they gave different explanations. But this is one we can all understand. I congratulate my Irish friends on having brought it forward. It is one of the first-fruits of that reconciliation which we have heard of; and for my part I take this opportunity of congratulating them on that union, which I hope and trust will be both firm and prosperous. They could not have done anything better than by bringing forward, on such an occasion, a motion in the sacred interests of peace and goodwill. I think the Amendment may be considered in another light; it condemns no one. It deals simply with the present, and suggests the means of getting out of the terrible position in which we find ourselves. It is a motion of peace and goodwill, and I, for my part, do not think that the war policy, so far, has done us any good. Is there any good thing that

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comes from such a policy? We have an enormous expenditure; we have a long roll of gallant dead; we have our wounded, suffering, and misery in thousands of homes, and our prestige that you talk about is gone. [HON. MEMBERS: No, no!] I can only say I read a letter the other day from one of the greatest Tories of the kingdom, Mr. Frederick Greenwood, who declares that our prestige is gone irretrievably; and the Prime Minister says we are in a state of humiliation; while I read in the Tory newspapers that the Empire is at stake. All this is the result of your war policy. The question brought forward by this Amendment is—"Is it worth while to go on with that policy, or to go on in a wiser course?" I know that the "war-at-any-price party" say, "Go on fighting, with more expenditure of treasure and with more disgrace to this country." [HON. MEMBERS: No, no!] Well, it is a disgrace. Whoever is to blame, whoever began it, surely it is a scandal and a disgrace for two so-called Christian nations to be cutting one another's throats. Why are they cutting one another's throats? It is to prove, if I understand the argument, which is the stronger. I voted in the autumn session with a very few colleagues against this war altogether, and against the money and the men. And I will tell you why I did so. I will quote my right hon. friend the Member for Wolverhampton, though I do not agree with him about this war. I am a man of peace; he is a man of war. I think he stated the case very properly when he went down to his constituents after the autumn session. He said that—

"He held to the opinion clearly that war was a terrible and awful calamity, and unless it was absolutely unnecessary was a gigantic crime. Now, holding that opinion, he could not and would not spend a single shilling or sacrifice a single life in the prosecution of a war which he held to be unjust."

That is my standpoint. I hold this war to be unjust, and I voted at every opportunity against the money and the men; and I shall do so to the end of the chapter, unless somebody can show me a different way of settling this dispute. I have alluded to our misfortunes. We cannot regain the millions spent, we cannot recall the lives of the heroes who are dead, or bind up the hearts broken by all this misery; but I do think it still

remains in our power, by conciliation and adopting the Amendment under consideration, to put a stop to what is going on. I think it is possible, even now, that a wise statesmanship may be able to stand between the living and the dead. The First Lord of the Admiralty in his speech alluded to the Amendment brought forward by the Front Opposite Bench as unpatriotic. I do not accept that description for this Amendment; it at any rate proposes a Christian intervention in these horrible proceedings. But I would prefer another Amendment like the one I put on the Paper, which more correctly expresses my views, and although I cannot now move it, I may be allowed to read it—"And we humbly pray your Majesty to direct your Ministers to take immediate steps for making known to the two Republics with whom we are at war the terms on which an honourable peace may be concluded, with a view to stopping further loss of life and expenditure of treasure in military operations." I think that would have been a better way of expressing my own feelings. It does not say "Stop the war," but only takes the means probable to stop the fighting. Now I know that in this House that is not a popular line to take; and in the country it is very difficult to express any opinion in favour of peace. But, Sir, I am proud of this House; I think it is the only place that is left at this moment in which a man is allowed to say what he will on this matter. I am proud of the debate. I am an old Member of the House, and I think some of the speeches made during last week have been the finest I have ever heard, such as those of my right hon. friend the Member for Bodmin, my right hon. friend the Member for Dumfries Burghs, my right hon. friend the Member for West Monmouthshire, the Member for Battersea, and, above all, that of the hon. Member for Carnarvon Burghs, whose was one of the very finest I ever heard in this House. I am sure that the House listened to these speeches graciously and quietly, and I rejoice that they have been put before the country. Of course it is said that we cannot do anything because of the invasion of our territory. That appears to me to be only a part of the argument. Really we were making war against the Transvaal when we were sending out our troops there; and it was only because the Boers had

the first chance that they crossed the frontier. Of course there is the feeling which animates our Yeomanry and Volunteers, that they are going out to defend our territory; but nobody can expect any military glory from this war, for if we have 180,000 men opposed to 60,000, that is three to one, how can you possibly find glory in it? As to the bravery of our troops, who disputes it? We know they are brave, and will be brave. But, on the other hand, the Boers are equally brave. When this war is all over you will have to arrange somehow to settle matters. All I ask is, let us try and arrange matters before we kill all these men. If we want to arrange matters, however, we must be clear what is wanted. There is no doubt these Republics made war on us because they believed that we were attacking their independence. If that be so, and if we are merely fighting to repel an invasion, say so, and let them understand it. If we are fighting about the franchise, say so. If we are fighting about monopolies, say so. Lord Rosebery says we are fighting against a corrupt and despotic oligarchy. [An Hon. MEMBER: Hear, hear!] I hear somebody say, "Hear, hear." I suppose he does not belong to an oligarchy. If we are fighting against a giant despotic oligarchy, I only say, let us put our own house in order before we attempt to put the Transvaal House in order. [An Hon. MEMBER: The liquor laws.] I merely suggest various reasons that have been stated for the war. The hon. Member says it is to put down the liquor traffic. Well, the liquor traffic supplies a third of our revenue and two-thirds of the House of Commons. We have heard, over and over again, about fighting for supremacy; and the First Lord of the Admiralty made a distinct Ministerial statement on that point. What are the Boers to think when they know that that is the policy of the Government? What does it mean? It means the extermination of the Boers. It is said that if this war goes on the women will take up arms. That shows it is to be a war of extermination. The Colonial Secretary says that one of the lessons of this war is to be found in the enormous power possessed by Volunteer troops when fighting in defence of their own country. Is not the same power possessed by the Boers? By this motion

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we are not condemning the past, we are suggesting, instead, a gleam of hope for the future, and the first step towards securing a settlement is to come to a clear understanding. This war is the outcome of a miserable misunderstanding which has cost much suffering and the loss of many lives. Let us have no more misunderstandings. My right hon. friend the Member for South Aberdeen said we were bound to make our authority manifest to the world. Can we not do something better than that, and make our honour, truth, and humanity known to the world? That would be much more effectual than any display of armies and armaments. In his speech the Under Secretary for War—and I congratulate him heartily on being able to make so charming a speech on so horrible a subject—said that the Amendment moved by the front bench would not be understood by the taxpayers here or by our foreign critics or by our fellow subjects in Natal. I venture to assert that none of these people can understand the way we are going on now, and they will be unable to understand it until we have a clear and distinct statement of what our intentions and designs are in this war. Such a statement is due, not merely to the people of this country, but to our neighbours throughout the world. Why can we not try to stop this horrid slaughter? I see nothing before me but a long vista of horrible and ceaseless massacres of mankind. In a speech which the Colonial Secretary made in the autumn session, he appealed to some deity which he himself invented—he appealed to the God of Battles. Of course, if we are to worship him, if we are his subjects, we must go on as we are, sacrificing thousands of men. But if any of us have regard to the teaching and worship of the Prince of Peace, then I implore Members of this House and the Government to make an honest and earnest effort to sheath the sword and to spare mankind.

COMMANDER BETHELL (Yorkshire, E.R., Holderness): As I had not an opportunity of addressing the House in the course of the debate which was brought to a close last night, I am very anxious, being one of the few Members on this side in the House who hold opinions

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different from those entertained on this war by the great body of our party, to place on record my agreement with my right hon. friend the Member for Bodmin and the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Plymouth. I have not, since the outbreak of this war, addressed this House, and I wish now to say that it is my clear opinion and my firm conviction that this war is an unjust war. I am bound to say that in common generosity to my two hon. friends, but I shall not annoy the party to which I have the honour to belong by any investigation of the reasons which have led me to this conclusion. This is scarcely the proper moment to do that, even if I had any desire. But I would like to say a few words in regard to the future, words which I do not think will cause annoyance to anybody. I do not believe that the sword can settle this South African question. It is a racial question. We can, it is true, if we wish, and as we shall, remove the grievances which have been complained of. We can sweep away the armed camp, but we cannot settle a racial question by the sword seven thousand miles away from this country. I pray you to remember that the British Empire after all is an Empire in virtue of its free institutions, and it is as certain as I am standing here that, if not by the present Government, then by gentlemen in some other part of the House, free institutions must be restored to the Republics at the end of this war. How do those institutions work? You have a Dutch population increasing in a much more rapid degree than the English population, and it is pretty certain that in twenty-five years from now the old difficulty will reappear. Remember what has happened within the last twenty-five years. Remember what happened after Majuba. The Afrikaner Bond was started and dominated South Africa, and we may be sure that after this war a similar ramification will spread over the whole of South Africa. Do you really believe that after we have given the Dutchmen a beating they will consent to live comfortably beside us? I am afraid that the Secretary of State for the Colonies has misread history most woefully. Have we not before us the history

of the Dutch in Europe? Have we not, too, the history of the Dutch in South Africa? Do you believe that a race so tenacious as they have proved themselves to be will accept defeat at our hands and consent to live beside us in peace? No, Sir; much as I grieve for the war and the causes which started it, what I regret much more is the profound mistake of my hon. friends in hoping and believing that the sword can settle this racial question, a question which in history never has been settled by the sword, excepting in the case, perhaps, of small countries bordering on the country with which the difficulty arose. As far as the Amendment of the hon. Member for Waterford goes, I certainly am not going to support that. I did not take any part in the division last night, because I could not see my way to express approval of the negotiations which preceded this horrible transaction. No doubt, technically, the Republics made war upon us; but in my opinion, morally, we made war on the Republics. I frankly admit that mistakes have been made by the Governments of the Republics, but I am not going to consent to any Amendment which would suggest that we should offer terms of peace while the enemy is still upon our soil. I beg to associate myself as earnestly as I can with the speech of my hon. and learned friend the Member for Plymouth and with that of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bodmin. While it is essential that we should repel the intruder from our territory, it is not essential merely for the glory of defeating the enemy to continue the war after proper and honourable proposals for peace can be made. I further wish to associate myself with the words of my hon. and learned friend the Member for Plymouth, which, I am afraid, gave some dissatisfaction on this side of the House. I feel bound to support his view that when the time comes to make peace, that when it is possible to undertake negotiations to put a stop to this bloody war, when we can once more hope to give

peace to South Africa, then it would be shocking if those who are mainly responsible for the war having broken out—I mean among others the Secretary of State for the Colonies—should be entrusted with the negotiations.

MR. ARNOLD (Halifax): When this House was prorogued last August, I am sure it was the wish of all of us that there should be no war at all, and I believe the great majority of the Members of this House and of the people of this country believed that not a shot would be fired. But in consequence of the ultimatum war has commenced, and if proposals for peace are to be made they should come from the other side. With reference to the Amendment now before the House in favour of recognising the independence of the Republics when the war is over, I trust, and I think we all hope, that peace will be made upon the terms so eloquently described yesterday by my right hon. friend—terms dictated by fairness and justice and not by a spirit of vengeance, but when we come to discuss the question of the independence of the Republics I think we are bound to consider what the possession of that independence led them to do. They so arranged the taxation of their country that the dominant clique paid practically nothing, while the great majority of the inhabitants, who were citizens of this country, had to contribute eight or nine times as much as the Boers. And when they got the money, what did they do with it? They spent millions of pounds in erecting in the Transvaal an arsenal for the construction and storage of the direst implements of war. They created a splendid artillery, and they engaged the services of the best military strategists they could find. Why did they establish their arsenal in such close proximity to one of our most loyal and peaceable possessions—namely, Cape Colony? It would be idle to dispute the fact that their real object was to seize that colony whenever the opportunity

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offered itself. If they are to be allowed to retain their independence and to do that sort of thing again, then this war will have been undertaken in vain, and we shall have expended our treasure and, what is more precious, many valuable lives, to no effect. I think we may safely leave it to the Government, who know the intentions and wishes of the people of this country, to settle this question, and to insure that wherever the British flag is to be found there shall be equal liberty for all, and that no one race shall domineer over another.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): The Amendment brought forward by the united Irish party denounces the war as unjust and unnecessary. As a member of that united Irish party— [Ironical cheers.] —hon. Members opposite may sneer, but, judging from the difference of opinion that exists amongst the members even of the great Unionist party, I claim, as a member of the Irish party, that in this matter we are more united than the Unionists. We declare that this war is unjust. It is the opinion in Ireland that the war is unjust, because the jingo party of Great Britain has practically endeavoured to take away the independence of the two Republics, and because the war has been engineered through the means of certain Cabinet Ministers. If I were to make a suggestion to this great and honourable House, I would say, in all seriousness, that no war should be declared until the question has been debated by this House. I made such a

proposition in the newspapers, and it was not received with favour; but I do hold that the question of peace or war should be determined by the House of Commons and not by a particular Minister. I am delighted to have an opportunity of showing that we, the united Irish party, are not in line with, but are entirely separated from, other parties in the House of Commons. It is a mere pretence to say that this war is necessary. It is simply a war of capitalists. It is a gold and diamond war, brought about through the agency of the Stock Exchange. It is a war of shareholders in gold mines and diamond fields. It is not the result of international complications, it is simply the result of pressure which has been brought to bear on the Government by gentlemen who control the purse-strings of the community. I do urge the House to take measures to put a speedy end to this war. I made some remarks a few months ago, and hon. Gentlemen laughed at the idea of this being a serious war. I tell you now, as I told you then, that this war is not a matter to be laughed at. The French nation went into their war with Germany with a light heart—so one of their Ministers said. You hon. Members opposite went into this war with a light heart, and you scoffed at Members on this side who urged that it had a serious side. I ask you to-day, have you any consideration for the widows and orphans created by this war?—and I again ask you to declare that this war is unjust and unnecessary, and that measures should be taken to secure a speedy peace.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 66; Noes, 368. (Division List No. 4.)

AYES.

Abraham, Wm. (Cork, N.E.)
Am rose, Robert
Austin, M. (Limerick, W.)
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)
Blake, Edward
Burns, John
Carew, James Laurence
Carvill, P. Geo. Hamilton
Clancy, John Joseph
Clark, Dr. G. B. (Caithness-sh.)
Commins, Andrew
Condon, Thomas Joseph

Crean, Eugene
Crilly, Daniel
Curran, Thos. B. (Donegal)
Curran, Thomas (Sligo, S.)
Daly, James
Doogan, P. C.
Engledaw, Charles John
Farrell, James P. (Cavan, W.)
Farrell, Thomas J. (Kerry, S.)
French, Peter
Field, William (Dublin)
Flavin, Michael Joseph

Flynn, James Christopher
Fox, Dr. Joseph Francis
Gibney, James
Hammond, John (Carlow)
Harrington, Timothy
Hayden, John Patrick
Healy, Maurice (Cork)
Healy, Thomas J. (Wexford)
Healy, Timothy M. (N. Louth)
Hogan, Thomas Francis
Jameson, Major J. Eustace
Jordan, Jeremiah

Mr. Arnold.

Kilbride, Denis
Lawson, Sir W. (Cumberland)
Macaleese, Daniel
MacDonnell, Dr. M. A. (Qn's C.)
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
McCartan, Michael
McDermott, Patrick
McGhee, Richard
McHugh, Patrick A. (Leitrim)
Mandeville, J. Francis
Molloy, Bernard Charles

Murnaghan, George
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary)
O'Connor, Arthur (Donegal)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Malley, William
Parnell, John Howard
Pinkerton, John
Power, Patrick Joseph

Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roche, John (East Galway)
Sullivan, Donal (Westmeath)
Sullivan, T. D. (Donegal, W.)
Tully, Jasper
Young, Samuel (Cavan, E.)
TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
Sir Thomas Esmonde and
Captain Donelan.

NOES.

Aird, John
Allan, William (Gatehead)
Allsopp, Hon. George
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Archdale, Edward Mervyn
Arnold, Alfred
Arnold-Forster, Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Asher, Alexander
Aquilith, Right Hon. H. H.
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Austin, Sir John (Yorkshire)
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Baillie, J. E. B. (Inverness)
Bainbridge, Emerson.
Baird, John George Alexander
Balcarres, Lord
Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manchester)
Banbury, Frederick George
Barnes, Frederic Gorell
Barry, Rt. Hn. A. H. S. (Hunts)
Barry, Sir Francis T. (Windsor)
Bartley, George C. T.
Bathurst, Hon. Allen Benjamin
Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir M. H. (Bristol)
Beach, W. W. Bramston (Hants.)
Beaumont, Wentworth C. B.
Beckett, Ernest William
Begg, Ferdinand Faithfull
Bethell, Commander
Bhownaggee, Sir M. M.
Bigwood, James
Bill, Charles
Billson, Alfred
Blakiston-Houston, John
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bolitho, Thomas Bedford
Bonsor, Henry Cosmo Orme
Boulnois, Edmund
Bowles, T. G. (King's Lynn)
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brookfield, A. Montagu
Brown, Alexander H.
Bullard, Sir Harry
Butcher, John George
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Sir C. (Glasgow)
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carson, Rt. Hon. Edward
Causton, Richard Knight
Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chaloner, Captain R. G. W.

Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. (Birm.)
Chamberlain, J. Austen (Worce'r)
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Charrington, Spencer
Chelsea, Viscount
Clarke, Sir E. (Plymouth)
Coddington, Sir William
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb, Sir John Chas. Ready
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Cook, Fred. Lucas (Lambeth)
Cooke, C. W. Radcliffe (Hereford)
Corbett, A. C. (Glasgow)
Cornwallis, Fiennes Stanley W.
Cotton-Jodrell, Col. E. T. D.
Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
Cripps, Charles Alfred
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Currie, Sir Donald
Curzon, Viscount
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dalrymple, Sir Charles
Davies, M. Vaughan (Cardigan)
Denny, Colonel
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Dixon-Hartland, Sir Fred. D.
Donkin, Richard Sim
Dorington, Sir John Edward
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Douglas-Pennant, Hon. E. S.
Doxford, Sir Wm. Theodore
Drage, Geoffrey
Duncombe, Hon. Hubert V.
Dunn, Sir William
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elliot, Hn. A. Ralph Douglas
Emmott, Alfred
Evans, Sir Francis H. (South'ton)
Fardell, Sir T. George
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Manchester)
Field, Admiral (Eastbourne)
Finch, George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Firbank, Joseph Thomas
Fisher, William Hayes
Fison, Frederick William
Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmund
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Fletcher, Sir Henry
Flower, Ernest

Forster, Henry William
Foster, Harry S. (Suffolk)
Foster, Sir W. (Derby Co.)
Fowler, Rt. Hon. Sir Henry
Fry, Lewis
Galloway, William Johnson
Garfit, William
Gedge, Sydney
Gibbons, J. Lloyd
Gibbs, Hn. A. G. H. (C. of Lond.)
Gibbs, Hn. Vicary (St. Albans)
Giles, Charles Tyrrell
Gilliat, John Saunders
Gold, Charles
Goldsworthy, Major-General
Gordon, Hon. John Edward
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir J. Eldon
Goschen, Rt. Hn. G. J. (St. George's)
Gourley, Sir Edward Temperley
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Grey, Sir Edward (Berwick)
Gull, Sir Cameron
Gunter, Colonel
Guthrie, Walter Murray
Haldane, Richard Burdon
Hall, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord George
Hanbury, Rt. Hn. Robert Wm.
Hanson, Sir Reginald
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Harwood, George
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Heath, James
Heaton, John Henniker
Hedderwick, Thomas Chas. H.
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Alexander
Hermion-Hodge, Robt. Trotter
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Hill, Sir Edwd. Stock (Bristol)
Hoare, Edw. B. (Hampstead)
Hoare, Sir Samuel (Norwich)
Hobhouse, Henry
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
Houston, R. P.
Howard, Joseph
Howell, William Tudor
Howorth, Sir Henry Hoyle
Hozier, Hon. James H. Cecil
Hubbard, Hon. Evelyn
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hutchinson, Capt. G. W. Grice-
Hutton, John (York, N. R.)
Jenkins, Sir John Jones

Jeasel, Capt. Herbert Merton
 Johnston, William (Belfast)
 Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
 Joicey, Sir James
 Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
 Kay-Shuttleworth, Rt. Hon. Sir U.
 Kearley, Hudson E.
 Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir J. H.
 Kenyon, James
 Kenyon-Slaney, Col. William
 Kinloch, Sir John Geo. Smyth
 Kitson, Sir James
 Knowles, Lees
 Lafone, Alfred
 Laurie, Lieut.-General
 Lawrence, Sir E. Durning (Corn)
 Lawrence, W. F. (Liverpool)
 Lawson, John Grant (Yorks.)
 Lea, Sir Thos. (Londonderry)
 Lecky, Rt. Hon. W. Edw. H.
 Leese, Sir Jos. F. (Accrington)
 Leigh-Bennett, Henry Currie
 Leighton, Stanley
 Leuty, Thomas Richmond
 Llewellyn, Evan H. (Somerset)
 Llewelyn, Sir Dillwyn (Swansea)
 Lockwood, Lt.-Col. A. R.
 Loder, Gerald W. Erskine
 Long, Col. C. W. (Evesham)
 Long, Rt. Hon. W. (Liverpool)
 Lopes, Henry Yarde Buller
 Lowther, Rt. Hon. J. (Kent)
 Loyd, Archie Kirkman
 Lucas-Shadwell, William
 Macartney, W. G. Ellison
 Macdona, John Cumming
 MacIver, David (Liverpool)
 Macleure, Sir John William
 McArthur, Chas. (Liverpool)
 McArthur, Wm. (Cornwall)
 McCalmont, Col. J. (Antrim, E.)
 McCrae, George
 McIver, Sir L. (Edinburgh, W.)
 McKenna, Reginald
 McKillop, James
 Malcolm, Ian
 Manners, Lord Edward Wm. J.
 Marks, Harry H.
 Martin, Richard Biddulph
 Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
 Maxwell, Rt. Hon. Sir H. E.
 Mellor, Rt. Hon. J. W. (Yorks)
 Mendl, Sigismund Ferdinand
 Meysey-Thompson, Sir H. M.
 Middlemore, J. Throgmorton
 Milbank, Sir Powlett Chas. J.
 Mildmay, Francis Bingham
 Monk, Charles James
 Montagu, Hon. J. S. (Hants)
 Montagu, Sir S. (Whitechapel)
 Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
 Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
 More, Robt. Jasper (Shropshire)
 Morgan, J. L. (Carmarthen)
 Morrell, George Herbert
 Morrison, Walter

Morton, A. H. A. (Deptford)
 Mount, William George
 Muntz, Philip A.
 Murray, Rt. Hon. A. Graham (Bute)
 Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
 Myers, William Henry
 Newdigate, Francis Alexander
 Nicholson, William Graham
 Nicol, Donald Ninian
 Norton, Capt. Cecil William
 Nussey, Thomas Willans
 Oldroyd, Mark
 O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
 Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
 Parkes, Ebenezer
 Paulton, James Mellor
 Pease, Herbt. P. (Darlington)
 Pease, Joseph A. (Northumb.)
 Penn, John
 Perks, Robert William
 Phillips, John Wynford
 Phillipotts, Captain Arthur
 Pierpoint, Robert
 Pilkington, R. (Lancs. Newtown)
 Pilkington, Sir G. A. (Lancs. SW)
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick
 Plunkett, Rt. Hon. Horace C.
 Pollock, Harry Frederick
 Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
 Pretymann, Ernest George
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
 Pym, C. Guy
 Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
 Rankin, Sir James
 Rasch, Major Frederic Carne
 Renshaw, Charles Bine
 Rentoul, James Alexander
 Richardson, J. (Durham, S.E.)
 Richardson, Sir T. (Hartlepool)
 Rickett, J. Compton
 Ridley, Rt. Hon. Sir Matthew W.
 Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Chas. Thomson
 Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
 Robinson, Brooke
 Robson, William Snowdon
 Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
 Rothschild, Hon. Lionel W.
 Runciman, Walter
 Russell, Gen. F. S. (Cheltenham)
 Russell, T. W. (Tyrone)
 Rutherford, John
 Ryder, John Herbert Dudley
 Samuel H. S. (Limehouse)
 Samuel, J. (Stockton-on-Tees)
 Sandys, Lieut.-Col. T. Myles
 Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
 Sanderson, Rt. Hon. Col. E. J.
 Savory, Sir Joseph
 Scoble, Sir Andrew Richard
 Seton-Karr, Henry
 Sharpe, William Edward T.
 Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
 Shaw-Stewart, M. H. (Renfrew)
 Sidebotham, J. W. (Chester)
 Sidebottom, T. Harrop (Stalybr)
 Sidebottom, W. (Derbyshire)

Simeon, Sir Barrington
 Sinclair, Capt. J. (Forfarshire)
 Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
 Smith, Abel H. (Christchurch)
 Smith, Jas. Parker (Lanarks.)
 Smith, Hn. W. F. D. (Strand)
 Soames, Arthur Wellesley
 Spencer, Ernest
 Spicer, Albert
 Stanley, E. J. (Somerset)
 Stanley, Sir H. M. (Lambeth)
 Stephens, Henry Charles
 Stewart, Sir M. J. M. Taggart
 Stirling-Maxwell, Sir J. M.
 Stock, James Henry
 Stone, Sir Benjamin
 Strachey, Edward
 Strauss, Arthur
 Start, Hon. Humphry Napier
 Sutherland, Sir Thomas
 Talbot, Rt. Hon. J. G. (Oxford Univ)
 Tennant, Harold John
 Thomas, Abel (Carmarthens, E.)
 Thorburn, Sir Walter
 Thornton, Percy M.
 Tollenmache, Henry James
 Tomlinson, W. E. Murray
 Trevelyan, Charles Philips
 Tritton, Charles Ernest
 Ure, Alexander
 Usborne, Thomas
 Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
 Wallace, Robert
 Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
 Wanklyn, James Leslie
 Ward, Hon. Robert A. (Crewes)
 Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
 Warr, Augustus Frederick
 Wason, Eugene
 Webster, Sir Richard E.
 Welby, Lieut.-Col. A. C. E.
 Wentworth, Bruce C. Vernon
 Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
 Whiteley, George (Stockport)
 Whiteley, H. (Ashton-under-L.)
 Whitmore, Charles Algernon
 Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
 Williams, J. Powell (Birm.)
 Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
 Willox, Sir John Archibald
 Wills, Sir William Henry
 Wilson, John (Falkirk)
 Wilson, John (Govan)
 Wilson-Todd, Wm. H. (York)
 Wodehouse, Rt. Hon. E. R. (Bath)
 Woodhouse, Sir J. T. (Hudders.)
 Wylie, Alexander
 Wyndham, George
 Yervill, Marmaduke D'Arcy
 Yerrburgh, Robert Armstrong
 Young, Commander (Berks, E.)
 Younger, William

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
 Sir William Walrand and
 Mr. Anstruther.

Original Question again proposed.

Debate to be resumed To-morrow.

Debate arising; and it being after half-past Five of the clock, the debate stood adjourned.

Adjourned at a quarter before
 Six of the clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, 8th February, 1900.

SAT FIRST.

The Lord Vivian sat first in Parliament after the death of his father.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

ALIEN IMMIGRATION.

Return of the number of aliens that arrived from the Continent at ports in the United Kingdom in each month of the year 1900: ordered to be laid before the House (the Lord Churchill).

UNITED STATES (No. 1).

Convention between Her Majesty and the United States of America supplementary to the Convention of 19th April, 1850, relative to the establishment of a communication by ship canal between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans; signed at Washington, 5th February, 1900.

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

No. 2378. Portugal (Trade for the years 1897 and 1898).

SOUTH AFRICA.

Notice issued by the High Commissioner for South Africa, on 26th January, 1900, relating to forfeitures, etc., of property situated in the South African Republic or in the Orange Free State declared subsequently to 10th October, 1899.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

ARMY (MILITARY SAVINGS BANK).

Statement of amount due to depositors on the 31st March, 1898, and of the receipts, interests, and disbursements during the year ended 31st March, 1899, etc.

ST. LUCIA.

Regulation amending Rule 282 of the Prison Regulations, with respect to interviews between prisoners awaiting their trial and their legal advisers.

VOL. LXXVIII. [FOURTH SERIES.]

IMPERIAL OTTOMAN GUARANTEED LOAN, 1855.

Account for the year 1899.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

ALIEN IMMIGRATION.

Return (in part) respecting: Laid before the House pursuant to order of this day, and to be printed. (No. 8.)

PETITION.

VIVISECTION.

Petition for suppression of the practice of; of a Meeting held at Rushmere, Wandsworth Common; read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—TELEGRAMS TO SOLDIERS ON SERVICE.

*THE EARL OF LICHFIELD: My Lords, I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War if he contemplates establishing a registered telegraphic address for each battalion or unit of our forces in South Africa; and if so, whether the scheme will be brought into operation at an early date. Your Lordships are aware, many of you from personal experience, of the great expense involved in sending telegrams to those who are at the front in South Africa. Each word costs 4s., and it is very difficult to make out a telegram to any friend at the front costing less than £2 for the address alone. It must be obvious that, under these circumstances, it is impossible for poor people to use the telegraph as a means of communication with our soldiers in South Africa; but if a system such as I have suggested in my question were adopted, no doubt many who have hitherto been unable to use the telegraph would be enabled, owing to the reduced cost, to avail themselves of it. I believe that if the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War is able to adopt a system of registered telegraphic addresses, it will be possible to address a telegram to a private soldier at the front in two words—one giving his regimental number and the other the registered telegraphic address of his regiment. I am assuming that the words "Cape Colony" or "South Africa" would be included in the word representing the

registered telegraphic address. If, further, there was a code word to signify "in hospital," it would be possible to address a message in three words to a wounded officer or soldier. I am quite sure that if the noble Marquess can see his way to adopt a plan such as I have indicated it will be greatly appreciated by the people of this country and by the soldiers who are fighting so bravely for us in South Africa. I would merely add that I hope, if any scheme is introduced, it will be as comprehensive as possible, and will include our Colonial contingents.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (The Marquess of Lansdowne): My Lords, my noble friend made this suggestion to me some weeks ago, and it certainly struck me as a most reasonable one. I was sure that all the Departments concerned would gladly co-operate in order to give facilities to persons in this country desiring to communicate with their friends in the field force in South Africa. I lost no time in communicating with the Post Office on the subject. The Post Office has considered it in conjunction with the Eastern Telegraph Company; a list of code words has been framed, and has been sent out to South Africa, and, I think, must have arrived there two or three days ago. As soon as the telegraphic authorities at the Cape have informed us, as they no doubt will do by telegraph, that they are able to accept the code, the new arrangement will come into force, and will be made known by the Post Office here. The procedure that will be followed will be this:—The senders of telegrams will continue to address them as they have hitherto done, giving the name of the person to whom the message is addressed and the full title of his regiment; but the telegraph authorities will translate that of their own motion into the code word. That will have the effect in the case, for example, of a regiment which has a long title of substituting for such long title a single word. The difference between the suggestion of my noble friend and the arrangement proposed to be carried out is merely this—that the translation of the address into the code word will be made, not by the person who sends the telegram, but by the telegraph authorities who transmit it to the Cape. I think that is certainly an improvement. As to the further suggestion that code words should

be introduced as the equivalents of such expressions as "in hospital," I shall be glad to have it considered, but it did not form part of the original proposition.

*THE EARL OF LICHFIELD: I beg to thank the noble Marquess for the extremely satisfactory answer he has been able to give to my question; only I do not quite understand how under the scheme the sender is to know how much he will have to pay. I should have thought it would have been better to publish the code at every post office. I hope the press will take notice of the scheme and make it as public as possible, so that everyone concerned will understand how it will be put in force.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: Instructions will be issued by the post office on the subject. When the sender delivers his message at the post office he will find that he is charged for the full title of the regiment as if it was condensed into one word.

SPION KOP—BOER TREATMENT OF BRITISH WOUNDED.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: My Lords, I rise to ask whether it is true, as reported in the newspapers, that after the battle of Spion Kop wounded Uitlanders and Colonial soldiers were shot by the Boers on the field of battle. On Monday last, a telegram from Durban appeared in several of the newspapers to this effect, and with your Lordships' permission I will read the version of the telegram which appeared in the *Standard*. It was as follows—

"The wounded soldiers here (Durban) say that the Boers showed a marked vindictiveness against the colonial troops during the fighting at Spion Kop, even going so far as to kill, in cold blood, numbers of their wounded. This barbarous conduct accounts, it is said, for the exceedingly heavy losses sustained by Thorneycroft's Mounted Infantry and the Imperial Light Infantry. Some of the Regulars even gave their regimental badges to their colonial comrades, in order to save their lives, should they happen to be left on the field."

Of course, it is possible, and I hope it is the fact, that the statement is not well founded, but if it is well founded a very barbarous crime has been committed. We must remember who these colonials and Uitlanders are. The two corps which have been mentioned—Thorneycroft's Mounted Infantry and the Imperial

Light Infantry—are mainly composed of Natalians and Cape Colonists, whose country has been invaded and whose property has been looted, and they have as good a right, and, indeed, a much better right to fight in defence of their country than the Boers have to invade it. As I say, I hope the statement I have quoted is not correct. One is glad to think that some of the statements reflecting upon the Boers have been found, on further examination, to be inaccurate; on the other hand, some of the statements to their prejudice, such, for instance, as wanton looting of property in Natal and compelling Englishmen resident in the Free State to fight against this country, are, unfortunately, only too true. I wish to ask the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War whether he can give us any information on the subject, and, if not, whether he will cause, at the proper time, inquiries to be made into the matter.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: My Lords, we have no corroboration of the extremely painful story to which my noble friend has referred. I suggest to him that the better course will be to wait until we receive, as I have no doubt we shall, a despatch giving an account of this particular engagement, and should there then be any confirmation of this sinister rumour, it will be our business to make further inquiries.

LORD WENLOCK: Might I ask the noble Marquess if it is true that the Colonial troops are dressed differently to the Imperial troops?

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: I fancy they are all dressed in khaki, but whether there is any distinguishing mark between the two I cannot say.

House adjourned at a quarter before Five of the clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, 8th February, 1900.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

LLANDRINDOD WELLS WATER BILL.

Ordered, That the Examiners have leave to examine the Llandrindod Wells

Water, Petition for Bill, as to whether the Standing Orders have or have not been complied with, provided that notice of such examination shall have been once previously published in a newspaper published in the district, and in the *London Gazette*.

Ordered, That Memorials complaining of non-compliance with the Standing Orders shall be deposited in the Private Bill Office three clear days before the day appointed for the examination of the Petition.—(*The Chairman of Ways and Means*.)

METROPOLITAN POLICE PROVISIONAL ORDER.

Bill to confirm a Provisional Order made by one of Her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, under the Metropolitan Police Act, 1886, and the Metropolitan Police Courts Act, 1897, relating to lands in the parishes of St. Mary Stratford Bow, East Molesey, and Clerkenwell, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Jesse Collings and Secretary Sir Matthew White Ridley.

METROPOLITAN POLICE PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL.

"To confirm a Provisional Order made by one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, under the Metropolitan Police Act, 1886, and the Metropolitan Police Courts Act, 1897, relating to lands in the parishes of St. Mary Stratford Bow, East Molesey, and Clerkenwell," presented accordingly, and read the first time; to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 70.]

PETITIONS.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES SERVANTS' SUPERANNUATION.

Petition from Blean, for alteration of law; to lie upon the Table.

RATING OF WOODLANDS.

Petition from Wirral, for alteration of law; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS TO CHILDREN BILL.

Petition from Hulme, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

TOWN COUNCILS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Helensburgh, in favour ; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

ARMY (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE, 1899-1900).

Copy presented, of Estimate of the additional number of men and of the further amount required in the year ending 31st March 1900, in consequence of the War in South Africa [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 36.]

CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS ESTIMATES, 1900-1901.

Copy presented of Estimates for Civil Services and Revenue Departments for the year ending 31st March 1901, together with a copy of the Memorandum by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury relating thereto [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 37.]

IMPERIAL OTTOMAN GUARANTEED LOAN OF 1855.

Copy presented, of Account for the year 1899 [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table.

PAPER LAID UPON THE TABLE BY THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE.

Bank of England.—Copy of all applications made by the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank of England for Advances to Government authorised by Parliament, from 5th January, 1899, to 5th January, 1900 [by Act] ; to be printed. [No. 38.]

Naval Expenditure and Mercantile Marine (Great Britain, &c.)—Return ordered, “showing Aggregate Naval Expenditure on Seagoing Force ; Aggregate Revenue ; Aggregate Tonnage of Mercantile Marine ; Annual Clearances of Shipping in the Foreign Trade ; Annual Clearances of Shipping in the Coasting Trade ; Annual Value of Imports by Sea, including Bullion and Specie ; and Annual Value of Exports by Sea, including Bullion and Specie, of various Countries, exclusive of China and South American

Republics, but including British Self-governing Colonies, for the year 1899 (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 310, of Session 1899).”—(*Sir John Colomb.*)

EVENING CONTINUATION SCHOOLS.

Return ordered, “under administrative counties and county boroughs, of particulars with respect to the Evening Continuation Schools inspected for the year ended the 30th day of April, 1899.”—(*Mr. Hobhouse.*)

ALIEN IMMIGRATION.

Return ordered “of the number of Aliens that arrived from the Continent at ports in the United Kingdom in each month of the year 1900.”—(*Mr. Ritchie.*)

Return presented accordingly ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 39.]

CIVIL CONTINGENCIES FUND.

Copy ordered “of Accounts showing—

1. The receipts and payments in connection with the fund in the year ended the 31st day of March, 1899 ;
2. The distribution of the capital of the fund at the commencement and close of the year ;

together with the correspondence of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon.”—(*Mr. Hanbury*)

Copy presented accordingly ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 40.]

QUESTIONS.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—BRITISH PRISONERS AT PRETORIA.

MR. S. T. EVANS (Glamorganshire, Mid): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War what is the number of British officers, non-commissioned officers, and men now prisoners of war at Pretoria ; and whether any and, if so, what steps can or will be taken in the event of Pretoria being besieged by the British forces for the protection of the lives of the British prisoners of war in Pretoria, in case of failure of the Transvaal food.

supply, and in case of the shelling of Pretoria by the British forces.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): According to the latest return 2,283 officers and men are "missing." We have no certain knowledge how many of them are prisoners. The matter referred to in the second paragraph of the hon. Member's question must be left to the discretion of Lord Roberts.

EGYPTIAN GUNS AND STORES.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, East): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether any stores and arms belonging to the Egyptian Government have been despatched to the Transvaal, and under what authority.

***THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS** (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): Six Maxim guns have been obtained from Egypt for Her Majesty's forces, with the consent of Her Majesty's Agent and Consul General and of the Sirdar. They will be replaced from this country.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal S.): Were the guns removed with the consent of the Egyptian Government? That is the question.

[No answer was given.]

COMPOSITION OF THE BRITISH FORCE AT THE FRONT.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether he would state approximately how the 180,600 of our troops which, in the estimate of the Government, are expected to be in South Africa in the next fortnight or three weeks are made up—namely, how many are British and Irish, Regulars, Yeomanry, Militia, and Volunteers; how many have been raised in South Africa; and how many are from our colonies other than South Africa.

MR. WYNDHAM: The composition is as follows in round numbers:—Regular Army, 126,000; Royal Navy, 1,000; Militia, 9,000; Yeomanry, 5,000; Volunteers, 10,000; Colonial Troops, 26,000. Total, 179,000. I have left out odd

numbers. The exact total is 179,846, of which about 20,000 were raised in South Africa, and about 6,000 come from other colonies. I may add that since I gave this figure to the House, it has been decided to send 17 additional battalions of Militia, and that 3,000 additional Yeomanry have been raised and will be sent out; bringing the total of Militia to something over 20,000, the total of Yeomanry to 8,000, and the grand total of forces of all kinds to about 194,000. Perhaps I ought also to warn any hon. Members who are not familiar with the conditions of campaigning that very large deductions must be made from the total numbers sent to find the total number at any time available in the field. But I have excluded all killed and missing.

SHOOTING OF BRITISH SUBJECTS COMMANDEERED BY THE ENEMY.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will add to his inquiries concerning the men reported to have been shot in the Orange Free State for refusing to be commandeered, the query whether they are burghers, native or naturalised, of the Free State, and have been granted naturalisation, on the terms of their being subject to all the obligations and liabilities of burghers.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham, W.): The Governor of Natal has been asked whether, assuming there was any truth in the report, there were any circumstances tending to exonerate the authorities of the Orange Free State. This includes the hon. Member's query.

ALLEGED SHOOTING OF BOERS AT DE AAR.

MR. SHEE (Waterford, W.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War, with reference to the statement attributed to ex-Police Constable Sharp of the Blackburn Police, now a private in the 1st Shropshire Regiment serving with Lord Methuen, that, while that regiment was at De Aar, seven Boers and two Irishmen were taken out and shot, whether, as neither Lord Methuen nor any other commanding officer has made report on such an incident, inquiry will

be made of him whether there is any foundation for such a statement.

MR. WYNDHAM: If the hon. Member will refer me to the authority on which this statement is attributed to Private Sharp I will make inquiries, if the statement affords any basis upon which a question to Lord Roberts can be formulated.

CONTRABAND OF WAR—RIGHT OF SEARCH—THE "HERZOG."

*MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty is he aware that the ship "Herzog" was detained by Her Majesty's ship "Thetis," and taken in to Durban on suspicion of carrying contraband of war; that there was on board the "Herzog" a large party of men professing to be an ambulance party; that these men were armed, some of their arms being in charge of the captain; that, besides these, there were some forty second-class passengers with no recognised status, affecting to belong to Geneva red cross societies; also that the "Herzog's" papers showed that among her cargo were numerous cases professing to contain macaroni, which there is reason to believe contained rifles; and that there were also large quantities of tinned provisions, coffee, boots, cyanide, and other things of use in warlike operations, most of them consigned to Mr. Potts, the Transvaal Vice Consul at Delagoa Bay, and others of them consigned to well-known Transvaal agents there; will he say by whom and in virtue of what authority the "Herzog" was released without any examination being made of her cargo or passengers by the Prize Court, and were Her Majesty's Government consulted with reference to the release of this vessel; and was the release of the vessel ordered by Her Majesty's Government; and if so, why.

*MR. BRODRICK: The "Herzog" was detained by Her Majesty's ship "Thetis" and taken into Durban on suspicion of carrying contraband of war. She was released by order of Her Majesty's Government, as summary search did not reveal guns or ammunition, and assurances of a satisfactory nature had been given by the German Government on behalf of the company she belonged to. No contraband was found among her

cargo at Lorenzo Marques; the fact of members of an ambulance corps carrying revolvers would not disqualify them from claiming to be non-combatants. The officers of the British Army Medical Corps carry swords, and occasionally revolvers. It is not known that these revolvers were in charge of the captain.

MILITARY HOSPITALS.

DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been called to statements as to the defects in the military hospitals in Cape Colony and Natal; and whether he has any information which he can communicate to the House with a view of relieving the anxiety of those who have relatives or friends among the sick and wounded in South Africa.

*MR. WYNDHAM: In reply I will read selections from two telegrams on the matter from Lord Roberts and Sir Redvers Buller. Lord Roberts, telegraphing from Cape Town, January 22, 1900, 7.45 p.m., says—

"There is no real foundation for report reflecting on hospitals at the Cape. I am perfectly satisfied with all arrangements for reception and treatment of wounded. The quality of cooking was indifferent for first week; nothing more can be complained of, and this was rectified as soon as possible. . . ."

Sir Redvers Buller telegraphed to Lord Roberts, January 30, 1900, 10.50 a.m.—

"One of the Natal papers is attacking the management of the military hospitals, and, as some of the false and ridiculous statements may cause anxiety at home, I think it right to say that Mr. Treves assures me there is no possible ground for complaint, and that I may rest satisfied that all the medical arrangements are completely satisfactory to him. I pressed him if he could suggest improvement, and he said he could not. . . . I have given the matter every consideration, and can only express my admiration of the arrangements made by Colonel Galway and the Royal Army Medical Corps, and Mr. Treves assures me that he entirely agrees with me."

HAY CONTRACTS.

MR. PHILIPPS (Pembrokeshire): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether large quantities of hay for South Africa are being purchased in North and South America; if so, what prices are being paid; and what attempts have been

made to buy similar hay in Great Britain, and what prices were offered.

*THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE WAR OFFICE (Mr. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS, Birmingham, S.): Large quantities of hay for South Africa are being purchased in North and South America. The prices at which contracts are placed are not made public. Tenders have been invited for British hay, but the prices at which home-grown hay has been offered involve a much heavier total cost on delivery in South Africa than is incurred for the American hay, while the hay itself is not so suitable for the purposes of the present campaign.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): Is it not a fact that large quantities of foreign-bought hay have turned out to be rotten?

MR. D. A. THOMAS (Merthyr Tydvil): Is not the freight on hay from this country less than from America?

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: The total cost of hay is less when sent from America than when sent from this country. I have no knowledge of large consignments of hay from America having been found rotten.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I did not refer merely to American hay. Is it not the case that a large quantity of foreign-bought hay has had to be condemned by the authorities?

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: I do not know of any having had to be condemned.

BOOT CONTRACTS.

MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.): I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether the War Office has obtained from Indian factories a large quantity of boots for the use of the troops in South Africa; what number of pairs of boots have been thus obtained; at what price they have been supplied, and at what prices Army boots, both hand sewn and machine made, have been contracted for this past year in Northamptonshire and other shoe manufacturing districts in England; whether very large tenders of boots have been made by English firms this past year,

and only small orders placed with such firms on the ground of price; whether it was found that the Indian made boots supplied to Lord Kitchener's forces in the Soudan proved unsatisfactory, while English made wire sewn and riveted boots stood the campaign exceedingly well; and whether the leather out of which Indian boots are made is thinner, and therefore unsuitable for rough travelling in stony country; whether the Indian boots supplied to the South Africa forces were, before the decision to purchase, submitted to the usual examination of the Army boot inspectors in this country; and whether, in arranging for the present and future requirements of the troops, the War Office will take the proper steps to secure the soundest and strongest boots from approved English firms at a fair price, having regard to the increase in the price of sound leather and to the cost of British labour.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: In order to meet a very urgent demand 60,000 pairs of boots have been ordered from India, at prices equal to the lowest price paid in England. They could not have been obtained as quickly from any other source. Contract prices are not disclosed. The Indian boots supplied for the Soudan, as well as the English made wire-sewn and riveted boots, were found quite satisfactory. The Indian boots were subjected to the usual inspection in India, and were shipped thence to South Africa. Orders for boots have, during the past year, been placed at home with all firms offering supplies at reasonable prices. The offers declined were from makers whose quotations were much above the mass of tenders received. As a rule, the boots of the British Army are obtained from home manufacturers, but in a time of emergency, when immediate delivery is necessary, other sources of supply have occasionally to be resorted to.

MR. CHANNING: May I ask why these requirements were not anticipated in time to get the boots in England? Have not tenders for 300,000 pairs been issued within the past week?

[No answer was given.]

IRISH MILITIA REGIMENTS ON FOREIGN SERVICE.

MR. FIELD (Dublin, St. Patrick): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State

for War, will he explain in what manner Irish Militia regiments who are stated to have volunteered for the Cape offered such service; whether the men were individually consulted by their commanding officer; and whether any opportunity was subsequently afforded to them of reconsidering their decision.

*MR. WYNDHAM: The mode of calling on Militia units for service abroad has been left to the commanding officers, who have received explicit orders to allow no pressure to be put on the men. It has been usual in the case of embodied units to ask the men on parade, in the case of disembodied units to send to each individual a reply-paid postcard. In all cases an opportunity is given to the men of reconsidering their decisions. The general officer, or an officer deputed by him, inspects the unit on parade before its departure and asks any man who does not volunteer to step out of the ranks and say so. Of this opportunity a few men have taken advantage.

YEOMANRY COMMISSIONS.

MR. BARLOW (Somersetshire, Frome): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War why it is that gentlemen who have only done a few weeks training in Yeomanry cavalry have been granted commissions as majors and captains in the Imperial Yeomanry and Mounted Infantry force, while Reserve officers with from five to eight years service in the Household Brigade and cavalry and infantry of the line are only given the rank of lieutenant.

*MR. WYNDHAM: The selection of all the regimental officers of the Imperial Yeomanry has been entrusted to the Yeomanry Committee, subject to the approval of the Secretary of State, and he does not doubt that they have made their selection in the manner most conducive, in their opinion, to the efficiency of the corps.

THE DEVONSHIRE YEOMANRY.

SIR CAMERON GULL (Devonshire, Barnstaple): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War will he explain why the Devonshire company of the Imperial Yeomanry has been notified that it will not embark for another three weeks, although it has been in continuous

training for a month and has been very favourably reported on both by the inspecting officer and by the colonel commanding.

*MR. WYNDHAM: Transport is assigned for companies of Yeomanry on the application of the Imperial Yeomanry Committee; and the order in which the companies are taken rests entirely with that Committee. The Committee's requisition for transport for the Devonshire Company was received on the 29th January; but by that time all ships available for the carriage of horses had been appropriated for other companies and for the 4th Cavalry Brigade. No further horse transports can now be available till the 21st instant.

VOLUNTEER OFFICERS' COMMISSIONS.

MR. M'CRAE (Edinburgh, E.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether the Government are prepared to introduce a short amending Act to allow Volunteer officers to volunteer for active service, and to permit of their services as officers being accepted, where approved, by the War Office.

MR. LEES KNOWLES (Salford, W.): I beg at the same time to ask the Under Secretary of State for War what is the provision in the Volunteer Act that disables Volunteer officers who are willing to serve Her Majesty outside Great Britain from being appointed officers in the regular Army by commission or acting commission, in the same way as gentlemen who are not Volunteer officers; and whether the acceptance of a commission or acting commission in the regular Army in itself binds the person accepting it to serve Her Majesty wherever called upon to do so.

*MR. WYNDHAM: It has been found possible to effect the object sought without an alteration of the Act. It was at first considered necessary to enlist officers as well as men in order to bring them under military law. The War Office is, however, now advised that the grant of a temporary commission will effect this object.

MR. LEES KNOWLES: Does that apply to Imperial Yeomanry commissions as well?

*MR. WYNDHAM: Yes.

**OFFER OF A BATTERY, WITH MEN,
BY MESSRS. ARMSTRONG AND THE
COUNTY OF NORTHUMBERLAND.**

MR. J. A. PEASE (Northumberland, Tyneside): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether Messrs. Armstrong, Whitworth, and Co. have at any time within the past six months offered to either the Imperial or Colonial Governments guns for use in South Africa, which have have been declined; if so, whether he can state the number and character of the guns offered, and why they were declined.

***MR. WYNDHAM:** In December last a battery of six 15-pounder guns, similar to those with which our field batteries are armed, was offered by Sir Andrew Noble for the use of the Natal colonial forces. This offer was transmitted to Natal, and a reply was received to the effect that the Natal colonial forces were at that time unable to accept the battery; at the same time it was asked that the offer might be kept open. Meanwhile, a further offer was made by Lord Grey, with the consent of Sir Andrew Noble, to send out this same battery of 15-pounder guns, manned by Volunteers, on behalf of the county of Northumberland. This offer has been accepted, and the battery is now being prepared for embarkation to South Africa.

SLEEPING HELMETS.

MR. BROADHURST (Leicester): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War if he is aware that on the recommendation of those acquainted with the South African climate some of our troops have been supplied with sleeping helmets at the instance of private donors; that such helmets are regarded as an absolutely necessary protection against pneumonia and other lung troubles; and if the War Office will cause all the troops to be furnished with them.

***MR. WYNDHAM:** The question of providing some head-dress for sleeping in is under consideration.

RESERVE OFFICERS' OUTFITS.

MR. BARLOW: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether by the regulations Reserve officers when called out for active service are entitled to

a sum of £100 to provide their outfit; and will he explain why, seeing that it was published in the official papers that Reserve officers might apply for commissions in the Imperial Yeomanry, the War Office refuses to give these officers this grant of £100, so that although the Imperial Yeomanry Fund gives them £65, yet they do not obtain the full allowance prescribed by the regulations.

***MR. WYNDHAM:** A member of the Reserve of Officers if called out for duty is entitled to an outfit allowance of £100, but such officers of the Reserve as have joined the Imperial Yeomanry have not been called out and are merely volunteers for that corps. As such, they are not entitled to more outfit allowance than the other officers who have volunteered.

DELAGOA BAY RAILWAY.

***SIR E. T. GOURLEY** (Sunderland): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he will be good enough to inform the House who is receiving the traffic money of the Delagoa Bay Railway which belongs to the British creditors who built the line upon land assigned by Portuguese concession; whether he has considered the propriety of taking such steps as would protect the property and its revenues in the interests of British subjects, seeing that no award has yet been obtained from the arbitrators after ten years' consideration of the subject; has he received any explanation or reason why the award, which in the last session he assured the House would be delivered in October last, was not made, and has not yet been made; and is there any reason to believe that the Boer and Portuguese Governments have influenced the delay of the award in order that this English railway should continue to be made the means of transporting, for Boer service, volunteers and arms and munitions of war; and can he assure the British shareholders of the railway that some immediate effort will be made by Her Majesty's Government to protect their interests by insisting on an award being made without further excuse or delay.

***MR. BRODRICK:** The railway is in the hands of the Portuguese Government. Her Majesty's Government have been given no reasons or explanations as to the delay in the delivery of the award,

nor are they aware of the cause of the delay, which they consider regrettable. They cannot interfere with the proceedings of the tribunal.

ROYAL MARINES—SEPARATION ALLOWANCES.

ADMIRAL FIELD (Sussex, Eastbourne): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty have considered the inequality in the treatment of the Royal Marine forces, who have been landed with the Naval Brigade, in the matter of separation allowances as compared with the other armed forces in South Africa with a view to the removal of such inequality; will he explain why under present regulations the marines if married are deprived of the lodging allowance of 3s. 6d. per week when ordered for embarkation afloat, whilst the soldier's wife who is married on the strength of the regiment is granted separation allowance of 8d. per day with 4d. per day for each child; and whether the lodging allowance of 6d. per day now granted to the marine when married on shore can be continued in all cases when embarked afloat.

***THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY** (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): The question raised by the hon. and gallant Member is inherent in the conditions of service in the Royal Navy, and the regulations governing the allowances of the Royal Marines cannot be made throughout identical with those obtaining in the Army. No distinction is made between Marines when serving afloat, and when landed from one of H.M. ships for shore operations, as a portion of a Naval Brigade while still borne on ships' books, as in operations in which the services of the Marines are lent for a time as an adjunct to the land forces. When not borne on ship's books and serving with the Army, a Marine receives all Army allowances at existing Army rates. With regard to the last general question, I am not prepared to revise the scale of pay of the Marines after the concession which I was glad to be able to make to them last year.

SOLDIERS' EFFECTS FUND.

SIR J. LENG (Dundee): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War

what is the present amount of the Soldiers' Effects Fund; what has been the average sum by which it has been augmented during the last three years; and whether as the Royal Commissioners have reported there are still many hundreds of widows of Crimean soldiers whose claims have not been met, this fund can be applied for their benefit.

***MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS**: The present amount of the fund is £159,683, and the average sum by which it has been augmented during the last three years is £6,278. The fund is a diminishing fund, and is not available for cases of widows whose husbands did not die on service or within six months of discharge.

GOVERNMENT CLERICAL ESTABLISHMENTS.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether, in filling up the existing vacancies in the clerical establishments in the Royal Ordnance Factories, in the Army Clothing Factory, in the Type Writing Department of the War Office, and in the Army Nursing Service, the Secretary of State will endeavour to favourably consider the applications of the sons and daughters of officers of the Army and Navy who have been killed in action, or who have died from wounds received or from illness contracted whilst on active service, and whose families have been left in necessitous circumstances.

***MR. WYNDHAM**: The Secretary of State will gladly take these cases into consideration, where appointments are not reserved by Order in Council for public competition; but almost all the clerical appointments mentioned, except those for typists, are so reserved.

COAL EMERGENCY CONTRACTS.

MR. D. A. THOMAS: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty if he will state when and under what circumstances steam coal has ever been taken by the Admiralty on emergency contracts; whether the Government has notified foreign Powers that a state of war exists between the British Empire and the South African Republics; why none of the contracts for the supply of steam vessels' coals to the Government in times

of emergency have been put into force during the past few months; and when he makes the proposed modifications in the present form of emergency contract, will he consider the desirability of securing the right to claim all the produce of collieries entering into the contract at the market price of the day during the period of an emergency, and of paying some small subsidy in consideration, as is now done to shipowners and owners of horses.

*MR. GOSCHEN: The answer to the hon. Member's first question is—In 1888 for the naval manœuvres. Since then the emergency contracts have not provided for the case of the annual manœuvres; the answer to the second question is in the affirmative; the answer to the third question is that the circumstances at the time did not render it necessary to draw coal under the emergency contracts—we have done better without them: in regard to the last question, care will be taken when new emergency contracts are made to consider every reasonable suggestion which is made, but the hon. Member will not, I am sure, expect me to say more.

MR. D. A. THOMAS: Is it not a fact that the Government pay a much higher price?

*MR. GOSCHEN: I do not think I ought to say much about prices.

THE EXPLOSION ON THE "REVENGE."

ADMIRAL FIELD: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty if he can give any information as to the cause of the recent explosion of cordite in the magazine of the flagship "Revenge" in the Mediterranean; whether the temperature of the magazine was abnormally high; whether the system of ventilation was defective; and whether any improvement can be suggested for reducing the temperature of magazines in which high explosives are stored.

*MR. GOSCHEN: An inquiry has been held as to the recent small explosion of cordite in H.M.S. "Revenge," and the whole of the evidence obtained has been referred to the War Office for the opinion of the Ordnance Committee. Until this has been obtained, nothing can be said as to the probable cause of the explosion. There is no evidence, so far, tending to

show that it was due to high temperature, the temperature of the magazine not having been abnormally high for some considerable time before the explosion took place. During the summer the recorded temperatures were somewhat high. In reply to the last question of the gallant Member, steps are being taken to reduce the temperature of magazines in which high temperatures have been recorded.

CHIPPING RIFLE RANGE.

MR. TOMLINSON (Preston): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether the Government, in considering the question of providing additional rifle ranges, are also proposing to deal with that of improving the access to existing ranges, and whether, in particular, it is intended to encourage or assist the making of a light railway from Longridge, near Preston, to Chipping, in order to facilitate the use by Volunteers and others of the range at Chipping, on which a large amount of money has been expended by the present and the previous Government.

*MR. WYNDHAM: The question of providing additional rifle ranges is receiving the special attention of Her Majesty's Government, but the War Office has no knowledge of the light railway referred to.

MR. TOMLINSON: Will inquiry be made?

*MR. WYNDHAM: I shall be happy to pay attention to any communication addressed to me on the subject.

BASUTOLAND—NATIVE LABOUR.

MR. BAYLEY (Derbyshire, Chesterfield): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether his attention has been called to the speech of Earl Grey, one of the directors of the South African Chartered Company, at a meeting of the company on 14th December, 1899, in which he advocates the imposition of a hut tax of £1 per hut as an incentive to labour, in conformity with the practice which exists in Basutoland, and with the permission of the Imperial authorities, the establishment of a labour tax which able-bodied natives should be required to pay who are unable to show a certificate of four months'

work; whether the Imperial authorities have been approached on this subject; and whether they have agreed to the labour tax as suggested by Earl Grey.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative. In reply to the second and third I have to say that no proposals on the subject have been as yet placed before me by the company.

GOLD COAST—RAILWAYS.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies what progress has been made with the Government railway between Cape Coast Castle and Axim in the Gold Coast Colony; and whether he will consider the advisability of extending the system of State railways from the town of Winnebah to Acasu, Akropong, Kumassi, and Brandfordville, with a view of opening up to commerce the fertile plains in the hinterland of that colony and protectorate.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: No railway is being made along the coast from Cape Coast to Axim, but one is being made from Secondee to Tarquah, and will be completed in the course of this year. The question of making other railways is under consideration, and preliminary surveys have been made of two different routes to Coomassie, one of which starts from Appam, near Winnabah.

INDIAN EXPENDITURE COMMISSION.

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAG-GREE (Bethnal Green, N.E.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India if he can inform the House when the Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure is likely to be issued.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord G. HAMILTON, Middlesex, Ealing): I understand from the Chairman of the Commission that it is expected that the report will be signed on the 14th of February.

INDIAN FAMINE.

SIR W. WEDDERBURN (Banffshire): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether his attention has been drawn to an allegation contained in a circular letter, dated 27th December last,

from the Government of India to the local governments, to the effect that the people in the famine districts are extremely ready to throw themselves on the charity of the State, and to avail themselves of every form of relief; whether he is aware that this statement has excited surprise and dissatisfaction in India; and whether he will state the evidence upon which the allegation is made, and since what period it is suggested that this feature has developed itself in the Indian character.

LORD G. HAMILTON: I have seen the circular letter dated the 27th December to which the hon. Member's question refers, but I cannot accept his description of its contents without some important qualifications, and I am not aware that it has caused dissatisfaction in India. The circular suggests, as the result of practical experience and investigation of the relief system as now worked, that care should be taken not to allow the revenues of India to be expended for the benefit of persons who are not actually in need of it; but it further states that the Government of India fully approves the prompt action which has been taken to organise famine relief on a large scale, and that they share the anxiety of the local Governments that relief shall be made accessible from the outset to the people.

THE BROTHERS NATU.

SIR W. WEDDERBURN: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether the release of the Natu brothers is unconditional; and whether, in view of the conspicuous loyalty exhibited by the Indian people at this critical time, he will make a statement regarding the Natus which will satisfy the public that the measures taken in their case were prudent and necessary.

LORD G. HAMILTON: The answer to the first question is in the affirmative. I fully appreciate the loyalty exhibited by the princes and peoples of India; but I do not propose to add anything to the statement I have already made with regard to the recent detention of the Natu brothers.

WORKMEN'S TRAMS.

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether his attention has been

drawn to the model clause which is now inserted in Tramway Bills to ensure a service suited to workmen; and if he would consider whether, having regard to the time that has elapsed since it was framed and to the general adoption of electric traction, the existing clause could be amended in respect of the lateness of the hour in the morning at which workmen's cars are provided, the number of these cars that must be run daily, and the amount of the fare charged; and, if so, whether the Board of Trade will undertake to amend the clause in these respects, or to provide a new one.

***THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE** (Mr. RITCHIE, Croydon): The alteration of a model clause in Tramway Bills is a matter for the authorities of Parliament, and not for me. I will bring the matter under their notice.

BUCKLAND MUSEUM OF FISH CULTURE.

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGREE: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether, in view of the statement made to the deputation which waited on the Lord President of the Council and himself on Monday last that there was not sufficient room to accommodate the Buckland Museum of Fish Culture at South Kensington Museum, he would consider the advisability of removing it to the branch museum at Bethnal Green.

***MR. RITCHIE**: Bethnal Green would hardly seem to be a particularly convenient and accessible situation for the Buckland Museum of Fish Culture; but I will take care that the hon. Member's suggestion shall receive consideration, together with all other suggestions which may be made.

SECRET SERVICE FUND.

MR. PHILIPPS: I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, in view of the fact that in each of the last three years a balance of money voted by Parliament for secret service has been unexpended, he would state the amount, if any, of the Vote for secret service that remains unexpended during the present financial year.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EX-CHEQUER (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): It would not be possible, without

calling for accounts from the various Departments concerned, to state exactly how much of the total Vote for the current year remains unspent at the present time. But I anticipate that, at the end of the year, there will be only a nominal balance to be surrendered.

NICARAGUA CANAL.

MR. DUNCOMBE (Cumberland, Egremont): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether England has relinquished all her rights under the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty in respect to the Nicaragua Canal; and, if so, what compensating advantages, if any, have been secured in exchange.

***MR. BRODRICK**: The Convention supplementary to the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, signed at Washington on the 5th instant, has been laid before the House. There has been no question of compensation, the advantages in the former Convention relative to the neutrality of the canal, and the protection of commerce under conditions of entire equality, being fully maintained.

RUSSIAN LOAN TO PERSIA.

SIR MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGREE: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he has any information regarding the offer of the Russian Government to give financial help to the Shah of Persia with a view to pay off the Anglo-Persian Loan of 1892, and whether the offer of Russia has been accepted by his Majesty the Shah; and, if so, what are the terms of the offer. Will the right hon. Gentleman also state the full extent of the loan?

***MR. BRODRICK**: I have no further information to give respecting the Russian loan to Persia than that contained in my answer of Tuesday to a question by the hon. Member for Chester. Among the conditions of the loan as published is an engagement on the part of Persia to extinguish all its previous external obligations out of the proceeds of the new loan.

ZANZIBAR CUSTOMS DUTIES.

***SIR CHARLES DILKE** (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether any customs duties have

been recently somewhat suddenly imposed on some and increased on other British goods imported into Zanzibar.

*MR. BRODRICK: On the 15th of September last a notification was issued by the Government of Zanzibar reimposing from and after that date a duty of 5 per cent. *ad valorem* on all goods, with certain specified exceptions, entering the port of Zanzibar. The exceptions were—coins, coals, hippopotamus teeth, ivory, rhinoceros horns and hide, rubber and tortoiseshell. The notification contained a proviso that goods, on which duty was not already charged, would, if at sea before September 15th, be admitted free. The notification was issued without previous warning.

ORPHAN HOMES OF SCOTLAND.

*MR. CAMERON CORBETT (Glasgow, Tradeston): I beg to ask the Lord Advocate if the orphan homes of Scotland are still compelled to pay school rates, while the children are refused the public education to which the homes have to contribute.

*THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY, Buteshire): I understand that the orphan homes under the management of Mr. Quarrier at Kilmalcolm, to which I presume the hon. Member refers, are subject to the usual rates. The School Board of Kilmalcolm does not hold itself to be under an obligation to provide accommodation in board schools for the large number of children in these homes, in place of the school provision which was made for them up to last year in the homes by those responsible for bringing these children to the parish. The Department has offered, and is still prepared to entertain an application for, annual grants to a school conducted by the authorities of the homes, and if such a school were placed on the annual grant list it would be exempt from assessment in respect of its premises.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN AGRICULTURAL DISTRICTS.

MR. HOBHOUSE (Somersetshire, East): I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education if any circular has yet been sent to the local authorities, directing their attention to the provisions of the Elementary Educa-

tion Act which came into force on the 1st January last, and in particular to its effect on agricultural districts; and if his Department have issued, or intend to issue, any model bye-laws for adoption by local authorities who take advantage of the agricultural provision of the Act.

*THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL ON EDUCATION (Sir J. GORST, Cambridge University): Such a circular has just been issued. The circular suggests a form of addition to the bye-laws which, if adopted by the local authority, will carry out the agricultural provision of the Act.

SPECIAL REPORTS ON EDUCATIONAL SUBJECTS.

MR. HOBHOUSE: I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education how many copies of the excellent series of Special Reports on Educational Subjects, issued from his department, are distributed to educationalists in this country; if he is aware that in the United States of America public interest in education has been greatly stimulated by a free distribution of similar reports; and whether, if he cannot promise a free distribution, he will at any rate take steps to lower the price of the volumes, and to make their existence better known to the public.

*SIR J. GORST: Seven hundred copies of Volume I. and five hundred of Volumes II. and III. respectively were placed at the disposal of the Education Department for gratuitous distribution. Nearly all these have been distributed in this country. The answer to the second paragraph of the question is in the affirmative. The Committee of Council have no control over the price at which the volumes are sold.

MR. HOBHOUSE: What department will supply them?

*SIR J. GORST: The Stationery Office, which is under the control of my right hon. friend the Secretary to the Treasury.

"THE PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES"

MR. LOUGH: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether such Members as express a wish to do so can have *The Parliamentary Debates* bound in

volumes instead of in separate parts in paper covers.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HANBURY, Preston): Yes, Sir. I have made arrangements to have this done.

MR. JAMES LOWTHER (Kent, Thanet): Does that answer apply exclusively to the volumes for 1900, or will it equally apply to those for 1898 and 1899? The right hon. Gentleman will remember that the late contractor failed to keep his contract to supply hon. Members.

MR. HANBURY: With regard to last session, we bought all the copies the contractor had on hand, and these can be supplied to members.

MR. JAMES LOWTHER: And as to 1898?

MR. HANBURY: I can say nothing as to that.

INCOME TAX EXEMPTIONS.

MR. HOBHOUSE: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he is aware that the district surveyors constantly assess to the income tax small owners who are entitled to exemption, and much troublesome correspondence is required before they can get exemption or repayment; if he will direct the surveyors to be more careful in the future; and if he will extend to such correspondence the privilege of free postage, which is at present allowed to correspondence with the officials at Somerset House.

MR. HANBURY: It is the general practice of surveyors of taxes when once a claim to exemption from income tax has been established to see that the assessments on the property concerned be discharged for subsequent years, so long as the circumstances remain the same. The instructions issued to surveyors on the point are specific; and it is to their interest—on the score of subsequent saving of time and labour—to carry them out so far as possible. It is, of course, essential in the interests of the revenue that “small owners” should, in the first instance, adduce full and satisfactory evidence in support of any claims to relief. I will consider whether any steps

can be taken in the direction indicated in the last paragraph of the question.

PROMOTION OF ABSTRACTORS.

COLONEL DALBIAC (Camberwell, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he could state how many assistant clerks or abstractors have been promoted to the Second Division under Clause 15 of the Order in Council of the 29th November, 1898; in what office have such promotions been made; and the number of men promoted in each case.

MR. HANBURY: The total number of assistant clerks or abstractors so promoted up to the 6th inst. is thirty-six. It would not be possible to state the numbers promoted in the respective offices within the usual limits of an answer, but I shall be happy to give the information privately to the hon. and gallant Member.

ORDNANCE SURVEY STAFF.

SIR BARRINGTON SIMEON (Southampton): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Agriculture whether he has yet been able to lay before the Treasury any scheme by which pensions could be granted to the temporary civil assistants of the Ordnance Survey, after a service of a sufficient number of years; and, if so, whether he can state what answer the Treasury gave to his suggestion.

MR. HANBURY: The Board of Agriculture have submitted such a scheme to me semi-officially. There are, of course, serious objections in principle to granting pensions to men whose salaries have been based on the clearly-stated fact that they would not be entitled to pension; and even if those objections did not exist, I understand that the Board of Agriculture cannot name the particular civil assistants whose services will now be permanent. Permanency of employment is, of course, one of the conditions of pension rights.

SIR FRANCIS EVANS (Southampton): Is there no intention on the part of the Government to make this concession?

MR. HANBURY: Subject to what I have said, if it can be shown to us that the staff is of the same character as in other departments, we shall look favourably on the granting of pensions.

SOUTH WEXFORD POSTAL SERVICE.

MR. FFRENCH (Wexford, South): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, whether he is aware that the following changes in the postal system of South Wexford are urgently needed, viz., that a mail be run direct from Wexford via Murrinctown, Bridgetown, to Kilmore Quay; that the railway be used for the conveyance of mails to Drinagh and Rosslare; and that Kilrane, Broadway, Tagont, and Churchtown be served by a mail car from Rosslare Harbour; and whether he will order an inquiry into the matter with a view to making these alterations.

MR. HANBURY: The Postmaster General will cause inquiry to be made as to the practicability of adopting the changes advocated by the hon. Member, and the result shall be communicated to him in due course.

FOOT AND MOUTH DISEASE.

MR. CHANNING: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Agriculture whether the Board obtains from time to time information as to the prevalence of cattle diseases in other countries; whether the Board has any information as to the alleged recent prevalence of foot and mouth disease in Normandy; and whether information and warnings as to the prevalence of disease in other countries cannot be issued promptly in this country.

*THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE (Mr. LONG, Liverpool, West Derby): Yes, Sir, we obtain from time to time all the information we can with regard to the prevalence of disease in cattle in foreign countries; and with regard to Normandy, we know that foot and mouth disease has rarely been absent in recent years from the northern departments of France. I scarcely think that any advantage would be gained by the adoption of the suggestion, the fact that the importation of animals from any particular country is entirely prohibited being of itself a clear indication that the country is a dangerous one so far as the possibility of the introduction of the disease is concerned.

COLONEL GUNTER (Yorkshire, W.R., Barkston Ash): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Agriculture if he is

able to give any reason for the recent outbreak of foot and mouth disease in this country; and if it can be in any way attributable to the importation of foreign hay, straw, or other forage.

*MR. LONG: So far as our inquiries have as yet proceeded, no explanation has been obtained as to the origin of the recent outbreak of foot and mouth disease in this country. Nothing has been elicited which would point to the introduction of the disease in the particular manner suggested.

MR. CHANNING: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Agriculture whether a thorough investigation of the circumstances of the recent outbreak of foot and mouth disease in Norfolk will be made; and whether steps will be taken to secure the prosecution of the persons who concealed the outbreak.

*MR. LONG: We have been already making and we shall continue to make every possible effort to trace the origin of the recent outbreak of foot and mouth disease in Norfolk and if it should appear that any failure to comply with the requirements of the law as to the notification of disease has occurred action would be taken against the persons responsible.

SIR SAMUEL HOARE (Norwich): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Agriculture whether he can give any information as to the probable length of time during which it may be necessary to enforce the present restrictions on the movement of cattle in Norfolk; and whether he will consider some revision of the regulations with the view of lessening, so far as can be done with safety, the great inconvenience and loss which the farmers and the cattle dealers in Norfolk are experiencing owing to the present unfortunate outbreak of cattle disease.

*MR. LONG: The continuance of restrictions on the movement of cattle in Norfolk must necessarily depend upon the course which the disease may take, and I cannot therefore make any definite announcement on the subject. But I quite realise that the existing orders can only be kept in force for a comparatively short period, and with a view to meet some of the more pressing difficulties to which they give rise we passed an order

yesterday, which is to come into operation on Friday, giving facilities for the movement of animals from one part of a farm to another, and from places outside the infected district into the boroughs of Norwich, Lowestoft, and Yarmouth. I may add that I fully realise the loss and inconvenience to which the hon. Baronet refers, but I have thought it my duty to make every effort to prevent the disease, if possible, from becoming epidemic throughout the country.

IRISH POOR LAW EXPENDITURE.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Cavan, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that dissatisfaction exists amongst poor law boards in Ireland on the increase in expenditure forced upon them by recent rules and orders of the Local Government Board, including the dispensary rules and the orders regulating fees to be paid to clerks, doctors, and other persons usually employed by these Boards; and whether, as these burdens are daily becoming heavier, he will see that no further regulations of this kind are made by the Local Government Board.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N., for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR): A few boards of guardians have expressed dissatisfaction with the new dispensary regulations issued by the Local Government Board, but, so far as the Board are aware, their recent orders and regulations have been generally accepted without disfavour by the local authorities. The charges referred to are not daily becoming heavier, as alleged in the second paragraph. There is no power to require the Local Government Board to abstain from making regulations which it is legally incumbent upon them to make.

MR. DALY (Monaghan, S.): Can the right hon. Gentleman state how many boards of guardians have protested against the increase of fees by the Local Government Board?

MR. ATKINSON: If the hon. Gentleman will give notice I will enquire.

IRISH ROAD CONTRACTS.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieu-

tenant of Ireland whether he is aware that since the passing of the Local Government (Ireland) Act and the creation of the new bodies it is almost impossible to get the roads made in consequence of the objections made by landlords and agents to admit road contractors to quarries formerly quite free to all; whether he will advise the Local Government Board to issue and order under seal empowering magistrates to appoint arbitrators for the owners in case they refuse to name arbitrators themselves; and whether he will advise the issue of a circular to magistrates directing them to so appoint arbitrators to fix the value of land to be taken for quarry purposes.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR): The Local Government Board have received representations from one county only—namely, Longford—complaining of the difficulty experienced by road contractors in obtaining access to quarries. The Board have no power to issue an order under seal for the purpose specified in the second paragraph. Under the 162nd Section of the Grand Jury Act of 1836, as adopted by Order in Council, magistrates can make an order authorising the contractor to enter and take stones and gravel where the same cannot be conveniently found elsewhere, and they are also obliged to name a householder as arbitrator in the event of the refusal or neglect of a surveyor or contractor to name one. It is the person in occupation, whether owner or tenant, who has power to appoint the third arbitrator. If he declines to do so, he cannot obtain compensation under the section. The answer to the last paragraph is, therefore, in the negative.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: Will it not bring the whole proceedings to a standstill if the right hon. Gentleman declines to issue the order?

MR. ATKINSON: Not at all.

THE WARDEN ESTATE, KENMARE.

MR. T. J. FARRELL (Kerry, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether any ejectment decrees were obtained at the late Kenmare Quarter Sessions by local landed proprietors named Warden against their tenants; whether he can state how many of the tenants proceeded against

were judicial tenants, and how many, if any, were future tenants; and whether he can also say how many evicted farms are in the Warden estate.

MR. ATKINSON: The number of ejectment decrees referred to in the first paragraph of the hon. Member's question appears to have been four. The Government cannot undertake to advise as to the legal status of the tenants proceeded against, and it would be contrary to practice to furnish information of the nature indicated in the concluding portion of the question.

MR. FLAVIN: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that this landlord has converted existing tenants into future tenants?

***MR. SPEAKER:** Order, order!

OGILBY ESTATE, CO. TYRONE.

MR. MURNAGAN (Tyrone, Mid): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he is aware an order was made in 1891 by the Land Judge's Court to sell the Ogilby Estate, in the county Tyrone, final notice and schedule being then served on the tenants; whether he is aware the tenants made application to the Court two years ago to purchase their holdings; will he explain why has the necessary valuation in response to the application not been made; and will steps be taken to hasten the sale of this estate to the tenants.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR): The estate referred to is presumably the Omagh, not the Ogilby estate. I am informed by the solicitors having carriage of the sale that the incumbancers objected to the sale being proceeded with in 1891. In February of last year, not two years ago, as stated in the second paragraph, application was made to the Land Judge on behalf of the tenants that the case should be listed under the 40th section of the Land Act of 1896. The case was accordingly listed, but the rental has not yet been finally settled. The case has been adjourned by the Land Judge until June next, before which date the solicitors hope the settlement of the rental will be completed.

EXTRA POLICE IN COUNTY KERRY.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord

Lieutenant of Ireland (whether he is aware that a petition was presented to the magistrates at Sneem (County Kerry) Petty Sessions in May, 1899, praying for the removal of extra police stationed in that sub-district; whether he has seen the copy of the memorial which was sent to him, signed by the local Catholic and Protestant ministers as well as others; and whether, as the magistrates in attendance approved of the petition owing to the peaceable condition of the district, any and what steps have since been taken by the Government to remove from the Sneem district the extra force of police stationed therein.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR): The reply to the first and second paragraphs is in the affirmative. There are no extra police at Sneem chargeable to the district. It is true there is a small force stationed there, but their employment involves no expense whatever upon the ratepayers, and it is not proposed to remove the police from the locality.

OUT-NURSING IN IRISH UNIONS.

MR. DALY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that boards of guardians in Ireland have not the power of out-nursing children whose parents are in the workhouse; whether he is aware that out-nursed children become more industrious and useful members of society than if reared in the workhouse; and whether he will alter the Local Government rule and allow boards of guardians to out-nurse all children under their charge.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR): The answer to the first paragraph of this question is in the affirmative. The system of boarding out of pauper children is found to be advantageous to the children, if it is carried out under careful supervision. As a rule this method of providing for orphan and deserted children is found to be more satisfactory than maintaining them in the workhouse. Boarding out provisions are restricted to orphan and deserted children by law, and not by any rule of the Local Government Board. It would require legislation to carry out the change suggested in the last paragraph.

MR. FLAVIN: Will the right hon. Gentleman advise that legislation be introduced?

[No answer was given.]

STEAM TRAWLING IN WEXFORD BAY.

MR. FFRENCH: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the following steam trawlers were discovered fishing in Wexford Bay inside prohibited limits, the "Pembroke Castle," "Acknora" of Milford, "Bournemouth" of Bristol, and the "Hydranca"; whether those names have been forwarded to the Inspectors of Fisheries; and, if so, why has there been no prosecution; and whether the Government will send a small gunboat to protect Irish fisheries.

THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT FOR IRELAND (MR. PLUNKETT, Dublin Co., S.): Perhaps I may be permitted to reply to this question. The cases referred to in the first paragraph were reported to the Inspectors of Fisheries and by them to the Irish Government, who were advised, after very careful inquiry, that there was not sufficient evidence to justify a prosecution. The question in the last paragraph should be addressed to the Admiralty, but I may say that the new Department of Agriculture will consider the desirability of having a special vessel to facilitate the protection of Irish Fisheries from the depredations of these trawlers inside the prescribed limits.

MR. FFRENCH: May I ask if it was impossible to find the owners of the trawlers discovered fishing in prohibited waters?

MR. ATKINSON: Perhaps I may answer this, as it is a legal question. Although the trawlers were found in prohibited limits, it is absolutely necessary before any prosecution can be undertaken to ascertain the names of the men on board in charge of the operations. It has been found impossible to obtain them.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Has not the same answer been given by successive Attorneys General for years? Have not the Admiralty always refused to give Irish fisheries any protection?

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: Will the First Lord of the Admiralty take steps to send a gunboat to protect Wexford Bay from the encroachment of these foreign steam trawlers?

MR. T. M. HEALY: Or let us do it ourselves?

MR. GOSCHEN: I must ask for notice of the question.

CASE OF MICHAEL CURTIN.

MR. AUSTIN (Limerick, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland under what circumstances and for what reason the Crown at the Winter Assizes in Cork declined to proceed with the prosecution of Mr. Michael Curtin on the charge of being implicated in the poisoning of hounds in West Limerick; whether the resident magistrate who returned Mr. Curtin for trial gave no opportunity for him to be legally represented, and refused bail, although such was forthcoming to the extent of several thousand pounds; could he state what was the nature of the evidence offered upon which Mr. Curtin was detained in custody and committed to County Cork gaol for a fortnight; and, considering the circumstances, what steps will be taken to recoup Mr. Curtin for the expense he has incurred in providing legal means for his defence against a charge with which the Crown did not proceed.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR): Mr. Michael Curtin was returned for trial for this offence by Mr. John French, R.M., on the 28th November to the Winter Assizes at Cork, which commenced on the 1st December. There was no time in the interval to obtain an analysis of the contents of the stomachs of the hounds alleged to have been poisoned, and accordingly the Counsel representing the Crown, Mr. Matthew Bourke, Q.C., directed that a bill should not be sent up to the Grand Jury, and that the accused should be discharged from custody. The evidence contained in the depositions disclosed a case of strong suspicion against Mr. Curtin, but was insufficient, in the opinion of counsel to justify putting him upon his trial. I cannot in reply to a question give the evidence in detail. Mr. Curtin was detained in custody for seven days, and the expenses of his witnesses,

amounting to £17, were paid by the Crown. There is no foundation for the statement that the committing magistrate refused to give Mr. Curtin an opportunity of obtaining legal assistance. Mr. Curtin was arrested at 9 a.m., and his case was not taken up by the resident magistrate until the afternoon. He had ample time to obtain that assistance if he so desired. At the time of his arrest he was asked by the police if he desired to retain a solicitor to defend him, and replied in the negative. After the depositions had been completed Mr. Curtin asked for an adjournment in order to employ a solicitor, but his request was properly declined. The magistrate, in his discretion, refused bail. There is no fund available to pay the expenses mentioned in the last paragraph.

MR. FLAVIN: Can the right hon. Gentleman say whether the political action of Mr. Curtin at the last local government elections had anything to do with the prosecution?

MR. AUSTIN: What course does the Crown propose to take with regard to the witnesses who were examined before the resident magistrate?

MR. ATKINSON: They will be examined again should there be a second trial.

MR. AUSTIN: Will they not be prosecuted for perjury?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

LIFFORD COUNTY COURT HOUSE.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that, on Monday last, Mr. Hardman, D.L., the High Sheriff of County Donegal, with a posse of the Royal Irish Constabulary under District Inspector Dagg, turned out of the county court house at Lifford a contractor and his workmen who were employed in making some alterations in that building according to the directions of the county council; and by whose directions were the Royal Irish Constabulary employed for this purpose.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR): The High Sheriff, as legal custodian of the county court house,

applied for and obtained the assistance of the police, to which he was entitled, to resist the attempt of the contractor of the county council, without the High Sheriff's consent, to make structural alterations in what is claimed to be a portion of the court house, and which, if made, would in the opinion of the Sheriff interfere with the administration of justice. The plans of the proposed alterations are, I believe, to be submitted to the High Sheriff, and I have every hope that the matter in dispute will be amicably arranged.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Having regard to these continual altercations between High Sheriffs and county councils, will the right hon. Gentleman bring in an amending Bill placing full power in the hands of the county councils?

[No answer was given.]

IRISH NATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS.

MR. GIBNEY (Meath, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland what provision is to be made to recoup the teachers of national schools in Ireland, and national education generally, for the sum of £78,000 handed over to the new Board of Agriculture in Ireland last year.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR): I am not able to make any statement in reply to this question at present.

CARRIAGE LICENCES IN DUBLIN.

MR. FIELD: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, seeing that in the cities of Great Britain the revenue derivable from carriage and car licences is available to their respective corporations, he will take measures to have this system extended to the city of Dublin.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR): Hackney vehicles are placed under the control of the Commissioner of Police in Dublin by the Act 16 & 17 Vict. cap. 112, and Section 6 of this Act directs that the duty levied on these vehicles shall be applied towards the expenses of the force. The constitution of the Dublin Metropolitan Police is similar to that of the London Metropolitan Police, in which

the same rule prevails as to the appropriation of receipts for hackney carriage licences. Moreover, in the case of neither of these forces is there local control. It is true that in other cities in England, where the control of hackney vehicles is in the hands of the local authorities, the revenue derived from vehicles is paid to these authorities for municipal purposes, but it must be borne in mind that in these cities a much larger proportion of the cost of the police is paid from local rates than is the case in Dublin.

MR. T. M. HEALY : Is it not the fact that since the right hon. Gentleman came into office the Irish Office have insisted on putting in a local Bill a provision affecting hackney carriages which has brought in an additional revenue of £700 a year ?

MR. ATKINSON : I must ask for notice.

LABOURERS' COTTAGES AT NEW-CASTLE WEST.

MR. AUSTIN : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he could explain why the arbitrator has not visited Newcastle West to value the lands under the Labourers (Ireland) Acts, a scheme of cottages having been sanctioned by the Local Government Board inspector many months back.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR) : The provisional order confirming the scheme became absolute only on the 3rd ultimo. The maps and schedules for arbitration purposes were not lodged by the district council until the 19th ultimo, and after these had been examined the Local Government Board appointed an arbitrator on the 6th inst. The requisite statutory advertisements must be published by the district council before the arbitrator can hold his inquiry or value the lands.

IRISH AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT.

SIR T. G. ESMONDE (Kerry, W.) : I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Agricultural Department for Ireland whether his attention has been called to a motion adopted on the 5th instant by the Municipal Council of Dublin urging upon the Lord Lieutenant the desirability of transferring the control and manage-

ment of the Science and Art Department in Ireland to the new Agricultural and Industrial Department ; and, whether he could inform the House if it is the intention of the Lord Lieutenant to exercise at an early date his own powers under Section 2 (1), (e), (f), (g) of the Agricultural and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act, 1899.

MR. PLUNKETT : My attention has been called to the motion referred to in the question. It is the intention of the Lord Lieutenant to transfer to the Board of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, as from April 1st, the Science and Art Department's institutions in Dublin—namely, the Royal College of Science, the Museum, the School of Art, the National Library and the Botanical Gardens ; but the grants in aid of science and art teaching will continue, for the present, to be administered, as heretofore, from South Kensington.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs) : I wish to ask the Leader of the House whether he can say anything as to the business for the early part of next week, and whether on Monday the promised statement will be made relating to the military forces. What other business is to be taken ?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.) : The right hon. Gentleman assumes that the debate on the Address will be finished to-morrow, and I also assume it. I feel sure that the House will regard a fortnight all but a single day as allowing sufficient latitude for the debate on the Queen's Speech, and it is of the first importance that the House should at once proceed to that financial business which will no doubt occupy a very large portion of our time before the Easter holidays. If, as I hope, the debate on the Address is finished either to-night or to-morrow, my hon. friend the Under Secretary for War will, as soon as we have obtained certain facilities with regard to Tuesdays, proceed to introduce Supplementary Military Estimates, and make a full statement upon various questions of public military policy in which the country and the House are deeply interested. I shall also

propose to submit the Supply Rule in its old form on Monday in the hope that it may be passed without serious debate; but if hon. Members indicate a desire to discuss it, then I would defer it for a day.

*MR. LOUGH: May I ask whether, in accordance with the promise given by the right hon. Gentleman last October, an opportunity will be afforded for the discussion of general questions raised by the Amendments to the Queen's Speech. Does not the right hon. Gentleman think more time should be given to these?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think that the hon. Member has misinterpreted what I said in October. I thought then that it would have been possible to dispense with the Queen's Speech at the beginning of the present sittings; but we had to arrange otherwise. Still, I think hon. Members will agree that the House has had a very full opportunity of dealing with the subjects in which it is interested. The war has no doubt absorbed a very large portion of time, and the reason is that the war is the topic—I had almost said the only topic—in which either the House or the country is interested. I hope, therefore, no objection will be raised to the conclusion of the debate on the Address at the time which both the Leader of the Opposition and myself are agreed should be the extreme limit.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): Will an opportunity be afforded for a discussion of the financial relations between England and Ireland? I fear that if the course indicated by the right hon. Gentleman is persisted in we Irish Members will have no opportunity of discussing questions of vital importance to us.

MR. JAMES LOWTHER: May I suggest that an opportunity might be given for the discussion of other topics mentioned in the Queen's Speech after the House has heard the statement of the Under Secretary for War and disposed of essential Government business.

MR. WOODS (Essex, Walthamstow): May I point out that I have an Amendment down on the Paper which has never been discussed. It is one in which all Government workers are deeply interested, and I would suggest it would be

only fair if the right hon. Gentleman allowed the debate on the Address to continue until Wednesday next.

SIR T. G. ESMONDE (Kerry, W.): Cannot a day be set apart for the discussion of the Catholic University question, if we agree to the right hon. Gentleman's proposal to end the debate on the Address to-morrow?

MR. D. A. THOMAS: Will the right hon. Gentleman give the House some indication of the intentions of the Government in regard to the question of the redistribution of seats?

MR. T. M. HEALY: If the First Lord of the Treasury meets the reasonable request of the Irish Members time will, in the long run, be saved.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I will answer as many of the numerous questions put to me as possible. It is a mistake to suppose that on the Queen's Speech it is expedient that everything which interests everybody should be discussed at length. If it were, it is manifest that the whole session would be occupied in the process. Of course, the Irish land question has always been with us, but the questions of financial relations and Irish University education has been recently very fully debated, and I should have thought that a comparatively brief discussion would have sufficed, or even that there need not be any discussion at all. There are two full nights before us, and I do not see why we should not get through some of the more important Amendments on the Paper before the end of the sitting to-morrow night is reached, and I suppose it will be expedient to suspend the twelve o'clock rule to-morrow in order that the debate may be concluded. As to the Government taking Tuesdays, we feel obliged to ask for privileges before Easter for financial business, and respecting the question asked by the hon. Member for Merthyr Tydvil, I may at once say that redistribution of seats before the general election is entirely outside the scope of the matters which are now interesting the House. The Government have not put it in the Queen's Speech, and they do not intend to introduce in the course of the present session any Redistribution Bill.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: I hope the right hon. Gentleman will not suspend

the Twelve o'clock Rule to-morrow. There are one or two topics which are considered of great importance by the overwhelming majority of the Members for Ireland, and although we do not desire to have long first class debates on them we do think they should not be excluded from discussion, as it is quite conceivable they will be if the debate is closed to-morrow night. We have no desire to put off unnecessarily the statement on military affairs, but surely under the circumstances our request is a reasonable one.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have given the House my honest opinion with regard to the real inwardness of the situation, and I cannot alter my view that I think the debate should end to-morrow night. Surely the hon. Gentleman can find by then an opportunity of discussing the topics in which he is interested.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[EIGHTH DAY'S DEBATE.]

Order read for resuming Adjourned Debate on Main Question [30th January], "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, as followeth:—

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Captain Pretyman.*)

Question again proposed.

Debate resumed.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR (APPLICATION OF PATRIOTIC FUND).

*MR. KEARLEY (Devonport): It cannot be denied that two of the principal features of the present war which redound to the nation's credit have been the bravery of our troops—whether they be members of the Regular Army, the Navy, or the Volunteers—and the determination on the part of the public to endeavour by their generous contributions

to make provision for the dependents of those who have been called to the front, and to succour permanently the widows and children of those who lose their lives. The amount of money that has already been collected for this purpose is undoubtedly large, and I am confident it will be increased. But, at the same time, the needs will increase, the strain upon these resources will be heavy, and I do not think they will be found to be adequate. I have, therefore, felt it my duty to call attention to existing funds subscribed by the generosity of the public for kindred purposes, which have available surpluses and accumulations which, in my opinion, ought to be applied to the needs of the present war. The spirit of generosity actuating the country at the present time is highly commendable. It is no new experience. The same has always manifested itself in times of war or of catastrophe. During the Crimean War the sum of £1,500,000 was collected, and resulted in the Royal Patriotic Commission being issued in 1854. Its object was, to quote the actual words of the Royal Commission, "to aid the just and faithful distribution of" the money subscribed. Her Majesty at that time appointed a body of Commissioners, and they were solemnly charged "to make full and diligent inquiry into the best means by which the subscriptions can be best applied according to the generous intentions of the donors thereof," and also to make it their duty and concern to "secure the most impartial and beneficent distribution of all such sums as may hereafter and from time to time be received." I have set myself to-day the task of endeavouring to show—and I think I can successfully show—how little the "generous intentions of the donors" have been respected and how the Commissioners have failed utterly to appreciate what was intended by a "just and faithful distribution." I would like at the outset to ask a question and supply the answer myself, and I think the House will agree with both. What is the intention of subscribers to such funds as are administered by the Patriotic Commissioners? My conception is that those who subscribe to a fund for a particular set of sufferers desire, undoubtedly, that it should be gradually but completely exhausted for their benefit. I think that is the motive which actuates

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everybody who subscribes at the present moment. I shall be able to show that that has not been the conception of the Patriotic Commissioners in dealing with the various funds which have been handed over to them, for their policy has been something quite contrary to that. They have not only disregarded the "generous intentions of the donors," but they have paid scant regard to the public opinion which has been raised against them time after time; in fact, their policy has been one of hoarding the funds entrusted to them. I do not think that there is a general knowledge as to what these funds are that are administered by the Patriotic Commissioners. Everybody appears to know of the fund which became associated with the Crimean War, but the funds administered by the Patriotic Commissioners are very numerous. They amount to as many as eighteen individual funds, most of which have been subscribed by the public for a specific set of sufferers, and in addition to that they control large and permanent educational endowments which have been set aside by them from moneys subscribed by the public to the original Crimean Fund. Now, I propose to examine some of the funds in detail, in order to criticise the method of the Patriotic Commissioners, and I date my examination back from 1881, for a reason which I will presently make clear. The first fund I will take is that of the original Patriotic Fund subscribed in 1854, or about forty-six years ago. The original amount subscribed was £1,500,000. There remains of this to-day £607,000, or about two-fifths of the original amount, which includes the educational endowments. Here I might say that the setting aside of sums of money from this fund for permanent educational endowments is contrary to the wishes of the public and to the instruction of the proclamation of the Queen which called the Commissioners into being. They had no more right to devote money to permanent educational endowment than would the Lord Mayor to-day have to build and permanently endow a school or institution from the funds now being collected under his ægis. From the moment the Patriotic Commissioners took that course they got into difficulties, and they had continued from then until now to bear the weight of their original sin. A Government inquiry was, however, held, and in the result they condoned that offence and

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passed an Act legalising the illegality. Now, in 1881 the capital, excluding the permanent education endowments, which amounted to £237,500, amounted to £481,000, and the liabilities on the Fund were to 2,306 widows and 303 orphans, and there was a surplus of assets of £62,000. I will pass now to 1896, and what do we find? The liabilities had fallen for widows from 2,306 in 1881 to 1,244, and for orphans from 303 in the former period to 16, while the surplus assets had mounted up to the enormous sum of £109,000, the capital remaining at practically £400,000. Over all this area of time the surplus was augmented, and over all the liabilities were naturally decreased. In spite of these facts, however, no attempt whatever was made to administer this surplus for the benefit of the poor persons for whom the Fund was originally subscribed. The next fund, which I will deal with only briefly, is the "Captain" Fund. It was subscribed thirty years ago, in 1870, the original amount being £40,000. Of this there is still £37,000 remaining. Now, when people subscribe to these funds they have a right to demand that they shall be exhausted for the benefit of the people whom it was sought to benefit. Let us see what happened. In 1881 I will tell you presently why I take 1881—the capital stood at £31,700. The liabilities were as to 109 widows and 77 orphans, and there was a surplus of £7,500. Last year, in 1898, that is, the number of widows had fallen to eighty, and all the children had disappeared; but the surplus had mounted up to £17,000. Now, no additional annuitant had been put on this fund of the dependents of those men who lost their lives in Her Majesty's ship "Captain"; and the terms of my Amendment are framed with a view to detaching these surpluses, and making them applicable to the present war. The next fund is that of the "Eurydice," which was subscribed to relieve the necessities of the relatives of those who were lost in H.M.S. "Eurydice," which went down in 1878. The original amount subscribed was altogether £19,000, £3,000 of which was devoted to the Royal Naval Reserve Fund, leaving the amount appropriated to the "Eurydice" Fund at £16,000. After the twenty-two years which have elapsed since the Fund was subscribed there

now remains £15,100, or nearly the whole of the original amount subscribed. In 1881 the capital stood at £15,000. There were thirty-eight widows and forty-seven orphans. Moreover, the surplus, which in the first year was £930, stood in 1898 at £4,800. To-day the capital is £15,100, and there are receiving relief thirty-three widows and one child. The Zulu War Fund is the next I deal with, and it is in a similar condition. It was subscribed in 1879, the original amount being £25,500; and to-day it stands even higher than it did at its inception, for it amounts to £27,500. There are certain particular features about this fund that I would like to lay before the House, all pointing to the defective policy pursued by the Patriotic Commissioners in distributing this fund. It was considered to be a poor fund, and the Royal Patriotic Commissioners arranged originally that the widows of those who were under the rank of an officer, that is to say, of non-commissioned officers and privates, should receive no more than 3s. 6d. per week and 1s. for every child. A large percentage of these widows remarried and went off the fund. That took place within three or four years of the conclusion of the Zulu War, and this fund, supposed to be a poor one, showed a surplus of over £6,200 in 1883. The Commissioners then decided to raise the pensions of the widows of the non-commissioned officers. But here is a most curious fact which I would like you to consider, viz., that while the non-commissioned officers' widows had the increase, the allowance to the widows of privates was not increased. They continued to receive the 3s. 6d. per week and 1s. per child. Up to 1883 the surplus assets amounted to £6,200. In 1886, in spite of the increase to widows of non-commissioned officers, the figures went up higher still, and in 1889 the surplus increased to £12,500. At that moment the Commissioners were spending less than their income, and yet the pensions to the widows of privates remained the same. In 1892 the surplus had become further augmented to £12,600; and then, and then only, the widows of the most needy class of recipients received an increase on that miserable pittance of 3s. 6d. per week which they had been receiving for nine years. It was raised to 5s. per week, and 2s. per child. May I say,

here, that these figures are not my own; I took them from the Patriotic Commissioners' reports, hence they cannot claim ignorance of these facts. The Royal Naval Relief Fund is the next. It was started in 1879; but it was not a fund to which the public had subscribed. It consisted of a sum detached from the "Eurydice" fund, of £3,000, and also a fund subscribed in relief of the sufferers by the explosion on board H.M.S. "Thunderer" of £2,000. Out of the original combined total of £5,000 there remains a sum of £8,000. Now the average expenditure of this fund has never exceeded £50 a year, though the total subscribed amounts to no less than £8,000. It is burdened with no more than two widows and two orphans. I pass on to the Rodriguez Fund, which will certainly require some explanation. It was bequeathed in 1857, and was the bequest of Don Francisco Rodriguez, of Manilla, who in a generous moment presented a large sum of money to this country "for the relief of the families of English subjects wounded or dying in the wars." The original amount handed over to the Commissioners in 1865 was £7,400; and there remains to-day of this bequest no less than £16,000. The fund has been hoarded all these years till it has reached that sum. Now, since 1863—when the fund was partially handed over—the balance being handed over in 1865—up to 1880 not a single penny was spent. Can anybody assert for a single moment that nobody was wounded or died in the wars whose necessities did not command alleviation in that period under the bequest? [AN HON. MEMBER: What about the indigent families?] The question seems to be whether or not the Commissioners were handicapped by certain conditions imposed by the trust. Certainly it depends upon the conditions of the fund; but I would remind the hon. Member that the Act of Parliament swept away all those conditions. Another bequest of a Greek merchant, Sir Constantine Zervudachi, is that known as the Zervudachi Fund, instituted in 1883 with the gift of £1,300. It has increased to £2,000; but not a penny was spent till the Parliamentary Committee held its inquiry, since when about £30 a year has been distributed. I now pass to a fund to which I have already made some reference in the course of my speech, one not subscribed by the public at all. It is the Soldiers' Effects Fund,

being formed of the unclaimed balances of soldiers' effects transferred by the War Office under the Regimental Debts Act of 1863. It would appear that a sufficient number of persons eligible to utilise this fund could not be discovered, and it was said by the Commissioners, "we have had no application for relief," though its scope was of the widest character, including death by wounds in war, accident, and, in short, any cause attributable to service. The War Office was guilty of a grave dereliction of duty to allow money to pass out of their hands to be administered by a foreign body over whom they had no control. The first instalment was paid over in 1884 by the War Department to the Patriotic Commissioners. The sum was £44,000; in 1890 this had augmented to £93,000; in 1895 it had increased to £134,000; in 1898 to £155,000; and to-day, in reply to a question, my hon. friend mentioned that the fund had increased to £160,000. The income of the Soldiers' Effects Fund for the last four years has been £20,676, yet out of it all the insignificant sum of £4,513 has been spent, or practically only one-fourth of the whole. Sir, whatever may be the explanation of this hoarding up to the present time, for the future there will be plenty of beneficiaries who will require all the assistance they can get, in respect of the benefits they are entitled to. I have endeavoured, Sir, to set out these funds in detail in order to prove my case, and I submit that there are, firstly, available surpluses from many funds that cannot now by lapse of time be applied to their original purpose and that therefore they ought to be detached and utilised for kindred purposes; secondly, there are accumulations—I distinguish between accumulations and surpluses; arising from the fact that the uncharged capital has not been utilised at all. I ask if there is any justification for this policy of accumulation of these funds? Have there been any fettering restrictions? My hon. friend suggested that some are subject to restrictions. Now in 1881, as the result of the departmental inquiry into the maladministration of the Patriotic Fund, the Government expressly passed an Act of Parliament to enable the Commission to deal with all their surpluses as they might accumulate from time to time, and whatever justification they may have had prior to then, no

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valid excuse could be offered for all this continued hoarding, because the Commissioners had this Act of Parliament whereby an application could be made to the Secretary of State for War in order to make the surpluses available. But I would like the House to bear with me for a moment, while I examine the case as presented by the Patriotic Commissioners themselves. The Chairman of the Executive Fund of the Royal Patriotic Commission is a gentleman who bears an honoured name—Lord Nelson. He is the Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Royal Patriotic Commission. He did me the honour to reply in the press a few weeks ago to certain strictures I had passed on their policy, complaining of their delay in not having availed themselves of this Act for utilising their surplus funds. "Our answer is"—Lord Nelson states—"that we were continually applying to successive Governments to extend the power of the original Commission, but only obtained power to deal with the surplus of the Patriotic Fund in 1897." Well, what are the facts? Sir, no application was made to any Government until after the Parliamentary Committee was appointed, and yet the Chairman of the Executive and Finance Committee assures us that repeated applications were made to "successive Governments." The Select Committee was appointed in February, 1895, and it was not until April of that year that the Royal Commissioners showed a feverish anxiety to put this Act into force. The Secretary of State for War at that time was the present Leader of the Opposition, and in reply to the application which was made he said that he preferred to await the Report of the Select Parliamentary Committee appointed to inquire into and report upon the Patriotic Funds. In June of that year the Rosebery Government fell and Lord Lansdowne went to the War Office. A renewed application was made, which brought the following caustic reply—

"Whilst fully recognising the position in which the Commissioners of the Patriotic Fund are placed by the receipt of many deserving applications for relief, which the Commissioners are unable to afford, though possessed of ample funds, he could not consent to the proposal of the Commissioners, pending the report of the Parliamentary Committee."

So much for the excuse proffered by the Chairman of the Patriotic Commissioners

for their delay. Well, now I will deal with the excuse he offers for the hoarding of these funds. He admits practically all my figures as to the surpluses, and he also admits there are large accumulations. But he meets us with the startling proposition that for certain of these funds, notably the "Soldiers' Effects Fund" and the "Rodriguez Fund," they are only indirectly responsible. Lord Nelson said—

"The Soldiers' Effects Fund is administered by us under directions from the War Office, and it will be for the War Office and not us to say whether the interest only or the capital is to be dealt with."

That was not true, for the War Office had nothing to do with the Soldiers' Effects Fund, which is administered and regulated by Royal Warrant; and if the House will bear with me for a moment, I will read the terms of the Royal Warrant which alone regulates its distribution. It directs—

"All residues and income and accumulations of income so to be paid over or transferred as aforesaid from time to time, shall form one fund to be called the 'Soldiers' Effects Fund,' to be under the management and control of the Executive Committee for the time being, of Our Commissioners for the time being of the said Patriotic Fund, but subject to and under such orders and regulations as may from time to time be made by Our said Commissioners, or any three or more of them, and shall be applied in payment of such compassionate, annual, or other allowances, to the widows and children or other dependent relatives of soldiers dying on service, or within six months after discharge, and generally in such manner for the benefit of such widows and children or other dependent relatives of soldiers dying as aforesaid, as the said Executive Committee, or any two or more of them, shall, from time to time, think fit, preferential consideration being given to the widows and children of soldiers on the married establishment, who—

"(a.) Were killed in action, or died of wounds received in action, or from illness which can be directly traced to fatigue, privation, or exposure incident to active operations in the field, within twelve months of sustaining such wound or contracting such illness.

"(b.) Died from an injury directly traceable to military duty within twelve months of sustaining such injury.

"(c.) Died from illness directly traceable to fatigue, privation or exposure in the performance of military duty.

"The widows and children of mobilised Army Reserve men dying as aforesaid shall be considered as on the married establishment."

As regards the accumulation of the Rodriguez Fund, Lord Nelson says—

"There were peculiar clauses which required legal definition causing some delay."

It is rather an extravagant excuse to say that there were legal difficulties and clauses which require definition in regard to a fund which was handed over in the year 1863, because those difficulties ought to have been discovered and dealt with long ago. I should have thought the Commissioners would have got rid of all those difficulties during the time which they have been hoarding up this fund. An explanation may be offered by somebody who will probably speak in this debate that it is the actuarial advice which governs the action of the Patriotic Commissioners in this matter. The Commissioners employ one of the most distinguished actuaries of the day, for he is a man well known and at the head of his profession. He is employed to audit their accounts, and possibly my hon. and gallant friend may attempt to explain some of these matters by saying that the Commissioners acted upon the advice of the actuary. But the actuary has no advising power in connection with the Royal Patriotic Commission, and he attempts to give no advice whatever. [An HON. MEMBER: Oh, oh!] I cross-examined the actuary myself before the Committee upstairs, and he assured that Select Committee that his position began and ended at this—that he gave no advice whatever, but when there was a specification handed to him setting out so many widows, so many re-married women, and so forth he made a report upon it. The Select Parliamentary Committee found that there were surpluses of £107,000 available, and accumulations of £160,000 which ought to be utilised. But notwithstanding this finding nothing has happened since except that the accumulations have gone on accumulating, and the surpluses have gone on increasing. They applied to the Minister for War for a supplementary Commission, which they obtained, but it was a mere sham and delusion. They set aside a surplus amounting to £110,000 of the original Patriotic Fund, on the pretence that they were going to utilise it. What has happened? It was set aside in 1897, and in the first year they spent £230 only. The next year this fund amounted to £117,000, and they spent £3,700. They have placed on the fund a number of aged and decayed widows, whose husbands fought for us in the Crimea forty-five years ago. To show the cruelty of this belated policy, let me ask the House to bear with me a

little longer while I mention the ages of the pensioners who have just been put on this fund, and who ought to have been put on many years ago. I will take 362 recipients. Of this total 65 are of an average age of 70 years, 116 average 75, 117 average 80 years, 53 average 85 years, and 11 have an average of over 90 years of age. It seems incredible that these Patriotic Commissioners should have had the heartlessness to keep these poor old women out of the benefit of the money for so many years. They may argue that these poor people were not entitled to it at all, but I say that if the Commissioners had done their duty the fund would have been exhausted on behalf of those who were originally intended to be benefited. I would now like to say one or two words in the nature of a historical survey of the career of this body. The Patriotic Commissioners have entirely lost the confidence of the public, in fact they lost that confidence forty years ago. The Commission has been in hot water either with the Government or the public throughout the whole of its career. In 1881 a joint departmental inquiry was held, Sir Robert Hamilton and Mr. Lefroy being entrusted with it. After that inquiry Mr. Childers and Lord Northbrook came to the conclusion that the only cure for the Royal Patriotic Commission was to dissolve it, and they gave them notice to that effect, and they only afterwards escaped dissolution by the skin of their teeth. But even this did not reform them, and they never will be reformed. Let me remind the House what happened in 1893 in connection with the "Victoria" disaster. Then the nation made large contributions, and £70,000 was handed over to the Patriotic Commissioners in June. But not until the following November—four months after the disaster—did these Commissioners distribute a single penny, the delay being defended on the ground that other funds were being administered and they were desperately afraid of overlapping. We succeeded at that time in awakening public opinion. The amount it was originally intended to give to the widows was only 3s. 6d. a week, and the result of the agitation was that the pensions were nearly doubled. What explanation did the Commissioners offer? Did they admit the truth, that it was fear and fear alone of public censure which made them increase these pensions? No, they asked us to

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believe that the original allotment was purely provisional. I myself moved in this House for a return of the pensions they had allotted. They made that return on the lower scale of pensions, and, as I argued before the Committee upstairs, and as I repeat now, it was a most improbable thing that the Patriotic Fund Commissioners should have made a return to this House of a scale of pensions altogether different from that which they finally intended to allot. They had no intention whatever of fully utilising the Victoria Fund. They intended to hoard it precisely as they had hoarded other funds. Well, I am glad to say we secured a more liberal distribution of that fund, and I hope that the result of this debate will be that the other funds in the possession of the Commissioners will be similarly dealt with. After all, the question is, what is to be done? I have followed this matter since 1893, and I believe that nothing but Government intervention will rid the country of this abuse. It may be a question of reforming or dissolving the body—I care not which, though if I had my choice I would prefer that it should be dissolved—but there should be an independent valuation of the whole of the funds controlled by these gentlemen. When I speak of an independent I mean an actuarial valuation. I am not suggesting that Mr. Finlaison should not be consulted, but that the examination should partake of the character of that carried out by our great insurance offices. Let there be an investigation as to the liabilities and the contingent liabilities to provide for the beneficiaries, but do not let us go on year after year with these visible surpluses, especially when a time of national distress has arrived in connection with our losses in the present war, when every penny is required. I assert that if the Government will only carry out our suggestion they will find they can get at once from the Patriotic Commissioners' hoard a sum not less than £500,000, not including the £270,000 which unfortunately was handed to them by the Lord Mayor recently. It amounts to this, that there is practically within the grasp of the Government for the benefit of the widows and orphans of those who have lost, or may lose, their lives in the war, a sum larger than the amount subscribed to the Mansion House Fund. How can they

afford to disregard this appeal? Can they offer the excuse that what I have said is not true? I have given details, and I hope I have convinced the House that a great scandal exists which ought to be brought to an end. Some of us have tried for many years to bring that about. The Commissioners are a most influential body. We are not attacking them individually, but those managing the fund entrench themselves behind such great names as the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Secretary of State for War, and the Governor of the Bank of England, who are Commissioners, but who take no active part in the administration of the fund. The fact is that the fund is managed by the permanent secretary and a small coterie, and that there is, therefore, maladministration. A letter was published the other day from Sir George Hayter Chubb in reply to something I had said, and it merely quoted the names of the distinguished men on the body, and asked, "What is the good of anyone attempting to suggest that this fund is not properly administered?" These great names make up what is called in financial circles a good "front page." The fund is not properly administered. A million of money is concerned; it wants proper control, and I hope the Government will now take steps in the matter. I beg to move the Amendment standing on the Paper in my name.

MR. BAYLEY (Derbyshire, Chesterfield): My first duty is to congratulate my hon. friend on the very able and lucid statement he has given in reference to the Patriotic Fund, and my second to associate myself with the view that perhaps the greatest trouble of our brave soldiers, who are in a difficult and trying position at the front to-day, is, if they should be killed or wounded to-morrow, what would become of those dependent on them? And I consider it is the duty of this House to do everything possible to make our soldiers' minds as comfortable as we can, and also the minds of their dependents at home—their mothers, wives, and children—who have a right to our sympathy, and who number hundreds of thousands. There is one fact not disputed in connection with these funds, and that is that they are badly administered, and not administered in a businesslike manner. That is a proposition which I believe

anyone who has looked into the reports must acknowledge. My second proposition is that although we appointed a Committee to inquire into and report on this matter, practically nothing has been done, and what little has been done has not touched the real grievance. My third proposition is that a public duty attempted to be performed by charity has been an absolute failure. A few years ago the Colonial Secretary brought in an Employers' Liability Bill, whereby the dependents of any person killed or any person injured had a claim against the employer concerned. Why not apply the same principle to our soldiers and sailors when killed or wounded on active service as is applied to the soldiers of industry? That is a suggestion which I hope the Colonial Secretary, with his great power in the Cabinet, will consider and carry out. I believe it would be most popular in the country, and I am sure the Government do not desire that the servants of the State should be in a worse position than other employees. Doing this business by charity has failed and failed ignominiously, notwithstanding the great names attached to the fund, as these gentlemen do not give an hour's work to it, and cannot be expected to. I will give one illustration not mentioned by my hon. friend to show how the fund has been administered. I refer to the administration of the Balaclava Fund. A sum was subscribed for the men who survived the Balaclava charge. About twenty-three of them are alive now. The common-sense principle would have been to purchase annuities for these men; but nothing of the sort was done, and when the last man on the fund is dead there will be about £2,000 left. If the last man or the two or three last men went to a clever solicitor, and if the matter were brought into the courts, I believe they could claim every penny. The money was subscribed absolutely for them, and the Royal Patriotic Fund has neither a legal nor a moral right to keep the money from them. While I speak with the highest respect of the very honourable men connected with the fund, I must say they neglected their duty in allowing some of these men to go into the workhouse because they did not receive the money which belonged to them. I sincerely hope the Government will now go seriously into this question and settle this fund on the basis of the

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recommendations of the Committee of this House. I hope they will go further and relieve the anxiety of our soldiers, who are fighting well under the most difficult and trying circumstances with which the British Army has ever had to contend. I beg, Sir, to second the Amendment.

Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the Question to add the words, 'But we desire humbly to represent to Your Majesty that it is the duty of Your Majesty's present advisers to take immediate and effective action to ensure that the accumulations and available surpluses of various funds administered by the Royal Patriotic Commissioners should be applied for the benefit of the widows and children of officers and men of Your Majesty's military and naval forces who lose their lives in the war in South Africa.'"—
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Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

*ADMIRAL FIELD (Sussex, Eastbourne): I feel it my duty to offer a few observations in reply to the hon. Gentleman, as a member of the executive committee of the "Captain" Relief Fund. The hon. Member for Devonport deserves much credit for the interest he has shown in the general administration of the Patriotic Fund, but when he says that the public have lost confidence in the Patriotic Fund Commissioners, I think the hon. Gentleman must bear a great deal of the responsibility for that want of confidence. He has brought charges of a very serious character against the Commissioners, and obtained a Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry; but the result of that investigation was practically to absolve the Commissioners from the serious charges brought against them. I have not much fault to find with the form in which he has brought forward his Amendment—

"That the accumulations and available surpluses of various funds administered by the Royal Patriotic Commissioners should be applied for the benefit of the widows and children of officers and men of the military and naval forces who lose their lives in the war in South Africa."

I think that suggestion is not objectionable, and might be fairly well entertained. But the hon. Member did not seem to have sufficient regard, in his attack on the administration, to the fact that many of those funds to which he alluded are governed by distinct trusts and conditions.

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I am not competent to deal with all the funds, but only with the "Captain" Fund, for it was mainly at my suggestion that that fund in 1872 was handed over to the Patriotic Commissioners. It was handed over under a distinct trust deed, the terms of which were settled with legal assistance.

MR. KEARLEY: Does my hon. and gallant friend maintain that the "Captain" Fund is still subject to that deed? If he looks at the schedule of the Patriotic Fund Act of 1881 he will find that the fund was expressly scheduled there with many other funds, so that the surplus could be applied irrespective of the trust deed.

*ADMIRAL FIELD: It is possible that the surplus may be given to some other naval object. There is a provision in the deed that after every care has been taken to meet the claims of every widow and orphan who had a claim on the fund the balance should be handed over to the Royal Naval Relief Fund. This was, in fact, the first nucleus of the Royal Naval Relief Fund. Surely my hon. friend will not deny that it is necessary to make actuarial calculations when you have to deal with widows and children, and the actuary has to allow a considerable margin for epidemics of disease. I believe that the "Captain" Fund, as well as all the other funds, has been admirably administered. The hon. Gentleman stated that the surplus of the "Captain" Fund has grown to such dimensions that it now amounts to £37,000. But the hon. Gentleman forgot that that might be due to the wisdom with which the funds were invested. It was at first proposed to invest the whole of the "Captain" Fund in Three per Cent. Consols. I opposed that tooth and nail, and at my suggestion one-third was invested in New South Wales Government Stock, one third in Canadian Stock, and one third in Indian railways. These investments have largely grown. The pensions and scale of allowances to widows and children with a claim on the fund were based on the same lines as those applied in the administration of the Crimean funds. There must be some principle in the administration of every fund. The Commissioners are trustees for the subscribers, but I do not share the view of my hon. friend, who goes so far as to say that the funds sub-

scribed should be used entirely for those for whom they were subscribed, without any reservation whatever. For if the nation were to subscribe an enormously large amount to a fund, as has been the case in the present war, it might be that the widows would be placed in the position of being infinitely better off than if their husbands were alive. My hon. friend is illogical, for by the terms of his Amendment he proposes to depart from the principle he has laid down, and to take away the accumulations of the old funds, and apply them to sufferers from the war in South Africa. I do not object to that, for I agree that it would be a very good thing if a reasonable amount of these surpluses were applied to widows and orphans of men who have lost their lives in the South African War. At the present time, however, I do not think the Commissioners would be justified in transferring the whole surplus of the "Captain" Fund to the Royal Naval Relief Fund. The hon. Member for Chesterfield may have possibly some ground of censure of the Patriotic Commissioners for undue delay in granting relief. I believe that that mode of administration has been remedied. I quite agree that immediate relief is necessary, even if it be only a small sum, until adequate inquiry has been made; but my belief is that the delay is caused by the enormous number of applicants, and it takes time to make the necessary enquiries. The Patriotic Fund Commissioners have worked laboriously and well, particularly the Secretary, who is one of the ablest men I have ever come across in administering charitable funds. The public mind had been unduly poisoned against the administration of the Fund. The hon. Gentleman expressed the hope that the fund would be transferred to the War Office. I trust that that will never be done, for the War Office has enough to do with its proper duties. In the present administration there is a most admirable machinery, tested by the experience of years. It may require some reform; then reform it by all means, and make it a perfect machine. It ramifies all over the country, and, with the aid of district paymasters and the Post Office, I do not know that the mind of man could much improve on it. If there be defects, let them be remedied; but do not let the hon. Member offer up to public opprobrium and scorn the efforts of men who

have been labouring to do their duty to the nation and as trustees for the subscribers to the funds. I hope the hon. Gentleman will not press his motion to a division.

MR. GALLOWAY (Manchester, S.W.) said that if proof were needed of the necessity for reform, it was supplied in the defence of the Patriotic Fund Commissioners which the House had just heard from the hon. and gallant Member for Eastbourne. A paper had been issued, stating that the Commissioners were perfectly right in hoarding up their funds, as long as one person existed with a claim on the funds. That meant that the £220,000 subscribed to the Lord Mayor's Fund for widows and orphans in the present war was not to be touched so long as one widow or orphan remained.

*ADMIRAL FIELD: I do not go so far as that. Provided you leave a sufficient margin for the widows and orphans, I am quite willing that the balance should be transferred to the Royal Naval Relief Fund and the Royal Military Relief Fund.

MR. GALLOWAY said the hon. and gallant Gentleman held that the Commissioners had the confidence of the public. He denied that, and would show how that confidence had been lost. When the Lord Mayor opened the Mansion House War Fund, he announced that the money, except sums ear-marked for any particular purpose, would be handed over to the Patriotic Commissioners, and £220,000 subscribed was disposed of in that way. At the Mansion House Conference the whole question of the administration of the Patriotic Fund Commissioners was brought before the public, and the Lord Mayor took the right to deal with the funds as he thought fit. Since then, another £100,000 had been subscribed. Her Gracious Majesty, through the Home Secretary, suggested what was now known as "Queen's Sunday," and the result was that the magnificent sum of £60,000 was raised in the churches throughout the country. That money was dealt with by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and they expressly stated the objects to which they wished that money to be devoted. Amongst these objects was not found the Patriotic Fund. He

maintained that the public had entirely lost confidence in the Patriotic Fund Commissioners. His hon. friend had suggested that the surpluses should be devoted to the widows and orphans of the soldiers and sailors who had fallen in the present war. To that no one would offer the slightest objection; but how were the surpluses to be applied in the future? He held that a very grave duty devolved on Her Majesty's Government in regard to these funds. At the present time utter chaos reigned in the administration of the various funds. There was overlapping in all the various funds, and the policy of the Commissioners had vacillated so much that he was at a loss to understand whether they had any policy of dealing with the widows and orphans of the present war. There was another fund in which the country had full confidence. The *Daily Telegraph* Fund was dealt with almost entirely on the lines of the hon. Gentleman who seconded the Amendment. The widows and orphans were provided for by purchasing Post Office annuities, and that was the only practical way in which the widows and orphans could be dealt with. He thought the *Daily Telegraph* deserved the highest praise for having come forward, at a time when something definite was needed, with their scheme, and for having got the money which would have gone to the Patriotic Commissioners if these Commissioners had had the confidence of the country. There were the Imperial War Fund and local war funds, and all these funds should be added to the surplus of the Patriotic Fund, the whole taken over by the Government and administered by the War Office, or somebody under the War Office, so that an end might be put to the absolute chaos which at present reigned in the administration.

*THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE WAR OFFICE (Mr. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS, Birmingham, S.): I certainly have no complaint whatever to make of the manner in which my hon. friend the Member for Devonport has brought this matter before the House at the present moment. He has always shown, if I may say so, a most intelligent and patriotic interest in this question, and has made himself a complete master of it. Undoubtedly at the present moment our deepest sympathies are enlisted on behalf

Mr. Galloway.

of the widows and orphans of our soldiers and our sailors. I suppose there is nothing at the present time which is more deeply moving our population than the present war; and the generous response to appeals on behalf of our brave soldiers' widows and orphans is sufficient proof of it. But, Sir, in regard to the particular motion, we have to deal not with the past, but with the future, and therefore I shall not attempt to follow my hon. friend in the history of the Patriotic Fund which he has laid before the House. In some points I should not be able to entirely agree with the hon. Member, but for the most part what he has told us is substantially accurate. I am afraid that the course which the Patriotic Fund Commissioners have adopted for many years has not had the full approval of the public; but it must be remembered that they are trustees, and it is certainly true that they have only acted as they believed they were bound to do, as honest and honourable guardians of the money placed at their disposal. We may differ from them as to the methods they have adopted or as to the views they have held; but unquestionably they have been guided by one motive only, and that is the interest of the beneficiaries committed to their charge. At the same time I am afraid that public opinion about them is that they have conducted their operations very much upon the principles which are supposed to govern a very interesting bird called the magpie, who always hides the coin. Well, Sir, some observations were made by my hon. friend with regard to the actuarial advice, or actuarial calculations, by which they had been guided. Now, it is perfectly true that the results arrived at are very largely guided by the specification and by the circumstances of each case, and I do not follow my hon. friend when he says that there is very much room for error. When you have so many persons of such and such an age, receiving a certain weekly sum, it is not a very difficult calculation to make when you have the facts before you, and therefore I think that in all probability, in respect to what my hon. friend has said, the results which Mr. Finlaison has from time to time laid before the Patriotic Commissioners are practical results, and such as should guide them. For myself I

think that all these funds ought to be administered on the same principle. I do not think that the *corpus* of one fund ought to be kept—unless there is an enactment to that effect—and the *corpus* of another fund distributed. It would be a good thing, in my opinion, if not only the funds which we are discussing, but every fund which is now being distributed, could be administered by one hand and on one principle. Great waste and much overlapping would be avoided if something of that kind could be brought about, and I think it would be a very patriotic and beneficial action if some influential person would take the matter in hand and get a body of persons together in whom the country and the contributors to the funds would have confidence. Administered thus on one principle it might operate for the benefit of the relatives of all soldiers and sailors who would ever come upon their country for support. In regard to the Soldiers' Effects Fund I would like to impress upon the House what my hon. friend behind me said—that it is a diminishing and a dying fund. It is largely made up of deferred pay, which is practically abolished, and therefore it would not be a matter for astonishment if, in the course of a very few years, it were to cease to exist altogether. But in regard to this fund we are tied down by the terms of the Act of Parliament. The Royal warrant provides only for the distribution of the interest and not the *corpus* of the fund.

*MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): Does that apply to all the funds administered by the Patriotic Commissioners?

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: No, only to the Soldiers' Effects Fund. My hon. friend made some observations as to the course taken in regard to that fund. He expressed his opinion as to the taking over of the fund by the Patriotic Commissioners. It was found that there had been overlapping in the relief of some individuals. It was also found that in all probability the Patriotic Fund Commissioners had means of information far wider and far more accurate at their disposal than the War Office possessed; and it was for this reason that it was thought desirable that the fund should be put into the hands that now administer it. Now, in regard to these matters, I would like to remind the House of what

the position is. The Patriotic Fund was originally subscribed, as the House is aware, for certain widows and children of soldiers and sailors. There was, at the time of the new Commission, a certain number of widows and children upon the fund, and the actuarial calculation is that when the claims of those at present on the fund are exhausted the fund will have left in it only about £17,000. That is the calculation to-day.

MR. KEARLEY: Is the hon. Member referring to what is now called the Crimean Patriotic Fund?

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: Yes. In respect to the persons for whom the fund was originally subscribed the surplus on the actuarial calculation is only £17,000 at this moment. But that is not an excessive sum to have to provide for contingencies. The actuarial calculations might prove inaccurate; the claimants on the fund might live longer than expected, and it is desirable that there should be some kind of surplus. [AN HON. MEMBER: Is that the face value in December, 1895, or the selling value of the securities in 1896?] I take the figures which the hon. Member has in his hand, the actuarial valuation of the securities, not their face value. When the new Commission was issued, under which not only widows and children, but other dependents of persons for whom the fund was subscribed, became entitled to relief—that is, not merely the widows of soldiers who lost their lives, but who only served in the Crimean War—it provided for the fund to be distributed, and a new fund was set up; and the Commissioners now annually transfer the surplus of the old fund to the new one. My hon. friend is entitled to this explanation that the new fund is not administered upon the principles of the old one. The old fund is being exhausted not only in regard to the income, but also as to the *corpus*, for the benefit of the persons for whom it was subscribed. With regard to the new fund, it is the income only which is being distributed. If I am asked to explain why, I do not know why there should be a difference of distribution between the two. I do not know why the new fund should be hoarded and the old one distributed. That is a point for the Commissioners. When all the claimants who are on the

old fund have passed away there will not, in all probability, be a surplus of more than £10,000, according to the actuarial calculation.

Mr. KEARLEY said there was a very important point involved in this "passing away," and asked for some information as to its purport.

*Mr. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: The passing away of the old claimants does not really matter. The answer of the Commissioners in regard to that is this: We have taken upon the new fund a little over 500 widows older in age, regarding them as the more deserving. But in addition to these 500 there are, we are told, 800 more widows who, under the new Commission, are entitled to the benefit of the fund, but who cannot receive it because the Commissioners had not the funds to give them relief. Now, the course the Commissioners take, therefore, is this: they only spend the income of the fund for the time being, because if they spent the *corpus*, the total of the new fund will be distributed over only a comparatively small number of recipients entitled to benefit. Now, I can promise that it is our intention, on behalf of the Government, to urge upon the Patriotic Commissioners not only that they should get a new valuation of their assets, but also to go seriously into the whole question. That is to say, that Lord Lansdowne will make a communication to the Patriotic Fund Commissioners, informing them that the terms on which their calculation is based have been challenged in this House, and so get the whole thing looked into in order to see that the calculations they make are based upon accurate figures. I think I may say on behalf of my noble friend Lord Lansdowne that we are prepared to go into the question with a view to seeing if any re-arrangement be possible of the methods governing the distribution, and the terms of the trust upon which the money is held. Under these circumstances I trust my hon. friend will not press his motion to a division, but will rest satisfied with this assurance that the Government fully realise the importance of this question and quite see the force of the criticisms which he has addressed to us in his able speech.

*CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): I do not propose to detain the House at

Mr. J. Powell-Williams

any considerable length, more especially as my hon. friend the Member for Devonport has dealt so exhaustively with this question. I am sure that there is no man who wears the Queen's uniform who will not be grateful to my hon. friend the Member for Devonport for the vast amount of time and attention he has given to this question for many years past, and it is almost solely due to his exertions that the question comes before the House at such an opportune moment. Now, the hon. Gentleman the Financial Secretary to the War Office has made, in my opinion, but a very faltering defence of the Patriotic Commissioners. If we look into the past, how do we find that this body has done its duty? We find that they controlled a sum of one and a half millions, and they proceeded to deal with that sum by misdirecting the use of the money committed to their charge. They erected, amongst other things, a school without properly endowing it; they got into grave financial difficulties, and their conduct was inquired into by the Government. They endeavoured to minimise the surplus of the various funds, and after having taken into consideration every contingency they actually instructed Mr. Finlaison, their auditor, to arrange a sum of no less than £6,000 in addition to that. And I ask the House, therefore, in face of these facts, whether or not they have followed out the intentions of Parliament in regard to this matter—that is to say, to ensure the full distribution of the fund as expressed in the Acts. I say they have failed in their duty to the widow and orphan. My other point against them is this: that they seem to have been influenced by narrow sectarian motives. For instance, there were large numbers of men who were Catholics in the Crimean War. When they erected these schools (it was true they permitted Roman Catholic children to enter these schools) they were not availed of by the Roman Catholics as they might have been, for everybody knows that adherents to the Roman Catholic faith will go to great lengths to have their children educated in a Roman Catholic institution. Large numbers of these children were kept waiting for entrance into the various Roman Catholic schools, and when there was an outcry about the matter there was allocated a very small sum, out of all proportion to the number of children who were waiting, for their support. I

now come to the question of the increase of the assets. The Commissioners acknowledge that for fifteen years these assets were constantly increasing, and it was only when they had accumulated to such an extent the Commissioners were shamed into doing it, that they consented to replace the re-married widows upon the establishment. Until 1895 they refused applications over and over again, and dealt with these poor widows in a narrow and highly regrettable spirit. As regards the Zulu War Fund, the *corpus* of which was something like £25,000, handed over to the Commissioners in 1879, that fund after a period of sixteen years stood at almost the same figure, and yet these Commissioners never increased the paltry sum of 3s. 6d. per week which was allowed to the people who were entitled to every penny of the fund. The Soldiers' Effects Fund has been dealt with, but I would point out that between 1885 and 1893, the surplus of that fund grew from £21,000 to £106,000. I know it was receiving constant support from the War Office, that constant accretions came in from the effects of soldiers dying intestate in the field, but what is the excuse of the Commissioners for not dealing with this fund? They had power under the Act to deal with applicants under three different headings. They dealt with them under heading (a), but they objected to deal with those under headings (b) and (c); because, forsooth, they were unable to relieve all the applicants they decided to relieve none. I think that fully justifies the mover of this Amendment in saying that they followed a policy of hoarding up. Then there is the Rodriguez Fund, which had an income of £508, and yet the demands never exceeded £104 per annum. As to the Victoria Fund, the Commissioners themselves were obliged to acknowledge that they had pursued a tardy and parsimonious policy. The way in which that fund was administered gave rise to a discussion in the public press and in this House, and had the pensions been continued on the original scale we have the actuary's statement that little more than 11s. 6d. out of every £ would have been expended. In fact, the Commissioners never attempted to administer the funds in the spirit in which the donors gave them until public opinion brought pressure to bear upon them. Their excuses as regards this particular fund were these:

that they had knowledge that local relief was going on; that the Admiralty were acting on the one hand; that the inadequacy of the pensions given to the different applicants was only a temporary measure; and that Miss Weston was at work locally giving relief to those who were in need of it. That is to say, they were in constant fear of overlapping. Could we have a stronger case for the whole of these funds being liberated, due provision being made for the present beneficiaries, than out of the mouths of the Commissioners themselves, when they acknowledge that they did not act up to their duty for fear of overlapping? In fact, because of the unfortunate jealousy which exists amongst those who administer these various charitable funds, as they are called. As regards the Royal Naval Relief Fund, it was established by Royal Commission in June, 1875, but no effort was made on the part of the Royal Commission to attract public attention towards it. There have been many cases where the widows of men who lost their lives while on duty or in the Naval Service might have been relieved by this fund, but they never came on to the fund because they had no knowledge of its existence. As a consequence, when the Royal Naval Exhibition had a large fund at their disposal they objected to hand it over to the Royal Commissioners, deciding to administer it themselves. They have administered it with very good effect and in the most satisfactory manner. In other words, the contention of the mover of the Amendment that the Commissioners have lost the confidence of the public has, in my opinion, been proved up to the hilt. There are two further important funds, as well as a number of funds outside the control of the Royal Commission, which we would like to see dealt with, inasmuch as the *corpus* of these funds amounts to £370,000. Our contention is that an enlargement of powers is wanted. But if an enlargement of powers is about to be given, is it right and proper that those enlarged powers should be given to a body which has manifestly failed to do its duty? I do not desire to make a vindictive attack upon the Royal Commissioners as a whole. On the contrary, I consider, with the one exception that they have not managed the funds in the way intended by the donors, that they have acted up to the letter instead of the spirit

of the law, their affairs have been extremely well managed. They possess as secretary one of the most able and capable men for the purpose that could be found in the kingdom. Their position is that they have lost the support of the public at large, that they are damaging the interests and the welfare of the widows and children of our soldiers who may be killed in the present war, because large numbers of people who would give willingly to a fund for the purpose of assisting those people fail to give now in consequence of not being certain that the money will be managed as they would like. The policy of the Commissioners has been, as I say, if they cannot relieve all of a class to relieve none at all. What do we who take an interest in this subject recommend? We recommend that these Commissioners, if they are not abolished and reconstituted, if a completely new body is not constituted, should be brought into harmony with public opinion; that the new body should not be drawn from one particular class, but that in it there should be a sprinkling of the different classes who take a deep interest in the Army and Navy, that it should contain a certain proportion of distinguished non-commissioned officers and a certain proportion of distinguished business men, who will see that the matter is run on business principles. We would like to see the co-operation with this body of the naval and military authorities, and, above all, the co-operation with that body of the staffs of various other associations throughout the country. It is well known that through the want of publicity many women entitled to come on these various funds have not done so, simply because they were ignorant of their right. There should be local committees at local centres, and above all we contend that there should be a "token" vote in Parliament to enable the country at large to exercise some control over the vast funds which their fellow-countrymen have subscribed in the interests of the widows and children of soldiers who have given their lives for the country. This is a national duty. It is a duty which should not be left haphazard to a large number of societies here and there throughout the kingdom. Quite recently the country has subscribed to the Mansion House fund some £640,000, and to the fund of a London daily newspaper something like £115,000, while if you include all the

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other agencies which have collected money for the sufferers by this present war, you get a total of something like £1,500,000. If that £1,500,000 be added to the £1,000,000 already possessed by the Royal Commissioners, you have the magnificent sum of £2,500,000 available for the widows and orphans of the soldiers who may be killed in the war. The hon. Member for South-west Manchester pointed out quite recently that the Archbishops of Canterbury and York objected to hand over to these Royal Commissioners the money they had succeeded in obtaining—partly, perhaps, because of the danger of overlapping. I was glad to hear from the Financial Secretary to the War Office that he hoped there would be no difference made between the widows of men on the strength of the regiment and those off the strength of the regiment. I hope there will be as little difference as possible made, although, in the first instance, no doubt there must be some. After all, whether a man is married with or without leave, his wife and children are undoubtedly just as dear to him, and the least we can do for our gallant soldiers who to-day are fighting in the front is to give them the consolation that if they die in their country's cause those whom they hold near and dear will not be neglected. Unfortunately we have on record a very black page in the history of this country. There is no man who has read the life of Nelson but has blushed with shame to think that England's greatest naval hero had his dying request neglected by the nation, and that the woman he loved died in actual want and penury in a foreign land. I hope that no such cant will enter into any arrangements that are made for the soldiers at the front. If there ever was a moment when such an appeal should go to the hearts of Members of this House this is the moment. There are few Members who have not some relative or friend engaged in this conflict, in connection with which we are led to believe there is fighting now going on in almost every area of the theatre of war. It would be the greatest consolation to every man engaged in that struggle if he could feel confident and certain, not that money would be showered into these funds, but that the funds would be publicly administered by a body appointed by Parliament, that the funds would be controlled by Parliament,

and that those near and dear to him would not suffer pecuniarily by his death.

COMMANDER BETHELL (Yorkshire, E.R., Holderness): There is a fundamental difference of opinion which, I believe, lies at the bottom of all our troubles, and I am sure it is reflected in the minds of the House, and especially in the mind of my hon. friend who moved the Amendment. The point is this: The minority of the Committee thought that fund for a special cause ought to be exhausted in the assistance of beneficiaries under that special cause. That is the view of the minority. The majority take the view that it would not be right, when large sums of money were contributed, to exhaust them in favour of the beneficiaries. It was felt that perhaps it would not be fair to others to put widows in a much better position in life than they would have been had they not, unfortunately, lost their supporters. That has been the difficulty with which the Commissioners have had to deal in giving relief. The public have got hold of the idea that the funds which have been supplied for the sake of special purposes, instead of being given to beneficiaries, have been hoarded. That is the fundamental question which the House of Commons ought to decide, and to instruct the Commissioners upon: whether, when a sum larger than is required for a specific purpose is contributed, it is to be expended in favour of those beneficiaries, or whether it is proper and legal that it should be hoarded up, put aside, and afterwards applied to some other special purpose. I expect the House of Commons will agree that it is better that the whole of the money should not necessarily be applied in favour of the persons for whom it was given, but that if there is too much money it should be put on one side and afterwards used for the benefit of others who may be more or less suffering under certain circumstances. The Committee recommended that the surplus funds should be lumped together in two classes, one for the Army and one for the Navy. In fact, if their recommendation had been carried out, I rather think that all that my hon. friend now wants would substantially have been obtained. At any rate, whatever the War Office do, they ought to try to grapple with that admitted fundamental question which I have submitted to the House, and

to guide the Commissioners on that point.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): May I venture to make an appeal to the House on the subject of this Amendment. I am perfectly aware, of course, that this is a question which has always excited some interest—a good deal of interest in the minds of those concerned with this and analogous matters—but that interest sinks into insignificance compared with the public attention now devoted to this subject in consequence of the war, and the whole subject of the provision for the widows and orphans of those who are killed is naturally, and in my opinion quite properly, deeply engaging the public mind and conscience. I do not feel that I have enough detailed knowledge of the management of the Patriotic Fund, or of the controversy which has centred round that management for some years past, to be able usefully to give to the House any personal opinion. But I will undertake that some consideration shall be given to this matter, and not to this fund alone, but to the whole question raised by these great funds, to see whether by better organisation they may be so directed as to benefit those for whom they were intended in the manner which will produce the maximum of good. The public, both at the time of the Crimean War and on the occasion of the present war, have shown themselves generous beyond hope and expectation; and I verily think the Government and the House ought to give the public every assistance in their power for the purpose of securing that that generosity shall not be wasted, and that their efforts shall not be permitted to be fruitless. If that promise on my part at all contents the hon. Gentleman who has raised this question, I should certainly feel grateful in the interests of the business of the House that we should conclude the discussion of this particular subject as soon as possible. There are many important and interesting matters on the Paper on which a certain number of Members desire to speak, and I think, perhaps, it might be considered that this subject has been sufficiently debated.

*MR. LOUGH: Would the right hon. Gentleman say more definitely what is the promise he makes, because I would be

glad as far as I am concerned to assist in bringing the debate to an end if the promise is definite and satisfactory.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The promise I make is that the Government, or those who represent us, will do their best to consider with those who are responsible for the new funds and the old funds some method of general organisation by which those funds may be turned to the best advantage.

MR. KEARLEY: Will the Government give those who have some knowledge of these funds an opportunity of expressing their views? You would receive a plausible answer from the Patriotic Commissioners, I have no doubt, but I am afraid no ultimate good would ensue.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I shall endeavour, of course, to see that those who have knowledge of, and have taken interest in, this question shall have an opportunity of expressing their views.

MR. ALLAN (Gateshead): I will not occupy the time of the House for more than a few moments, but I desire to impress upon the First Lord of the Treasury that this is a matter he ought to take up. The real fact of the matter is that the Patriotic Commissioners are antiquated and altogether out of touch with the real and ostensible object of the provision of the money. There is no mistake about that when one remembers that this war has really been paid for by the wives and children of our soldiers. Men who were earning 25s. a week have gone to the front, and their wives are only getting now 10s., so that they are practically paying for the war. The First Lord of the Treasury ought to take the matter in hand in a strong and forcible manner, and clear out the whole of the Commissioners. They are absolutely granting pensions to the relatives of their own secretaries, and the Secretary of the job is now in South Africa receiving his pay, and at the same time drawing his salary from the Patriotic Commission. That is not right, and I hope the First Lord will deal with the matter in a business-like manner as a Scotsman would do, and settle the job properly.

*MR. LOUGH: I will not detain the House, but I want to address one more
Mr. Lough.

question to the First Lord, and if he makes a satisfactory reply I shall be glad if my hon. friend will withdraw the Amendment. This debate has been much too technical. The First Lord of the Treasury has, if I may say so without presumption, anticipated a great deal of what I was going to say. I will not go into the whole subject; I will only refer to the widows and orphans who will arise from the present unfortunate military proceedings. That is really the substance of the Amendment. We did not have a very satisfactory reply from the hon. Gentleman who replied in the first instance, but if I understand the First Lord correctly, I think he has met my hon. friend nearly as far as could be expected. But there was one point in the right hon. Gentleman's statement to which I must refer. He stated that the Government would take this matter in hand, and consider what provision it was proper to make for the widows and orphans; and then he added that they would discuss the matter in conjunction with specialists, or words to that effect. We fear that that means the Patriotic Commissioners. We have faith in the Government in the matter, but we have no faith in the Patriotic Commissioners. Perhaps I am not judging the right hon. Gentleman fairly. If he would go to the length of saying that the Government would consider the large and grave question to which he has rightly attached importance—that is, the grave question of the widows and orphans created by this war—and that when they have considered it they will make some statement, which I feel sure would be satisfactory to the House and to the country, I think the Amendment might be withdrawn.

MR. YOXALL (Nottingham, W.): May I ask whether the reference to this Departmental Committee, or to whatever authority the matter is referred, will consist merely or mainly of the provision for widows and orphans by private benevolence, or whether the right hon. Gentleman will undertake also that the question of making provision for the widows and orphans of soldiers and sailors out of State funds shall be fully considered. We ought not to depend upon eleemosynary efforts for the performance of this public duty, and I hope the right hon. Gentleman will add that

subject to the reference to the proposed Committee.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The motion on the Paper relates simply to the Patriotic Fund, and I have already gone beyond that. The hon. Gentleman wants to press me still further, but the matter to which he refers is really not relevant to this motion. Any inquiry we may make will be on the responsibility of the Government, and we shall get every assistance we can, not merely from the present trustees of the Patriotic Fund, but also from those who by their connection with the newer fund may be said to be thoroughly in touch with the country on the subject.

MR. KEARLEY: After the very generous promise of the First Lord of the Treasury I would desire to withdraw this Amendment. What I understand the right hon. Gentleman to undertake to do is this—that the Government will take immediate action to ensure that the accumulations of the various funds in the hands of the Patriotic Commissioners shall be applied to the benefit of widows and orphans—

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think the hon. Gentleman must not press me further.

MR. KEARLEY: I think I must accept the promise as made, and, with the permission of the House, withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

HIGHLAND CROFTING COUNTIES.

*MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty), in moving the Amendment he had placed on the paper, said that, in spite of the strong expression of opinion in the Report of the Napier Commission against the diminution for the purpose of afforestation of arable or pasture area, according to two Parliamentary Returns—one in 1891 and the other in 1898—fourteen new deer forests had been created between 1883 and 1891, while between 1891 and 1898 the number had been increased by twenty-one, giving a total since 1883 of thirty-five new forests. While not desiring to interfere with pleasure or sport, he contended it was

more important that the glens in the Highlands which were suitable should be used for supporting human beings than for herding deer. Instead of thousands of men being easily procured in a time of conflict such as the present, the glens were desolated and clear of human beings. From 1851 to 1891 the population of Argyllshire had decreased by 20,879, while the decrease in Inverness-shire during the same period was 10,055. The poor rate instead of going down had gone up. In 1852 it was £46,565, but in forty years it had more than doubled, the figures for 1892 being £94,697. It was highly important that this state of things should be investigated. A great deal was heard about going to other lands to redress grievances of so-called Utitlanders, but why were not the grievances of the people at home regarded instead of being ignored, especially in the face of the reports of Commissioners appointed to inquire into these very matters? Two Royal Commissions had stated that these lands in the Highlands were suitable for cultivation and occupation by the people. Instead they were used simply for deer. This extension of deer forests should be arrested. The Crofters Act did arrest it to a certain extent by giving tenants at will fixity of tenure, rents fixed by a commission or land court, and compensation for improvements. The number of applications for fair rents up to 1898 was 19,756; rents had been reduced from £80,373 to £58,910, while arrears of rent to the extent of £123,630 had been cancelled out of a total of £183,776. These figures show to what a vast extent robbery had been going on under the pernicious system which prevailed prior to the passing of the Crofters Act. Leaseholders have, however, remained in the same position as before the passing of the Crofters Act. He had appealed to the Government time after time to look into this question and give these leaseholders some consideration. The leases of these people were entered into when the prices of agricultural produce were high, with the result that the tenants were now unable to pay their rents, and were turned out of their homes. It was very hard that a person living on one side of the road should have the benefits of the Act, while another person on the opposite side of the road, simply because he had entered into a lease, should be debarred from those benefits. Moreover,

was it fair that soldiers who went to the front, at a time of crisis such as the present, should on their return find that their families had been turned out of their homes? He sincerely hoped the Lord Advocate would give an assurance that at least the question as regards the leaseholders would be dealt with. The second part of the Amendment referred to the Deer Forest report of 1895, which scheduled 1,782,785 acres suitable for cultivation and occupation, but now used as deer forests. In 1898, the deer forest area had risen to 2,287,297 acres since 1883, and this in face of the Report of the Napier Commission recommending so strongly that no extension of the deer forest area should take place. In the same time there had been an increase of 35 in the number of deer forests. The total area in the crofting counties was 8,412,687 acres, while the deer forest area was 2,287,297 acres, or 27 per cent. of the whole acreage of the five counties. The cultivated land in these counties amounts only to 481,735 acres, whilst there are 1,782,785 acres now under deer suitable for occupation by the people. The hon. Member proceeded to compare this with the state of affairs in England before the Civil War. At that time there were 700 private parks; in England they had now been reduced to 300. In England these lands had been used for the purposes of the people; whilst in Scotland the people were cleared out and the land used for the purpose of creating deer forests. In 1812 there were only 5 deer forests in the whole of Scotland; at the present time there were 136 in the five crofting counties alone. When Sir George Trevelyan brought in a Bill in 1895 to settle the people on some half million acres of the land scheduled by the Deer Forest Commissioners the present First Lord of the Treasury, then in Opposition, said it was not a generous Bill, and that he wanted to do a great deal more for the crofters. But since the right hon. Gentleman had been in office nothing had been done to give effect to that wish. It was, too, a great injustice that the land should be allowed to go out of cultivation. In the report of the county medical officer for the island of Lewis last year it was stated that sanitary progress was much hindered by the lack of encouragement given to fishermen who were able and willing to build better houses if a site and a modicum of land

could be obtained; while the Deer Forest Commissioners of 1895 were clearly of opinion that much might be done to effect an improvement in the existing state of matters as to holdings for fishermen. What had the Government done for the fishermen? He (the hon. Member) was not aware of a single house having been built since that report was issued. What had been done for the crofters by the Congested Districts Board? £62,000 had been unexpended of the money voted by Parliament, and only £1,451 had been spent in migrating the crofters and cottars, although the Act was mainly provided for the purpose of migrating people from congested districts to parts less occupied. The whole thing was a farce and a sham; it was simply trifling with the question. On national grounds it was of the utmost importance that the Highland people should be settled in the Highland glens. In a great war the effect of the present condition of things would be felt; it was felt now. The Highland regiments must be filled up, but they cannot be with Highlanders. Highlanders are a martial people. It was not necessary to refer to the many glorious victories won by Highlanders. Surely the Highland soldiers, when they returned from the war maimed and crippled for life, as many would return from this South African War, should be able to settle in their old homes for the rest of their days, and not be liable to be turned out by some grasping landlord. If the Lord Advocate is not prepared to deal with the whole question, surely he should have no difficulty in carrying a short Bill to give small crofter tenants, who in 1886 were leaseholders, the benefits of the Crofters Act.

Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words, 'But we humbly represent to Your Majesty that in view of the continued increase in the deer forest area in the Highland crofting counties, it is desirable, in order to prevent a still further depopulation of the Highlands, that the benefits of the Crofters Act, 1886, should be extended to all crofter tenants holding under lease at the time of the passing of the Act; and we regret to observe that there is no indication in Your Majesty's Speech that arrangements will be made for the settling of Highland crofters, cottars, and fishermen on some portion of the 1,782,785 acres of land which in March, 1895, Your Majesty's Commissioners scheduled as deer forests, grouse moors, etc., which might be cultivated to profit, or otherwise advantageously occupied by crofters or small tenants.'—(Mr. Weir.)

Mr. Weir.

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

*MR. HEDDERWICK (Wick Burghs): The matter introduced by my hon. friend is in my opinion of importance not only to the Highlands but to the State, and that is my reason for occupying the time of the House in seconding the Amendment. The Crofters Act of 1886 conferred very great benefits on those people in the Highlands who came within the limits of its operations. I have often in my own mind contrasted the condition of the crofter of to-day with the condition of the artisan in any one of our great towns. Unlike the workman in the town, the crofter breathes the fresh air of heaven; he lives in a better moral atmosphere; he is surrounded by the sweet influences of nature; he is not summoned to a monotonous labour by the clang of the factory bell. He is master of his own circumstances. He is not liable to be dismissed at the caprice of an employer, or in consequence of fluctuation of trade. Secure in his croft, he enjoys the fruits of his toil without fear of molestation. These are inestimable blessings. It is not surprising therefore that those of us who are familiar with the improved condition of the crofter under the Act should be anxious to see the same advantages extended to others who are equally deserving, but as yet without the pale. I confess I have no hope of obtaining in the present session, or indeed from this Government at all such an extension of the Act. To effect such a change a fresh effort of legislation would be required, and it is obvious from the programme which has been laid before us that this is not to be expected. Therefore I regard the first part of this Amendment as scarcely practical. At the same time I agree with my hon. friend in the advisability of the extension. The second part of the Amendment, however, is really and entirely practical, dealing as it does with the desirability of doing something to settle the crofters in the Highlands upon some portion of the millions of acres which were reported by the Commission of 1895 to be capable of cultivation by crofters. In that connection I may remind the Lord Advocate that the Commission which sat under Lord Napier in 1883 gave expression to a very strong opinion with reference to the deer forests then in

existence. The Commissioners went so far as to declare that any further extension of deer forests would be opposed to sound policy. What is meant by sound policy? What I understand to have been running in the minds of the Commissioners was that it would be infinitely better for Scotland if that portion of the land then scheduled as deer forests, but suitable for cultivation by crofters, could be brought into cultivation. Such a course would benefit the country in several respects. In the first place, increased cultivation of the land must necessarily give increased employment to many people; and, in the second place, that increased employment must of necessity do something to arrest the depopulation that has been going on for generations and is still taking place in the Highlands. The evidence of those most fitted to judge is that the young men who are leaving the country are of the best class—that is, those of most spirit and enterprise. Last September, when this country was first menaced by the shadow of war, a detachment of one of the Highland regiments marched through part of the Highlands to beat up recruits. I encountered the detachment towards the end of its march, and, on making inquiries as to its success, I found that they had been able to enlist only one young man, the parents of whom the next day came and begged him off. Take another illustration of even more recent occurrence. There was a proposal lately to send a contingent of about 150 gillies to South Africa. It was supposed that a corps of deerstalkers might render valuable assistance to our troops.

MR. WILLIAM JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.): Was that Lord Lovat's scheme?

*MR. HEDDERWICK: I believe it was. Well, Sir A. Orde, who was interested in the movement, went to Glasgow, and in a speech there told his audience that after going over his own extensive estates he could find only some six or seven young men; all the rest of the males on his property were old men or boys; and therefore he had to go to Glasgow to enlist men for this so-called Highland contingent. This is a lamentable state of things. Contrast this state of affairs with the fact that early in this century, when we were at war in the Peninsula, the island of Skye alone

furnished some thousands of men to the British Army. Consider for one moment how invaluable it would be to us to-day if instead of going to the purlieus of our great cities to find a few remnants of the descendants of Highlanders, we could furnish from the Highlands, as was formerly the case, thousands of men of the very finest quality. Surely anything which would tend to revive the people would be a signal benefit to the State. But in spite of the warning given by Lord Napier's Commission in 1883, what has taken place? Have any of the deer forests been redeemed? On the contrary, afforestation has gone on increasing. This cannot continue for ever without having a very disastrous effect upon the country. The situation is serious. I do not profess to be at all fanatical on the subject; I am perfectly well aware there are great economic laws always in operation. There is the attraction or the drag of the great towns. There is that which is common to all youth everywhere—the dream which paints the fields that are far off as infinitely more fertile than the fields nearer home. These things one grants; they must operate in the ordinary course of human nature everywhere. But beyond and in addition to all these things, legislation and administration may or may not be contributing causes towards the depopulation of a country or district. What has the Legislature done? It has to some extent realised and attempted to meet the evil of which I complain. In 1897, under pressure, the Government passed the Congested Districts Relief Act, the main object of which was the purchase of land and the extension of existing holdings. It was, it is true, an absurdly inadequate sum which the Government granted, but small as it was there was in it some potentiality, if behind it there had been a mind willing to effect the purpose in view. But what has been done? Has the Government done anything? As far as I can gather there has not been one penny spent on the main object for which the money was granted. The right hon. Gentleman the Lord Advocate told me in reply to a question on Monday that there was in hand a balance of some £62,000, and that £1,451 had been expended on migration. But migration is not the acquisition of land or the extension of holdings. Therefore I am not exaggerating when I say

Mr. Hedderwick.

there has not been a single penny spent on the main object of the Act. But the Lord Advocate told me, and I thank him for it, a good deal that I did not ask for. He informed me that there were promises made under recommendations of certain committees with regard to agriculture and public works which would or might involve the Board in an expenditure of something like £27,000; and that negotiations were pending for the purchase of one or two properties which, if concluded, would involve a further expenditure of about £18,000. Then, no doubt feeling that after all it was a very lame account which the Government had to give with regard to the utilisation of the fund, the Lord Advocate added to his reply a little homily. He told me it was much better to proceed with caution rather than by precipitate action to do anything which might operate against economic laws and thereby defeat the main object of the Act. That Act was passed in 1897—nearly three years ago—and yet the Lord Advocate speaks of precipitate action. Nobody doubts the caution of the Lord Advocate, but caution may become a mania. If in three years the Board have not had sufficient time in which to discover some portion of land—although two million acres were marked out in 1895—on which to place some of these crofters in the congested districts without disturbing any of these great economic laws, then in my opinion caution is a veil for another and less admirable quality. I want some definite assurance from the Lord Advocate as to whether the negotiations of which he speaks are at all within reach of a conclusion, and whether we are likely, within the ordinary term of the life of the Government, to see anything done. I am not quite sure for what purpose the money is being heaped up. I am not quite sure that some purpose not within the limits of the Congested Districts Act may not be brooding in the minds of members of the Board, and I think we are entitled to an assurance that the money, which was granted for the specific purpose of relieving the crofter population of the north, by the acquisition of land, shall be devoted, without undue delay, to some substantial extent at any rate, to that purpose.

SIR LEONARD LYELL (Orkney and Shetland): I desire to congratulate my

hon. friend the hon. Member for Ross and Cromarty for taking the only opportunity that may occur during this session of enforcing the bitter complaint of the Highlands at the neglect they have suffered from this House and the Government during the past fourteen years. Previous to 1886 the condition of the crofters was a good deal worse than at present. Since the passing of the Crofters Act in 1886, which really prevented an agrarian revolt in the country, there has been a considerable improvement in affairs; but that Act was an experimental Act, and innumerable small grievances, which might have been remedied, were passed over. If these grievances had been dealt with by amending Acts, which had been proposed by the Highland Members, a good deal of harmony and confidence would have been restored to the north. I refer specially to the grievance that the leaseholders were not included in the benefits of the principal Act. Now, these leaseholders are men of more enterprise, thrift, and foresight than the majority of their neighbours. In fact, it was in order to secure some return for the improvements which they had made on their crofts that they entered into the leases, by which they lost benefits which were conferred on the crofters who held their land only from year to year. I think it is a shame that the best men in the Highlands should have been penalised in that way. Their case has been brought forward in this House again and again, and I think it is desirable that the Members for the crofter constituencies should enter their protest at the unfeeling disregard of their demands by the Conservative Government. Some Amendments to the Act of 1886 have been passed, and the relief of the leaseholders might have been included in them, but it was refused. I do not enter into the question of the deer forests, because in the county I happen to represent there is not a single deer, and a very small amount of game. But there are numbers of crofters in the southern counties who desire to possess land, but cannot get it, although a very large amount of land capable of being divided into crofts was scheduled in the Report of the Deer Forest Commission of 1892. It has been said that the Highland grievances can be dealt with by the Congested Districts Board; but our complaint is that that Board does the things we don't desire, and refuses to do the things we

desire, and I am sorry to say that the hopes raised by the appointment of the Congested Districts Board have been falsified, and we are actually in a worse condition than before it was instituted. And for this reason: we have not the same facility to obtain redress of our grievances. Instead of appealing to the House, we must appeal to the Board, which may be partly in Dover House and partly in Edinburgh, and we cannot ferret the members out. It is said that a considerable sum of money has been placed at the disposal of the Board; but, the money being in the hands of the Board, when land is wanted owners immediately raise the price of land. I know that negotiations have been entered into with the Board to obtain possession of the land, but they failed on that account. If the money had been placed in the hands of an independent man, the land could have been bought for a reasonable sum. I shall on another occasion have a better opportunity of dealing with the Congested Districts Board; but in regard to this particular Amendment, which deals with the grievances of which we have to complain, we want to have some responsible person in this House who will be able to deal adequately with the questions which are now referred to the Board, so that we may be able to bring him to book when a remedy is not applied. The fault of the Board is that the members, although they are adequately paid, have no particular business to do. There is, therefore a divided responsibility, and no special obligation to do the work well.

*Mr. GORDON (Elgin and Nairn): I wish to say a few words on the question raised by previous speakers, but I do not promise to vote for the Amendment, as I have no desire to turn the Government out of office. I know of no Government which has done more for the good of the Highlands than the present Government. All I ask is that the attitude of my right hon. friend the Lord Advocate will be as sympathetic as possible, and that he will be able to indicate in his reply what the Government are going to do. The difficulty is in the economic condition of the Highlands, and many men of goodwill have been unable to suggest proper remedies. An appeal to a Government office is always a third-class mode of procedure. I have paid attention to the speeches made on the other

Eighth Day.

side, and have failed to gain any idea of how these hon. Gentlemen opposite would themselves proceed to improve the condition of the Highland population. I know that Railway legislation has been hindered, hampered, and delayed by the action of certain Members on the other side of the House. The economic question of dealing with a rural population living at a high altitude in a severe climate is by no means confined to the North of Scotland. The rural population of Scotland is decreasing, but not necessarily by harsh and cruel methods. There are districts near London where the rural population is diminishing, but that is because the men are intelligent enough not to go on working for 10s. per week when they can get more in the towns. I myself have always divided the Highland population into two classes—first, that class which from an over conservative sense of local patriotism and a natural instinct desire to stay where their forefathers lived and died. I think that portion of the population is well worthy of the attention of the House. The question of deer forests is a very serious one. No doubt deer forests bring capital into poor districts, and improve conditions and methods of living, but at the same time I think that to allow the further unlimited afforesting of large districts in the North of Scotland is quite as worthy of the attention of this House as the carrying of a railway or canal, which may affect the condition of the population adversely throughout extensive areas. I would say that before allowing landed proprietors to afforest their lands it would not be unreasonable to ask them to come before the House by a private Bill seeking the permission of Parliament. The other class of the rural community are far too acute and clever, in these days of travel and inter-communication, to remain where their forefathers lived. They go out into the world to subdue the wilderness in our colonies, or, with the energy and strength to command, to leading armies to victory, or to building great railways, returning Peers of the Realm. One of these sons of the Highlands the other day offered to the Secretary of State for War a regiment of cavalry, fully equipped at his own expense. The question is how to protect that portion of the community which desires to remain at home, without going against the progress of the age. In my own constituency, which is not under the

Crofters Act, there are a large number of men who would be called under the English law squatters, who have made improvements on the land they occupy. Under the old families these men are practically safe, but when a property changes hands and a new owner comes in, who has none of the feudal instincts regarding his tenants' rights, or no sense of *noblesse oblige*, he may seek to appropriate the improvements which morally belong to the crofter. I hope that in the proposed legislation on agricultural improvement foreshadowed in the Queen's Speech, the Government will throw their ægis over these tenants, and secure for them the value which they have really created on a bare soil, so that they may not depend for their security on feudal law or custom, but on the law of Parliament. The hon. Member who moved the Amendment referred to the Ferrintosh case, and left, unwittingly, I have no doubt, a wrong impression on the House. That is an estate belonging to the family of Forbes, whose name is of historic interest, for, without the efforts of Lord President Forbes, during the rebellion of 1745, the House of Hanover would probably not now have been on the throne. The hon. Member for Ross and Cromarty referred to the condition of the crofters on that estate, but their condition is better than that of the landlord, for Culloden House has recently been dismantled, and no member of the family is able to remain in this country for want of financial means. I believe that the true remedy for the position of land tenants in Scotland, not only small but also larger, is to be found in the Government's recent legislation in Ireland for Land Purchase: and I regret most sincerely that when some similar offer was made by the Duke of Sutherland in regard to his crofting holdings, it was coldly received by the advisers of the crofters. I believe that a judicious proposal by the Government, if not in this session, in the near future, towards carrying out a scheme of *bona fide* land purchase would be the best solution of the land question in Scotland. The only other matter I desire to bring before the House is that the Government should, in connection with a scheme of land purchase in Scotland, also borrow from Ireland the policy of the Irish Labourers' Cottage Act, and consider whether it is adaptable to Scotland. To all these

Mr. Gordon.

experimental methods, if carried out by the Congested Districts Board, I would give my hearty support, for I believe that if carried out prudently and wisely, it would be the best method of meeting the difficulties now before the House.

MR. MCLEOD (Sutherlandshire): I congratulate my hon. friend the Member for Elgin and Nairn on the manner in which he has discussed this subject, but I challenge his statement that the present Government, of all Governments, has done most to benefit the crofters of the Highlands. If my hon. friend had been in the House longer he would have known that the Crofters Act of 1886, which transferred property amounting to millions that previously to that Act belonged to the landlords, to the crofters, was passed by a Liberal Government. I think that that measure will bear comparison with anything done by the present Government. The hon. Member said that there had not been a single practical suggestion made this evening on this side of the House for the benefit of the Highlands, but I think that a practical suggestion is indicated in the first part of this Amendment, which states that "the benefits of the Crofters Act of 1886 shall be extended to all crofter tenants holding under lease at the time of the passing of that Act." I have no doubt we shall presently hear from the Lord Advocate something of the sacredness of contract, and that it would be going against all the traditions of Tory Governments that they should interfere with written contracts. I would point out that the case of the small leaseholders in the Highlands and islands is exceptional. It is exceptional in this respect, that these small leaseholders are the descendants of men who occupied the same position as the men who obtained the benefits of the Crofters Act. In most instances they were turned into leaseholders against their will. They had carried out improvements on their crofts at their own expense, and could get no compensation from the landlords. It was the men who carried out the most valuable improvements that entered into the leases, because they imagined that in that way they would get security for these improvements. In my own constituency there are few small leaseholders, but in the case of these few the hardship is all the greater. As showing how accidental

was the operation of the Crofters Act, in so far as admitting some crofters to the benefit of that Act and excluding others, you find side by side a large community enjoying the benefits of that Act and a small community excluded from them, simply because, in the case of the former, their leases had expired. Then there is the case of Lord Lovat's crofters. The factor on that estate, foreseeing that the Crofters Act would pass, compelled the crofters to accept leases; but when the subject was brought before the Crofters Commission, they stated that these contracts were not contracts at all. There is the case of the crofters on the Ferrintosh estate, nominally owned by a very historical family. On that estate absolutely all the improvements were executed by and at the expense of the small tenants. I do not know whether the House is aware of the fact, but the Culloden family obtained the right of making as much whisky on their estate, duty free, as they could, in return for the services rendered by President Forbes during the Rebellion of 1745-6. The consequence was that a great many people settled on the Culloden property for the purpose of growing barley, and that rents went up high. Holdings which originally were only let for 2s. 6d. were raised to £16. There was one case of a small leaseholder, who proved that he was only in a position to pay £8 instead of £16 during the last few years. Now, if that man's lease had happened to expire just before the Crofters Act was passed, he would have got the benefit of that Act, and have been required only to pay £8. It is nothing short of legalised robbery that that man should pay a rent of £16 when his holding is only worth £8. In my own constituency there is a small estate of the name of Herniss which is unfortunately in the hands of a trustee; and it is impossible for him to give relief to the tenants according to the law. This is not a party matter at all. The representatives of the Tory party have tried to do all they can to relieve these poor people, who in the end, however, are turned out of their holdings. There is not a single argument that can be used in favour of preventing these small leaseholding tenants getting the benefit of the Act, the same as was given to the leaseholders in Ireland, except that they do not happen to be the political force which the leaseholders were in Ire-

land. We are all aware that the Conservatives do not hesitate to break leases of large as well as small tenants, when it suits their purpose, and when we ask for this in the case of the crofters in the Highlands and Islands we are only asking what is fair and just. My hon. friend the Member for Wick Burghs made it appear as if it was rather a difficult thing to ask the Government to pass legislation this session, on account of other matters engaging the attention of the House: but I can assure the Lord Advocate that it only means a one-clause Bill, and that he will not get any opposition from this side of the House. In regard to the second portion of the Amendment, perhaps the House will bear with me if I say a few words in regard to it. I had the honour to serve on the Royal Commission which made the report to the House that there was an area of £1,782,785 acres of land available for advantageous occupation by crofters and other small tenants. Now, in regard to Royal Commissions, it is generally the practice to quote their Report even when it is only signed by a majority. A strong point in regard to the Report of the Royal Commission of 1895 is that we were absolutely unanimous in our recommendation so far as the area available was concerned, and that it could be advantageously occupied by crofters and small tenants. The only difference was how the people could be settled on the land. I signed the minority Report that the land should be bought, but the view of the majority was that that was not a question for the Commission at all to decide, but for the Government. Since that Report was made there was an attempt on the part of the late Government not only to make it easier for the small tenants who had got the benefits of the Act of 1886 to acquire more land, but to extend its benefits to other counties than what were in the original Act called the "crofting counties," and to put in operation a scheme for the compulsory acquisition of land. That failed, but it is very significant that when that Bill was before the House not a word came from the First Lord of the Treasury or the Lord Advocate against the scheme, or the necessity for drastic legislation. Their whole complaint was that Sir George Trevelyan had not gone far enough. It is an amusing commentary on the value the Scottish Office

Mr. McLeod.

attaches to its own representations that it was suggested that the small portion of money granted to the Congested Districts Board for land purchase should be applied to education, as they could not find the means of spending it. Now, when the Bill passed, everyone knew that the money provided for the Board was utterly inadequate if the purchase of land was to be resorted to. In the old days it was said that the Highland people did not want the land, but the whole and sole reason why the Congested Districts Board has not been overwhelmed with applications, is that they have no compulsory powers of acquisition. In my own constituency the Board were in treaty for an estate, but the condition of sale by the proprietor was that the prospective tenants were to take over the sheep stock, which they said was absolutely useless for their purposes. Where you have a well-meaning landlord like Sir Arthur Ford of North Uig, difficulties are put in his way by the Congested Districts Board. That gentleman was willing to take a certain number of tenants from the congested districts and put them on a portion of his land, but the Board would not consent unless he put the whole of these tenants under the Crofters Commission, so as to give them the legal status of crofters. My hon. friend the Member for Elgin and Nairn complained that no scheme for the amelioration of the Highlands was forthcoming from this side of the House. I do not know whether he ever did the members of the Highland Land League the honour of reading any of their speeches; but we have for years pointed out a manner of dealing with this question—namely, that the Crofters Commission, which has done its duty in such a way as to command the admiration and confidence of all parties in Scotland, should have its powers enlarged, and the scope of its operations extended. That brings me to the point in regard to the remark of the hon. Member for Elgin and Nairn as to the offer by a proprietor in my own constituency, the Duke of Sutherland, to his small tenants that they should purchase their holdings, and that they had refused to accept that offer under advice. But the hon. Member should remember that the holdings offered for sale were only rented at 25s. per annum, and therefore of a size impossible for a man to make a living out of. In

regard to the remedies, I do not think that if any Government is only strong enough to face the situation there can be much difficulty in providing them. It is to be remembered that the case of the Highlands is entirely exceptional, and indeed that was the excuse already made for very special legislation. From the manner in which the Highland people became dispossessed of their land, any Government—even a Conservative Government—is fully justified in saying to the present proprietors in the Highlands and Islands, “You must be prepared to deal with these exceptional circumstances, and, according to the remedy suggested by the hon. Member for Elgin and Nairn, no Highland proprietor in future shall be allowed to add to the area of deer forests without getting a private Bill authorising it.” The other remedy is an extremely simple matter: extend the powers of the Crofters Commission. In regard to this matter of the deer forests, I am quite certain that neither the House nor the country has the slightest conception of the enormous area that has been constantly added to them in the Highlands. The matter has not received the amount of attention it should have, because a good number of the people who speak on the subject speak too loosely, with the result that their opponents have no difficulty in showing that in some respects they are wrong. Now, it is an undoubted fact that formerly a large population was cleared out from the Highlands, and their houses burned down. I owe my presence in this House to the fact that I am the son of a man whose dwelling was so burned down after he had been turned out of it. The whole population of Sutherlandshire, with the exception of that of one little strath—every living soul—was turned out of their homes and driven down to the seaside. These, be it remembered, were the parents of the men who, at that time, were fighting the battles of England on the Continent, men who had been induced to enlist on the assurance that they would be not only doing a duty to their country and their parents, but that they would be able to come home and find a place in which to spend the remainder of their days. But when the survivors returned they found, instead of a home, charred ruins. What is the result? In the most populous parish of Sutherlandshire, where the people are relatively well off,

where there is the largest Volunteer company in the county, and where there is all the material for a splendid contingent—not a single man volunteered to go to the front in South Africa. And why? They say, “See what happened under a British Parliament and under a British Government to our fathers; and unless you put that right we won’t go to fight your battles abroad, although we are prepared, as Volunteers, to defend our homes.” Take the case of the Inverness Militia, which was lately taken up to Aldershot under the command of The Macintosh. I have seen these men myself; they were not like Militia, but like troops who had seen service abroad; big stalwart men, well set-up, and finely drilled. When called up, out of over a thousand only fourteen were found unfit for duty. Well, it was put to them whether they would not like to go to South Africa, and they good-humouredly said they would consider it if they got a promise of a farm or a share in a gold mine; but they added they were not going abroad to fight for a shilling a day after the way their forefathers were used. The feeling is there deep and determined, and that is the result of the Highland clearances. As I have said, very few are aware of how enormously the area of the deer forests in the Highlands has increased of late years. In 1883 the figures were sufficiently startling; the area then under deer forests was 1,711,082 acres, whereas in 1898 it had increased to 2,287,297 acres, or an increase of half a million acres in sixteen years. I have been led away by this digression from the point I was illustrating. When the people were cleared off the land for the purpose of putting on sheep, the proprietors did not pay the crofters and small tenants for the improvements which they appropriated, although it was these improvements which produced the grass that made sheep-farming then profitable. In the passing of this little measure of justice I think we can almost claim it by the inherent righteousness of the case. At the same time there is no reason in the world why a clause should not be introduced in the interests of these poor people, and with regard to the utilisation of this large area of land, which is practically wasted in the Highlands, I do not see why that also should not be amended. It is a perfectly good scheme. If this House only realises

in a very small degree what the condition of these poor people in the Highlands of Scotland is, I am sure they would not be slow to pass this measure of relief. In my own constituency, which is a rural constituency, I can tell you that the supply of milk for the children is so short that the medical officer has been constantly referring to it in his annual reports to the county council. The area of land is so small that the crofters are not able to keep a sufficient number of cows in one place. They are decent people, who are law-abiding and who pay their rent and taxes; and when this House by its enactments gives relief to the big farmer, but none to the small tenant, it is but natural that a protest should be raised. I do not know a more industrious section of the community than the poor Highlanders. Since the passing of the Crofters Act it is almost incredible to believe what these people have done. One of the greatest agitations that Scotland has ever witnessed was that which broke out in Skye in 1896 after the passing of the Act. It was felt that the crofters were doing something to better their condition, to build new houses to which they might resort in the summer time. There is no desire to keep the Highlander there against his will. In my own constituency, in the best of parishes, emigration is so great among the young people that it is almost impossible to get assistance in the shape of a lad where the small tenant is not able to do the work himself. On the other hand, in the poorest parish there is no emigration at all; they do not breed; and if occasionally one or two of them do go away, they almost always come back. In the better-off parishes the parents are generally able to keep the children at school, and, when they come of age, to give them a decent outfit and a fair start in life. They do fairly well. Well, Sir, that is the class of people whom I would like to see settled. If it be true that there is no great demand for new holdings it makes it all the easier for the Tory party to deal with the question. I can assure the House that there is no more deserving people, no people that will better appreciate legislation in their behalf than these people in the Highlands.

*THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. GRAHAM MURRAY, Buteshire): The first portion of this Amendment deals with a

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now familiar question, as I think the House will remember that this question was really fully argued last year. On that occasion I gave the view of the Government on the matter, and before the present debate I had refreshed my memory on the subject. I do not mean to go into the question at any great length; but I do wish to say this, that I entirely demur to that description of the leaseholder—assumed rather than stated—in the speeches which have been delivered as that of “a cautious crofter.” A good many years ago it is said he was cautious, and now, in the efflux of time we find him in a very much worse condition than the crofter. There are some persons in that position. But the effect of extending the Crofters Act to all leaseholders under £30 would be to include an enormous number of people not in that position, and who, I have again and again explained, were not in the view of the Government to be brought in under a land court system. The Crofters Act introduced a land court for a peculiar people who had an historical reason for being allowed a privilege which no one else was allowed, because, although they had a tenure which by law was precarious, in practice it had always been looked upon as non-precarious, and the law did no more than make legal a tenure which had been practically customary, and this could not apply to those under voluntary contracts. It will be a sad day for Scotland if a land court were introduced between landlord and tenant. In dealing with the second portion of the Amendment in relation to deer forests, the mover passed with a rapid and somewhat confused touch from the early history of the subject to the present time, and did not differentiate in his epithets, which, however appropriate at one time, are so no longer. The “cruel evictions” referred to are things of the past; and, in fact, such increase as there has been in afforestation in recent times has been by the conversion of sheep pastures into deer forests, because in certain places deer pay better than sheep. Another hon. Member has dwelt upon the depopulation which, he said, is still proceeding in the Highlands. But the economic causes that make for depopulation of rural districts are common to the whole kingdom; and if the more intellectual and enterprising young Highlanders seek their fortunes far afield it is

not a matter for complaint, and, indeed, it is a Scotchman's boast that his successful countrymen can be found in every part of the world. Reference has also been made to the poor success of a recruiting party, and mention has been made of the fact that from a body of the Inverness Militia not one would volunteer for service in South Africa. I am sorry for it; but throughout Scotland there is no lack of the patriotic fervour that exists in all parts of the kingdom. I do not speculate as to the reasons influencing the Inverness men, confining myself to the hope and belief that they were personal and good reasons. One thing I am sure of, that is that their conduct was not due to any slight or injustice from the Government long ago. So far as deer forests are concerned, the case failed, because the Commission did not find a large extent of forest land available forcrofting, though they did refer to land that could be advantageously occupied by persons suitably chosen, able and willing to stock and cultivate. It was when the land was found that the difficulties began, and the attitude of the Government was shown in the experiments being made by the Congested Districts Board. For the general policy of that Board my noble friend the Secretary for Scotland accepts entire responsibility. A wrong idea has been conveyed by the statement that my noble friend proposes to devote a certain portion of the funds of the Board to education. Advice from those best qualified to give it shows that young Highland people are at a disadvantage when going out into the world from ignorance of the advanced forms of social life and matters of common knowledge to ordinary boys and girls. They do not know really the ordinary operations of building, carpentry, the proper conduct of a dairy, and so on. Thus, when they left their native place to go into service, they are only able to take the lowest place in the scale of labour. Unfortunately, as a lawyer, I had to advise my noble friend that the clauses of the Congested Districts Acts did not cover that class of expenditure, and accordingly my noble friend approached the hon. Member for Sutherland and several other hon. Members who may be termed representative in this matter to see whether he could not get through the House by consent a Bill to enable him to do so.

MR. MCLEOD: The matter was not a subject of complaint, but it showed simply that the Scotch Office relied upon the Congested Districts Board, which was no remedy.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: Surely it is a most curious deduction to make that if you have five ways of doing good and you see a sixth way that is a confession of failure in regard to the other five. Although I did get much individual assistance from certain hon. Members, they could not come to that absolute unanimity as to letting the Bill go through, which was the only condition of success, and accordingly the Bill did not pass. There are many forms of benefiting the people other than by the creation of new holdings. Passing over those forms and systems which are quite as important as any other forms, that does not alter the fact that the Congested Districts Board are anxious to try what can be done in that matter. I will answer the questions put to me by the hon. Member who seconded the Amendment. I can assure him that we are not intentionally heaping up the money. We have no ulterior object, and we are only heaping up money because we do not wish to spend it until we can spend it favourably. The real difficulty is not getting the land, but getting suitable tenants, and I should like to read to the House one or two conditions imposed by the Congested Districts Board, to show how extremely liberal their views are if a tenant of the proper kind will come forward. The price of the holding was to be an average of £650. The proposal of the Congested Districts Board is that they are willing to lend that money, and allow it to be paid back at 2½ per cent., spread over fifty years. They would also arrange for the shooting to be paid for, the benefit of the shooting rent to go to the crofter. The way it would work out would be that the crofter would have to pay £23 18s. 11d. yearly for fifty years, when the loan would be repaid. He would get £12 19s. for the shooting rent, and, therefore, the holding would cost him £10 19s. 11d. per year. Now I ask hon. Members is that not a perfectly handsome offer, and is it not a good chance for a man able to better himself that by paying £10 19s. 11d. a year for fifty years he becomes the proprietor of the holding? If the crofter consented to erect upon his holding the

proper buildings, the Congested Districts Board offer to lend him £300 towards the buildings, and lend it him upon the same terms as those upon which his holding has been acquired. The difference between our views and those which I rather suspect are held by the hon. Member who moved this Amendment is that we are determined, although we are liberal, we are not going to disregard economic conditions *in toto*. If you do not insist upon it that the men coming forward shall be men of character and experience, and men who at least have a sufficiency of stock or the means of getting them, then so far from helping the solution of the problem of the crofters in the congested districts you will be doing your very best to make the last state of the Highlands worse than the first.

*MR. THOMAS SHAW (Hawick Burghs): I am bound to say that certain new facts have been brought to light in regard to this problem during the past year which I should have thought would have brought home conviction to my right hon. friend. It is impossible to deny that the state of matters in the Highlands is a state of peace, but of peace which must be followed, unless a change of policy ensues, by a state, I will not say of clamour, but of unrest which may have very serious consequences. Each year that passes over our heads sees us possessed of a smaller and smaller area of land for ordinary economic purposes. This is a serious fact. During the past twelve or fifteen years afforestation has been in a progressive state. Of the entire area of the Kingdom of Scotland, not less than 12 per cent. is now under deer and devoted to the purposes of sport alone. The House will see that this is at least a social problem which may not be without trouble in the future. It is impossible in a country like ours that a Crofters Act can pass without having its consequences, and I think the time has come when the House is able to fully recognise, in view of our past experience, that some extension of that measure is necessary. The Commission which was appointed in 1892 to inquire into a kindred subject gave us clearly to understand how beneficial had been the operation of that Act. The Act is one of which the Government who passed it may justly be proud. In regard to the relation of the crofter and the crofter population to

the landlords, the situation had for long been one of chronic debt on the one hand, and chronic pursuit for debt on the other. The result of the Statute economically has been that about 27 per cent. of the entire rental of the crofting area has disappeared, and with regard to the arrears 70 per cent. has been completely wiped out. I venture to say that a policy that has been followed by such peace and contentment in the relations between landlord and tenant, after the passing of that measure, is a result which the authors of that Act can look back upon with much satisfaction. It is not only with regard to the relations between the crofters and their landlords that the Act has been beneficial. The House may remember that in 1892 there was laid on the Table of this House a report from the Deer Forests Commission. The *personnel* of that Commission was largely identical with the *personnel* of the Crofters Commission itself. They took that occasion to make certain remarks as to the alterations during the period succeeding the passing of the Crofters Act, and their verdict has been, with regard to the land possessed by the crofters, that such land is now better tilled, better drained, and better fenced than it ever was under the old system. An opinion like that, so manifestly favourable, is bound to have an effect upon the mind of the surrounding population. What has been the history of Ireland in this matter? You would never have had peace in Ireland upon this topic of land occupation unless you had been content to extend the benefit of such a statute to the leaseholder. I remember quoting a sentence from a speech made by Lord Salisbury, in which he brushed aside all those legal and technical subtleties founded on by the Lord Advocate, and said the leaseholder's position was that he held a longer tenure than the tenant at will, but that he was side by side with the tenant at will, and should, like him, have fixity of tenure and other rights. The result in Ireland has been eminently satisfactory, and why should the leaseholders of Scotland have the door slammed in their faces in this matter? I support my hon. friend who has moved this Amendment because I think it is a matter in which it is the duty of Scotch Members to iterate and reiterate, until the mind of the House becomes saturated with the necessity of this reform. On the other hand, the motion has reference to and a considerable

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bearing upon the operations of the Congested Districts Board, and here I do not think my right hon. friend has done very much service to that Board by laying the whole blame or the whole glory for its operations at one single door, namely, the door of the Secretary for Scotland. Of course I am not going to repeat here what I urged as strongly as I could when the Bill creating that Board was before this House, namely, that unless you give powers for the compulsory acquiring of land you were setting that body into existence tied hand and foot, and so fatally impeded its progress. There are many ways in which the expenditure of money in the Highlands can be undertaken for the benefit of the population. We have the expenditure of money for communication by roads, light railways, and the like; we have the expenditure in the case of the present Government by grants in aid of the taxpayers in agricultural districts. We also have the expenditure of money for industrial purposes under the Congested Districts Board Act; but at the bottom of all that expenditure we ought to have the expenditure of money upon a scheme for enabling crofters, or that class of people, to have land upon reasonable terms, on which they can work out their own betterment in life, and pay their taxes like their neighbours. Unless you do that you are only building a superstructure without laying the foundation. So far as we can gather the result up to the present is that the Congested Districts Board, which has been in existence for two and a half years, has obtained grants from the Treasury to the extent of £70,000. What has it done with regard to assisting the acquirement of land by thecrofting population? The whole figure on that head amounts only to about £1,400 to £1,500.

*MR. WEIR: £1,451.

*MR. THOMAS SHAW: Therefore the result of all this is that of this £70,000, the main purpose of which was to bring the people of the proper class back to the land, more especially in the neighbourhood of existing holdings, only 2 per cent. has been expended. What I fear is that the Congested Districts Board lacked power to begin with, and it also lacks nerve and resolution. It is impossible to have listened to such a speech

as that delivered by my hon. friend the Member for Orkney without feeling that there is land in abundance in Scotland which could be acquired even without compulsory powers upon reasonable terms. The Treasury, however, has been substantially controlled by the Scotch Board, who will not bring the people back to the land. My right hon. friend made one remark that I cannot say I listened to with very much satisfaction. He gave an instance of the rental arising from shooting and deer forests, and said the latter pays best. Yes, but whom does it pay? It may pay the landlord best, but does it pay the nation best? That other element is one which we may well consider at this moment, when our Highlanders are taking their share in battle for this country. There is another element besides the purely economic aspect of this question, and that is that you are gradually depleting the area of land on which you can grow a healthy and a hardy and a virile population. We know to-day what such people can do in times of war and in times of national trouble, and I want our legislation shaped upon lines and upon economic conditions, which will give the Highlands a chance of flourishing and of replenishing the British Empire in its strength.

DR. CLARK (Caithness-shire): I am surprised that the Lord Advocate has taken the course which he has done to-night and opposed this Amendment. My hon. friend proposed as a compromise that if his very moderate demand were accepted he would give up the still more important portion, but the Lord Advocate does not even concede that which, time after time, before the right hon. Gentleman was Lord Advocate, the leaders of both sides declared should be given. When I listened to his speech to-night, I wished that the Lord Advocate knew really more of the facts of the case. He has told the House that this is a proposal made by those who wish to introduce Irish methods into Great Britain. Why, this proposal was first made fourteen years ago in this House; and by whom does he think? By a noble Lord who was the largest owner of land in Scotland—who owned more than a million acres. This proposal was first made in this House by the present Duke of Sutherland, who was then Marquess of Stafford—not by any crofter or an Irish-

man, but by a man who owns more land than any other living person. Both sides admit that the leaseholder was in the same position as the holder from year to year. The bulk of the leaseholders are simply crofters who, having made improvements, are desirous of getting security for them, and they required protection much more than any other class. When the Conservative Government came into power they brought in a Bill which at once destroyed over 150,000 leases. We have been told that the Highland tenants were not harshly but generously rented, but fourteen years experience of the Crofters Act has demonstrated that they were more rack-rented than the Irish tenants. So that, as far as the case of the crofters is concerned, it has been made out that it is based upon equity and justice. Of course, the Government now refuse what we ask. My hon. friend in introducing this motion gave some very startling statistics regarding the great decrease of the population in our Highland counties. The facts stated did not give the House the impression that otherwise they might have done. The case is very much worse, as I will explain. Take Argyllshire, for instance. The hon. Member says that during forty years there has been a reduction in the population of Argyllshire of 20,000, and that is perfectly true. But it must be remembered that five or six big towns have grown up in Argyllshire during that period. The decrease in the rural population in the Highlands has been about one-half. What is the economic condition now as shown by the last returns? I won't take Skye or Lewes, which we have had before, but I will take Mull, which I do not think has ever come before us. During the forty years from 1841 to 1881 the population of Mull was reduced from 10,000 to 5,000, or 50 per cent., and what is the picture we get in the last report? It says that there are fifteen farms in Mull with an annual value of over £4,000, and they are now all in the hands of the Duke of Argyll. He has got to keep those farms with their stock, and he has them on his hands. That shows the failure of the old system. If we had a really active Congested Districts Board they would give relief to the Duke and the other great landlords, and take them out of the unfortunate position in which they now find themselves. That

Dr. Clark.

congestion in the Highlands is causing the growth of pauperism, and you have all the best people leaving the districts. The Lord Advocate wonders why we object to this, but I cannot see his logic, for if your best people go away and your worst remain, the country must deteriorate either intellectually, morally, or physically. Surely, as a patriotic Scotsman, the right hon. Gentleman cannot desire that. That is the reason why we object to it. Is this the case in Norway and Switzerland? How do we stand in Scotland? Our case has been brought year after year before the House, and our facts have been admitted by the First Lord of the Treasury himself. The principle has been admitted and a remedy suggested, because for many years emigration has been urged by hon. Members on the opposite side of the House. That was tried, and large sums of money were voted by this Parliament for the experiment. It is now admitted that the experiment was a dead failure, and the £20,000 which was voted might just as well have been pitched into the Thames. I have visited one of the settlements in Manitoba, and there was not a single soul left in the houses there. We ask for migration, and we say that there is plenty of land in Scotland. There was the Commission of 1890, and their Report demonstrated that there was plenty of land, and so that is not a mere statement made by us. They classified a scheme which showed that there was 794,000 acres capable of cultivation as new crofts. Half a million acres were recommended as farms of moderate size to give to the more enterprising people, and we did expect that the Congested Districts Board, after it was appointed, would have done something to carry out those recommendations. Two years ago the First Lord of the Treasury said we were in too big a hurry and expected results all at once. What has been the result of nearly three years experience? Why, that rather less than £1,500 has been spent in migrating the population. I admit that they are making arrangements to spend £18,000 more. The whole sum they have spent for every purpose has been about 10 per cent., and this £18,000 is only one half of the sum they will get this year, for they will receive £35,000. They still have £62,000 out of the £70,000 which was voted by this House two years ago. That is the con-

dition of things we have got after nearly three years working of the Board. Having no compulsory powers, we knew from the beginning that they would not be able to do much, and all they have been able to do is to issue advertisements asking Highland landlords to sell their estates. But until you get compulsory powers you cannot get the land. We have been told that we do not suggest any remedy, but we have suggested remedies, and the House has practically admitted that our remedies are just and practical. Want of time during the session might make legislation impracticable, but there is no great question coming before the House which is likely to take up much time this session. There is no great party question

being brought forward; the measures proposed are such that all sides might feel inclined to pass. This is a session when there is no great burning political question, and therefore important legislation of this kind might be passed. Now we are told that nothing will be done by this Government, and what is worse, the Government have gone back from the position formerly taken up by the First Lord of the Treasury and the Cabinet by now opposing this matter on principle.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 113; Noes, 186. (Division List No. 5.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N. E.)
Allan, William (Gateshead)
Allison, Robert Andrew
Asher, Alexander
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Asquith, Rt. Hon. Herbert Henry
Austin, M. (Limerick, W.)
Barlow, John Emmott
Blake, Edward
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Burt, Thomas
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robert (Durham)
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
Carew, James Laurence
Carlike, William Walter
Causton, Richard Knight
Channing, Francis Allston
Clancy, John Joseph
Clark, Dr. G. B. (Caithness-sh.)
Commins, Andrew
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Crilly, Daniel
Daly, James
Dalziel, James Henry
Dewar, Arthur
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Dunn, Sir William
Emmott, Alfred
Engledew, Charles John
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Farrell, James P. (Cavan, W.)
Fenwick, Charles
French, Peter

Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James (Christopher)
Gilney, James
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Griffith, Ellis J.
Gurdon, Sir William Brampton
Hammond, John (Carlow)
Harrington, Timothy
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayne, Rt. Hon. Charles Seale-Healy, Maurice (Cork)
Healy, Timothy M. (N. Louth)
Hedderwick, Thomas Chas. H.
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Holland, William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Jones, Wm. (Carnarvonshire)
Jordan, Jeremiah
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kilbride, Denis
Kinloch, Sir John George S.
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cumb'ld)
Leese, Sir J. F. (Accrington)
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Sir Leonard
Macaleese, Daniel
MacDonnell, Dr. M. A. (Q'n's Ct.)
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
McCartan, Michael
McCrae, George
McGhee, Richard
McKenna, Reginald
M'Leod, John
Mandeville, J. Francis
Morton, Ed. J. C. (Devonport)
Murnaghan, George
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary)

Oldroyd, Mark
O'Malley, William
Palmer, George Wm. (Reading)
Parnell, John Howard
Pearson, Sir Weetman D.
Pease, Joseph A. (Northumb.)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pilkerton, John
Power, Patrick Joseph
Provand, Andrew Dryburgh
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robson, William Snowdon
Roche, John (East Galway)
Runciman, Walter
Samuel, J. (Stockton-on-Tees)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Sinclair, Capt. J. (Forfarshire)
Soames, Arthur Wellesley
Strachey, Edward
Sullivan, Donal (Westmeath)
Sullivan, T. D. (Donegal, W.)
Thomas, David Alf. (Merthyr)
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tully, Jasper
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Wason, Eugene
Weir, James Galloway
Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
Williams, John Carvell (Notts.)
Wilson, Frederick W. (Norfolk)
Woods, Samuel
Yoxall, James Henry

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
Mr. Herbert Gladstone and
Mr. McArthur.

NOES.

Archdale, Edward Mervyn
Arnold, Alfred
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bailey, James (Walworth)

Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r)
Barnbury, Frederick George
Barry, Rt. Hon. A. H. S. (Hunts.)
Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir M. H. (Bristol)
Bemrose, Sir Henry Howe

Bethell, Commander
Bill, Charles
Blakiston-Houston, John
Brassey, Albert
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John

Brookfield, A. Montagu
Butcher, John George
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin)
Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbysh.)
Ceil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. (Birm.)
Chamberlain, J. Austen (Worc'r)
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Charrington, Spencer
Clarke, Sir Edw. (Plymouth)
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colston, Charles E. H. Athole
Cook, Fred. Lucas (Lambeth)
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasg'w)
Cornwallis, Fienes Stanley W.
Cox, Irwin Edw. Bainbridge
Cross, H. Shepherd (Bolton)
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Curzon, Viscount
Dafkeith, Earl of
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Dorington, Sir John Edw.
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
Douglas-Pennant, Hon. E. S.
Duncombe, Hon. Hubert V.
Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir Wm. Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Fellowes, Rt. Hon. Ailwyn Edward
Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Mane'r
Field, Admiral (Eastbourne)
Finch, George H.
Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
Fitz Wygram, General Sir F.
Fletcher, Sir Henry
Flower, Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Galloway, William Johnson
Garfit, William
Gedge, Sydney
Gibbons, J. Lloyd
Giles, Charles Tyrrell
Godson, Sir Augustus Fredk.
Goldsworthy, Major-General
Gorst, Rt. Hn. Sir John Eldon
Goschen, Rt. Hn. G. (St. George's)
Goulding, Edward Alfred
Graham, Henry Robert
Gray, Ernest (West Ham)
Green, Walford D. (Wednesb'y)
Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Gull, Sir Cameron
Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord George
Hanbury, Rt. Hon. Robert Wm.

Hanson, Sir Reginald
Hardy, Laurence
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Heath, James
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Alexander
Hill, Sir Edward Stock (Bristol)
Hornby, Sir William Henry
Hpzler, Hon. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hutchinson, Capt. G. W. (Grice-
Hutton, John (Yorks. N.R.)
Jackson, Rt. Hon. Wm. Lawies
Johnson-Ferguson, Jabez Edw.
Johnston, William (Belfast)
Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
Kennaway, Rt. Hon. Sir John H.
Kenyon, James
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. William
Kewick, William
Kimber, Henry
Knowles, Lees
Lafone, Alfred
Lawrence, Sir E. Durning- (Corn
Lawson, John Grant (Yorks.)
Lea, Sir Thomas (Londonderry)
Leigh-Bennett, Henry Curry
Llewelyn, Sir Dillwyn- (Sw'nsea
Lockwood, Lt.-Col. A. R.
Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham)
Long, Rt. Hon. W. (Liverpool)
Lopes, Henry Yarde Buller
Lorne, Marquess of
Lowe, Francis William
Lloyd, Archie Kirkman
Lucas-Shadwell, William
Macartney, W. G. Ellison
Macdonald, John Cumming
Maclver, David (Liverpool)
Maclure, Sir John William
McArthur, Charles (Liverpool)
McKillop, James
Maple, Sir John Blundell
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Maxwell, Rt. Hon. Sir H. E.
Middlemore, J. Throgmorton
Milbank, Sir Powlett Chas. J.
Milward, Colonel Victor
Monckton, Edward Philip
Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
More, Robert Jasper (Shrops.)
Morton, Arth. H. A. (Deptford)
Mount, William George
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. Graham (Bute)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Myers, William Henry
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens

Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
Parkes, Ebenezer
Penn, John
Phillipotts, Captain Arthur
Pierpoint, Robert
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plunkett, Rt. Hon. Horace C.
Pollock, Harry Frederick
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretzman, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Quilter, Sir Cathbert
Rankin, Sir James
Rentoul, James Alexander
Richardson, Sir Thos. (Hart'pl)
Ritchie, Rt. Hn. Chas. Thomson
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Russell, Gen. F. S. (Choltenham
Russell, T. W. (Tyronne)
Rutherford, John
Ryder, John Herbert Dudley
Samuel, Harry S. (Limehouse)
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Seoble, Sir Andrew Richard
Shaw-Stewart, M. H. (Renfrew)
Sidebotham, J. W. (Cheshire)
Sidebottom, William (Derbysh.)
Simeon, Sir Barrington
Sinclair, Louis (Roufford)
Smith, Abel H. (Christchurch)
Smith, Jas. Parker (Lanarks.)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Stanley, Edw. Jas. (Somerset)
Stewart, Sir Mark J. M. Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Stock, James Henry
Stone, Sir Benjamin
Strutt, Hn. Charles Hedley
Sturt, Hon. Humphrey Napier
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ.)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornston, Percy M.
Tomlinson, Wm. Edw. Murray
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Webster, Sir Richard E.
Whiteley, H. (Ashton-under-L.)
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Williams, Joseph Powell (Birm.)
Wilcox, Sir John Archibald
Wyndham, George
Wyll, Marmaduke D'Arcy
Young, Commander (Berks, E.)
TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
Sir William Walrond and
Mr. Anstruther.

Main question again proposed.

TAXATION OF IRELAND.

*Mr. CLANCY (Dublin County, N.), in rising to move, as an Amendment, to add at the end of the Question the words—"But we humbly represent to Your Majesty that the over taxation of Ireland, which promises to become greatly aggravated by the expenditure on the war in South Africa, is a most

serious and pressing grievance, and demands the early attention of Parliament with a view to its removal," said: Mr. Speaker, the subject of the Amendment which stands in my name has been before the House several times in recent years, but I make no apology and I offer no excuse for bringing it forward on the present occasion. The first reason why we think it necessary at this stage of the session to bring under the consideration

of Parliament once more the financial relations between Great Britain and Ireland is that all Ireland is practically united on this question. There was some doubt, I believe, as to one particular part of Ireland being in disagreement with the rest—I mean the city of Belfast. That stood apart in what Lord Salisbury would call “splendid isolation” on this question. I believe, however, that the hon. Member for South Belfast now occupies a sort of political Spion Kop, where he stands alone in resistance to the assaults of modern degeneracy.

MR. WILLIAM JOHNSTON: The four Members for Belfast are united on the question.

***MR. CLANCY:** I refer to Belfast for this reason. A short time ago a deputation from the All Ireland Committee waited on the Corporation of Belfast, and, although the hon. Member for South Belfast represents the city on most questions, the Corporation agreed to take a stand with the rest of Ireland on this matter; and when I am told by the hon. Member that the four Members for the city have taken up the same position as he has I would remind him that one of the Royal Commissioners on whose report we base our claim was one of the four Members for Belfast, and as far as I know he has never since recanted his opinion on the question. Ireland is therefore practically united in believing that it has a grievance, and, feeling a grievance, it has naturally forced on the attention of its representatives in this House the absolute necessity of pressing its claim for redress upon every occasion that offers itself, whether it is pleasing to the Government or to the House or not. I am sorry to say that there was ground for disappointment and dissatisfaction last session because an opportunity for ventilating this grievance was not found, and I have only to offer for myself the explanation that the mishap occurred owing to some misunderstanding. The fact that Ireland is united on this question, as well as the frequency and urgency of the demands made upon us to bring it forward, are ample reasons for my standing here to-night, in the name of the united Irish party to propose this Amendment. There is also another reason. We have as the basis of our demand an unexampled verdict in our favour. I think it is a most

remarkable circumstance—indeed the most remarkable of its kind in political history—that a Commission constituted as the late Royal Commission on the Financial Relations between Great Britain and Ireland was, should have reported by so overwhelming a majority in favour of the case made by the representatives of Ireland. The House may rest assured that, until redress is afforded, that verdict of the Royal Commission will be heard of session after session. The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House has rather sneered at the Commission; he spoke of it as “this intelligent Commission.” The phrase was not used in a complimentary sense, and I think it was a very inappropriate sneer to address to a body composed of the first financial experts of the Empire, most of whom were Englishmen, and many of whom had been actually employed in high positions in the financial departments of the State by different Governments. The third reason why I move this Amendment will obviously occur to the minds of hon. Members. If the present system of indiscriminate taxation results in injustice being done to Ireland, as Ireland contends it does, it is plain that that injustice will be aggravated by every addition to the sum levied in accordance with that system. Of course, I am alluding to the present war, which will probably add tens of millions to the taxation of the country. If you bore that burden yourselves, as you alone are responsible for the war, and you alone will benefit by it if any success accrues from it, I would not have anything to say in the matter; but for every £1 added to the taxation of the country by reason of the war, the injustice done to Ireland by the present indiscriminate system of taxation will be proportionately increased and aggravated. Under these circumstances it would be preposterous if the representatives of the overwhelming majority of the people of Ireland allowed even the preliminary stages of the session to pass without making a stand against that system. For these reasons we have brought forward this question to-night, and I propose to offer neither apology nor excuse for so doing, but I may perhaps relieve the House with the assurance that I do not intend to enter into this question in detail. The reason is perfectly plain. The speeches of the hon. Member for North Longford and the hon. and learned

Member for Waterford, and, certainly not least, the speeches of the hon. and learned Member for Plymouth have so stated our case, and proved it so conclusively, that I am relieved from going over ground so frequently trodden and with such effect. I do not intend, therefore, to do more than glance in outline at our case; and answer, if I may respectfully say so, some points in the last speech delivered on this subject by the First Lord of the Treasury. We take our stand upon what the Unionist Members of this House seem to regard as almost an Ark of the Covenant—I mean the Act of Union, and especially on the seventh article of that Act. I do not know whether hon. Members on the other side, who speak so glibly on this subject against our case, have ever read that article. If they have not, I would, in all humility, advise them to read it, because they will find there the whole justification not only for our action, but for the verdict of the Royal Commission. At the time of the Union Ireland and England had certain debts, and the debt of Ireland was very much smaller in comparison than the debt of England; not only that, but the circumstances of the two countries were very dissimilar, and accordingly the authors of the Union—Pitt and Castlereagh—voluntarily declared that it would be unjust to tax Ireland and England on the same level, and they, consequently, provided that the countries should not be taxed on the same level until their circumstances had become similar and until the debts of the two countries had approached a certain proportion to each other. That seemed a fair offer, and probably would have been a fair offer, if the proportion which Ireland was to pay to the Imperial expenditure had been fixed at a proper figure. But it was fixed at a figure which the Irish House of Lords and all the patriotic party and all unpurchased intellect of Ireland declared would prove the ruin of the country. The natural consequence was that your taxation, owing to your foreign wars, having risen by leaps and bounds, our taxation rose similarly. You broke the treaty as soon as ever it was made, because one of its conditions was that you were to borrow not on the separate credit of each country, but on the joint credit of both, and instead of that, when Ireland could not pay the preposterous sum you demanded of her, you broke the treaty in

the first year or two after it was made by borrowing on the separate credit of Ireland. The result was that the provision in the Act of Union that the debt of Ireland should reach a certain proportion of the debt of England before taxation could be equalised occurred in 1816, and then you took advantage of your own wrong. [AN HON. MEMBER: After Waterloo.] Yes, after Waterloo, where the Irish soldiers had saved you, you taxed Ireland on the high level of your own country. What the 7th article provided was that the two countries were to be treated as two separate entities for finance; they were legislatively united, but in finance they were to receive separate treatment, and as a matter of fact, as everyone knows, they did receive separate treatment, to a certain extent, for the first half of the present century, for it was not until 1853, when Mr. Gladstone began his policy of plunder, which was followed impartially by his successors, that the present system, under which Ireland is robbed of £3,000,000 a year, was instituted. But under the Act of Union the two countries were not to be taxed on the same level unless, not only their debts approached to a certain proportion the one of the other, but also unless their circumstances had become similar. Does any hon. Member in this House believe that the circumstances of Ireland and England have ever been similar during the last ninety-nine years? Instead of becoming similar they have been growing more and more dissimilar every year, and consequently never, during the last ninety-nine years, have you been justified in carrying out the transaction of 1817, which, let me observe, cannot supersede the Treaty of the Union. The Act of Union was a treaty made between two nations; the Act of 1817 was made by yourselves. It destroyed one of the fundamental articles of the Act of Union: you had no moral authority to do such an act, and you have no moral authority for continuing it now. Well, but, if all this be so, the Act of Union, as we contend, answers every criticism made in reply to our case. Take the first: the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury says that no injustice is done because everyone is taxed alike in England and in Ireland. Why that is our grievance, that is the very thing we complain of, because we have a right according

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to the Act of Union to be taxed lower than you are, and merely to put us on an equality is doing us an injustice. Take again the suggestion of the late Leader of the Opposition—I don't know what position he occupies now. He says, "I cannot agree to discriminate in the matter of taxation, but if you Irish Members will only help me to reduce the duty on tea and tobacco and put it on the income tax, I will be quite ready to take that course." He does not see that the benefiting of the poorer classes in England and Ireland equally—which would be the result of such a course—is absolutely shutting his eyes to our case. I say if you reduce the taxation of tea in England and Ireland to-morrow, if you abolish it altogether, it will not abolish our grievance or diminish it one atom, because the poor in Ireland are entitled to be taxed less heavily than their brethren in England. Then again we are told that it is only the individual who is taxed; that it is all a mistake to think that Ireland is taxed. That is the argument of the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury. Well, Sir, I think it is time to give up that sort of argument. I again say that the answer to it is to be found in the 7th Article of the Act of Union. It is the individuals living within a certain prescribed area who were to be taken into consideration, and again I say that the 7th Article is my answer to the right hon. Gentleman when he talks of the individual and not the country being taxed. Then the right hon. Gentleman asks, "Are the existing taxes injurious to the industries of Ireland, or oppressive to the individual?" There is nothing in the Act of Union about taxation being injurious to Irish industries or oppressive to the individual. The Act says that it is Ireland that is to be taken into account. Lord Castlereagh, speaking on this subject, said—

"As to the future it is expected that the two countries shall move forward together and unite as to expenditure in the measure of their relative resources. *Ireland* has in the 7th Article of the treaty the utmost possible security that *she* cannot be taxed beyond the measure of her comparative ability, and the rate of her contribution must ever correspond to her relative wealth and prosperity."

That is the Seventh Article explained. It is not whether taxation is injurious to any particular Irish industries or oppressive to any particular individuals in

Ireland, but whether Ireland, as a whole, is taxed beyond her relative taxable capacity. At the same time, it is obvious that not merely some industries, but all industries, and not merely some individuals, but the whole people, must be, if the country as a whole is overtaxed. The arguments on this subject are so plain that I will forbear to go through them. I should like, however, to refer to one or two authorities who will be respected in this House. The First Lord of the Admiralty was, I believe, the first to appoint a Committee to enquire into this question in 1890. The right hon. Gentleman was responsible for the reference to that Committee, and none of the arguments we now hear were raised in that reference. It was not the grievance of the individual that was to be enquired into, but of the country, and when I am told that we are not now to be treated as a fiscal entity, I ask whether the Government have any sense of consistency. Another gentleman who is very much before the public at present—Sir Alfred Milner—wrote a very remarkable article in the *Edinburgh Review*, in which he answered all the statesmen and politicians who say that Ireland is not now to be treated as a separate entity in matters of finance. He said that the separate consideration of Ireland was recognised in the Act of Union, and to refuse so to regard it, even if defensible, would be in the highest degree cowardly and impolitic. I have no hesitation in saying—I do not mean to speak with disrespect of anybody—that our case has been met by a series of puerilities and inconsistencies, of which their authors ought to be ashamed. Take some of them. The First Lord of the Treasury made a famous speech at Manchester—I do not think he has repeated it in this House—in which he said—

"Where is the grievance? All this taxation is raised from duties on commodities. Stop using these commodities and there is no taxation. It is within the power of the Irish people to put an end to their own grievance."

If this is so, the whole case for Free Trade is gone. Put a tax on food and the right hon. Gentleman would answer in defence of such a policy, "You need not eat bread or bake flour; you have, therefore, no grievance." The case for an income tax is gone too. The taxation of incomes is intended to equalise the difference between the burthens on personal and

real property, but if you tax commodities sufficiently, according to the argument of the First Lord of the Treasury, there is no reason for income tax at all, because, if persons choose to buy dutiable commodities, they tax themselves voluntarily. When the right hon. Gentleman says that we need not consume these articles, the answer is, as every man knows who examines his own conscience in the matter, that a man buys articles voluntarily, but pays the duty involuntarily, and perhaps sometimes with the help of the policeman and the excise officer. Then there is another puerile argument. The First Lord of the Treasury says: "Tax Ireland sufficiently, and you remedy all its financial grievances." He was ridiculing the idea that the taxation of Ireland ought to be regulated by the comparative taxable capacity of the country. He says that's all nonsense; if Ireland pays 2½ millions in excess, and if the taxation raised on tea, tobacco, and spirits is increased by that amount, it would be impossible for the poorer classes in Ireland to enjoy these three articles, which they would then cease to consume, and the Irish grievance would disappear, because Ireland would pay nothing if it did not consume any of these articles. Let me present another *reductio ad absurdum*. There is a better and more effective way of remedying the wrongs of Ireland. Kill the people altogether. Wipe them out. Send over your Nordenfelts, if you can spare any from South Africa, turn them on the Irish people, and all Irish grievances will disappear. Ireland would, according to the argument of the right hon. Gentleman, pay no taxes, but the real fact is that a number of poor people would be deprived of the comforts and necessities of life without any public advantage, and the burden would be changed from a financial into an economic one. Then the First Lord of the Treasury gives us another *reductio ad absurdum*. He says reduce the duty on tea, tobacco, and spirits, and you may find that the amount paid in taxation will increase. There would be no grievance in that; you would be simply getting tea, tobacco, and spirits cheaper, and if you were paying more duty you would be drinking more tea and spirits and smoking more tobacco at less cost. I now come to the last point made against us. It appears we get a set off. The First Lord admits the findings of the

Commission, but he says that there is, after all, no injustice, because there is this set-off. Although I have been accustomed to expect that sort of argument from him and others, he astonished me when he made out in this House that we were getting about £355,000 a year more than we gave. I want to make two or three remarks upon this question of set-off. In the first place I say there can be no such thing according to law. The Act that you yourself here passed in 1817 declared in the most express language that the expenditure out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom should be made indiscriminately wherever it was required. I have authority here for stating—although I hope I shall not be called upon to read it, because it would delay the House—that the provision in the Act of 1817 regarding indiscriminate expenditure has always up to the present, in the opinion of all your leading statesmen, cut at the very root of the theory of a set-off. You cannot have a set-off according to law. I say, moreover, that theory is intrinsically ludicrous. Suppose it was carried out, then, what are you going to do with Gibraltar? What taxes do you get from Gibraltar? I do not know that you get any at all, but I am perfectly certain that you do not get one thousandth part of what you spend there. Will you, nevertheless, say that, if the inhabitants of Gibraltar complain of over-taxation there is a set-off? Or again, take Portsmouth. You have a tremendous case of a set-off against Portsmouth. Portsmouth must have millions a year spent upon it, and I doubt if it gives you £10,000 a year in taxation. But do you say that set-off applies here? The absurdity of the theory was, however, best demonstrated by the answer of the hon. Member for Plymouth. He says—

"Double the police force of Ireland, and you will remedy Ireland's grievance, because you will give back the money that you take from her."

All the complaint we hear about over-taxation in France, in Italy, in Turkey is all bosh if this theory of a set-off is allowed at all. I have heard question after question asked in this House about the way the Fellaheen of Egypt and the Christian subjects of the Porte in Armenia and elsewhere used to be plundered by excessive taxation. But they get it all

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back—sometimes in the shape of lead to shoot them, sometimes in the shape of halters to hang them, but at all events they get it back. The money extracted from them is all spent in the country. Every penny that is raised out of Armenia is spent in Armenia. Armenia, therefore, according to the First Lord of the Treasury, has no financial grievance. What compensation is it to the Connemara peasant, who pays for his tobacco and tea a good deal more than his rent every year—what compensation is it to him to hear that the police force in Ireland is doubled? What a great consolation it is to him to hear that the Chief Secretary has spent another £1,000 upon his lodge, or that £100 has been spent in decorating St. Patrick's Hall in Dublin Castle! The thing is too ridiculous to argue. Even if you bought the hay for your troops in Kildare, what would the people gain? They would only get the extra profit which the increased demand for hay would give, that is all. I say that this theory of set-off is therefore not only contrary to law, but is in theory absolutely and intrinsically ludicrous. But it is not merely puerilities, but inconsistencies that are resorted to in order to make up the budget of the First Lord. Sometimes the position taken up is that the place of expenditure is the test; that is when you want to prove a set-off. When you want to establish a set-off you say the place of expenditure benefits, and consequently you have an overwhelming case. There is so much that goes to Ireland, and Ireland gets the benefit of it, and where, you say, is your grievance? But I observe that when you come to find out what is Imperial expenditure, the place of expenditure is not the test at all. For instance, here are items which I think everyone in the House will regard as being of an Imperial character: Volunteers—they are Imperial; War Office—that is Imperial; ordnance factories—that is Imperial; military education, shipbuilding and other things of that kind—all that is Imperial. But it is not Imperial according to your own principle, because all of it is spent in England. If you say that the cost of constabulary is to be charged to the debit of Ireland because the money is spent in Ireland, then I say you ought to deduct the £19,000,000 expended on the items I have pointed out,

and debit them to the local expenditure in England. Have some principle, and act upon it; but for Heaven's sake do not go for two principles—one to suit yourselves in the one country, and the other to defeat us in the other country. Let me now take two or three items which in the budget of the First Lord make up the great account against us. There is the constabulary vote. The right hon. Gentleman is quite satisfied to put half of that only to the debit of Ireland. But not even half the constabulary grant ought to be charged against Ireland, because the half which he would now debit us with was expressly made an Imperial charge as compensation for the ruin inflicted on Ireland by the repeal of the Corn Laws. Now you want to take it off the Consolidated Fund to establish, forsooth, this set-off. Then take the Agricultural Grant. The right hon. Gentleman assumes that that is to be treated as local expenditure in Ireland. I deny it. Not a penny of it ought to be treated as Irish local expenditure. It was given as part of a scheme for relieving agricultural distress in the three kingdoms. It was given to Scotland on the same principle; it was given to England on the same principle, and it is plainly an Imperial charge. And, by the way, two years' arrears of this grant is due to us, and I am very much afraid that we may never see the colour of the money, for we have not even got the interest on the insufficient Agricultural Grant. Then the produce of the local taxation licences spent in Ireland is considered again as Imperial expenditure. Why should it be? The very same sort of licences exist in England, and their produce is earmarked for England, and they do not go into the Imperial accounts. The same thing happens in Scotland; they are regarded there as outside the Imperial account. By what audacity can you assume to treat the proceeds of the local taxation licences in Ireland in a different manner? One item really astonished me. The cost of the collection of Imperial taxes comes to about £241,000 a year in Ireland, and actually the First Lord of the Treasury, in order to make up the astonishing budget to which I have already referred, and which makes it appear as if there were an Irish deficit every year of £360,000, debits Ireland

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with the cost of collecting the revenue, part of which is used for the support of the troops in South Africa. A more preposterous idea I have never heard, and I do not think anybody in his senses ever dreamt of. There are several other items of expenditure which are distinctly Imperial, but which you choose to treat as Irish expenditure in the face of all reason. Take the cost of stationery; you use stationery for your Government offices in Dublin, and you do not buy a sheet of paper in Dublin. In my constituency there are excellent paper mills conducted by a political opponent of mine, a very successful and enterprising business man—a Mr. Drury. Yet you do not get a pound of paper from him; his mills may go idle although he makes excellent paper. You do not buy a single sheet of paper in Ireland, and yet you charge the cost of your stationery to the local expenditure of Ireland, although it is all used for the purposes of the Imperial Government. It is a fraud and a humbug to talk of a set-off at all. Now I have only a few more words to say. We have been met in this matter by puerilities, inconsistencies, and meannesses throughout the whole of this century. You began your series of thefts last century when you increased the Irish debt by palming off all sorts of doubtful characters, whom you dared not provide for in this country, on to our pension list. The Irish pension list, to use the famous words of John Philpot Curran, contained every, description of man, woman, and child, from the exalted excellence of a Hawke or a Rodney to the debased situation of the lady who humbly herself that she may be exalted. Then you endowed Maynooth from Imperial funds, and when you were paying off Maynooth you charged the compensation on to the Irish Church Fund. And then what is it you do? You ask 22½ years' purchase from the Irish tithe-payers, and at the same moment you value your own security—the security of the British Government—for the payment of this annuity at fourteen years' purchase. You robbed Ireland of £370,000, and you robbed Maynooth of £400,000 by this financial trick. And you did not treat the Roman Catholics exceptionally, for there was a grant made to the Presbyterians, your

Mr. Clancy.

faithful followers in Ireland, and they were treated in the same way—robbed of half their grant, and Ireland robbed of the rest. You are going on in the same way still. The money in the savings banks in Ireland yields to investors only 2½ per cent.—I do not think it gives so much; the Chancellor of the Exchequer will probably correct me—but what have you been doing? You have been lending it through the Board of Works to the Irish local authorities at 3½ per cent. You get the produce of the sale of quit rents in Ireland, and what do you do with that? It is Irish property. A Parliamentary Return contains on its face the unblushing statement that it is used for the purpose of a certain profit to the Treasury of England. Yet the First Lord of the Treasury tells us that England is to treat Ireland because of the past with British generosity and British benevolence. I wish to God she would show it by ceasing to rob us: I for one would prefer to have my own property left to me than to have it taken away and be compensated by your alms. At the same time, I have to say this: that you have robbed us of so much, that you are robbing us still of so much, you are bound to make restitution; and I warn you that, no matter what restitution you make, unless you cease the system of robbing, you will never get any thanks from the Irish people. We do not know what will happen during the next few years, but for my own part I should be untrue to myself and untrue to my constituents and to the interests of my country if I did not say that we regard our case as proved. We are thoroughly convinced that you are robbing us of at least several millions a year; and whatever be the result of this debate in this House, we will go on year after year making this motion and that motion, disturbing your arrangements, and, if necessary, discrediting your Parliament, until we make you stop this system of robbery, which is a disgrace to you, as well as an injury to us. Sir, I beg to move the Amendment.

Debate adjourned till to-morrow.

Adjourned at Five minutes before
Twelve of the clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Friday, 9th February 1900.

EARL OF MEXBOROUGH.

Report made from the Lord Chancellor, that the right of John Horatio Earl of Mexborough to vote at the elections of Representative Peers for Ireland has been established to the satisfaction of the Lord Chancellor; read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

ADDRESS.

The Queen's Answer to the Address of Tuesday, the 30th of January last, reported, and Address and Answer to be printed and published.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with:—

Aberdeen Police and Improvement.
Airdrie, Coatbridge, and District Water Trust.
Army and Navy Investment Trust.
Aston Manor Tramways.
Baker Street and Waterloo Railway.
Barry Railway (Steam Vessels).
Bedford Gas.
Belfast and County Down Railway.
Bexhill and Rotherfield Railway.
Birmingham Corporation (Stock).
Birmingham (King Edward the Sixth) Schools.
Birmingham University.
Bournemouth Corporation.
Bradford Corporation.
Bray and Enniskerry Railway.
Brewery and Commercial Investment Trust.
Brighton Corporation.
Bristol Corporation.
Bristol Water.
British Gas Light Company (Staffordshire Potteries).
Brompton and Piccadilly Circus Railway.
Buckingham, Towcester, and Metropolitan Junction Railway.
Burnley Corporation.

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Bury and District Water (Transfer).
Caledonian Railway.
Charing Cross and Strand Electricity Supply.
Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway.
Chelsea Water.
Cheltenham Improvements.
Cheshire Lines Committee.
Church's Patent.
City and South London Railway.
City of London Electric Lighting.
City of London (Various Powers).
Cleethorpes Gas.
Clontarf Urban District Council.
Clyde Navigation.
Colonial Bank.
Commercial Union Assurance Company.
Cork, Bandon, and South Coast Railway.
County of London and Brush Provincial Electric Lighting.
Coventry Corporation.
Cowes Pier.
Crowborough District Water (Gas Transfer).
Croydon Tramways and Improvements.
Crystal Palace Company.
Dearne Valley Railway.
Donegal Railway.
Dorking Water.
Dublin Corporation.
Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway.
Dundee Harbour.
Durham (County of) Electric Power Supply.
East London Water.
East Shropshire Water.
East Stirlingshire Water.
Edinburgh Corporation.
Edinburgh District Lunacy Board.
Exeter Corporation.
Exmouth and District Water.
Exmouth Urban District Water.
Falkirk and District Water.
Falkirk Corporation.
Farnworth Urban District Council.
Fishguard and Rosslare Railways and Harbours.
Fishguard Water and Gas.
Gas Light and Coke Company.
Gas Light and Coke, Commercial Gas, and South Metropolitan Gas Companies.
Glasgow and South-Western Railway.
Glasgow Building Regulations.
Glastonbury and Street Gas.
Glastonbury Corporation Gas.

Glyncorwg Urban District Council Gas.
 Government Stock and other Securities Investment Company.
 Grantham Gas.
 Great Berkhamstead Water.
 Great Central Railway.
 Great Eastern Railway.
 Great Northern Railway.
 Great Northern Railway (Ireland).
 Great Southern and Western and Waterford and Central Ireland Railway Companies Amalgamation.
 Great Southern and Western and Waterford, Limerick, and Western Railway Companies Amalgamation.
 Great Southern and Western Railway.
 Great Western Railway.
 Great Yarmouth Port and Haven.
 Gun Barrel Proof Act, 1868, Amendment.
 Gwyrfaï Rural District Council Water.
 Halifax Corporation.
 Hamilton Burgh.
 Hartlepool Gas and Water.
 Hastings Corporation.
 Hastings Harbour.
 Hastings Tramways.
 Hemel Hempstead Corporation (Water).
 Higham Ferrers Water.
 Hoyle and West Kirkby Improvement.
 Huddersfield Corporation Tramways.
 Huntingdon Corporation.
 Ilfracombe Improvement.
 Ipswich Corporation Tramways.
 Jarrow and Hebburn Electricity Supply.
 Kingscourt, Keady, and Armagh Railway.
 Kingston-upon-Thames Corporation.
 Kingston-upon-Thames Gas.
 Knott End Railway.
 Lambeth Water.
 Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway.
 Lancashire, Derbyshire, and East Coast Railway.
 Lancashire Electric Power.
 Lancashire Inebriates Acts Board.
 Lancaster Corporation.
 Latimer Road and Acton Railway.
 Lee Conservancy.
 Lincoln Corporation (Tramways).
 Liverpool Corporation.
 Liverpool Overhead Railway.
 London and India Docks Joint Committee.
 London and North-Western Railway.
 London and North-Western Railway (Wales).

London and Saint Katharine Docks and East and West India Dock Companies.
 London and South-Western Railway.
 London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway.
 London County Council (Compulsory Purchase of Land).
 London County Council (General Powers).
 London County Council (Improvements).
 London County Council (Spitalfields Market).
 London Hydraulic Power Company.
 London Sea Water Supply.
 London, Walthamstow, and Epping Forest Railway.
 London Water (Purchase).
 London Water (Welsh Supply).
 Lowestoft Railway.
 Maidenhead Gas.
 Manchester City Railway.
 Manchester and Liverpool Electric Express Railway.
 Manchester Corporation Tramways.
 Manchester Ship Canal.
 Margate Corporation.
 Margate Pier and Harbour.
 Market Weighton Drainage and Navigation.
 Maryport Harbour.
 Menstone Water (Transfer).
 Mersey Docks and Harbour Board.
 Mersey Railway.
 Metropolitan District Railway.
 Metropolitan Water Companies.
 Mid-Kent Water.
 Midland Great Western Railway of Ireland.
 Midland Railway.
 Milford Docks.
 Morecambe Urban District Council (Gas).
 Morley Corporation.
 Motherwell and Bellshill Railway.
 Motherwell Water.
 Mountain Ash Water.
 Muirkirk, Mauchline, and Dalmellington Railways (Abandonment).
 Neath Harbour.
 Newcastle-upon-Tyne Electric Supply.
 Newport Corporation.
 Newport (Monmouthshire) Gas.
 New Russia Company.
 Newtown and Llanllwchaiarn Urban District Gas.
 North British Railway.
 North-Eastern Railway.
 North-Eastern Railway (Steam Vessels).

North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply.
 North Metropolitan Railway and Canal.
 North Warwickshire Water.
 Nottingham Corporation.
 Oldham Corporation.
 Ossett Corporation Gas.
 Ossett Gas.
 Otley Urban District Council Water.
 Paignton Urban District Water.
 Pontefract Park.
 Preston Corporation.
 Purfleet and Gravesend Junction Railway.
 Ramsgate Corporation Improvements.
 Rawmarsh Urban District Council (Tramways).
 Reading Corporation (Tramways).
 Redhill Gas.
 Rhymney Iron Company.
 Rhymney Railway.
 Rickmansworth and Uxbridge Valley Water.
 Rotherham Corporation.
 Rotherhithe and Ratcliffe Tunnel.
 Rugeley Gas.
 St. Alban's Water.
 St. David's Railway (Additional Powers).
 Salford Corporation.
 Scarborough Corporation.
 Scottish American Investment Company.
 Scottish Widows' Fund and Life Assurance Society.
 Sheffield Corporation.
 Sheffield District Railway.
 Southampton Harbour.
 South-Eastern and London, Chatham and Dover Railways.
 South-Eastern Railway.
 South Essex Water.
 South Essex Water Board.
 South Lancashire Tramways.
 South Metropolitan Gas.
 Southport Corporation.
 Southport Extension and Tramways.
 Southport Water.
 South Shields Corporation.
 South Staffordshire Tramways.
 South Wales Electrical Power Distribution.
 Spalding Urban District Council (Water).
 Stockport Corporation Tramways.
 Sunderland Corporation.
 Sutton District Water.
 Taff Vale Railway.

Taunton Corporation.
 Tottenham Urban District Council.
 Tyneside Electric Power.
 Universal Life Assurance Society.
 Vale of Rheidol Light Railway.
 Wakefield Corporation Market.
 Wandsworth and Putney Gas.
 West Bromwich Corporation.
 West Ham Corporation.
 Westgate and Birchington Water.
 Wetherby District Water.
 Whitechapel and Bow Railway.
 Widnes and Runcorn Bridge.
 Wirral Railway.
 Withington Urban District Council.
 Wolverhampton, Essington, and Cannock Chase Junction Railway.
 Wolverhampton Gas.
 Woodbridge District Water.
 Workington Railways and Docks.

And the Certificates that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have not been complied with :—

Airdrie and Coatbridge Tramways.
 County and City of Dublin Electric Lighting.
 Cardiff Corporation.
 Newry, Keady, and Tynan Light Railway.
 Shannon Water and Electric Power.
 Devonport Corporation.

The same were ordered to lie on the Table

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

COMPANIES (WINDING-UP) ACT, 1890.

General Rules made pursuant to Section 26 of the Companies (Winding-Up) Act, 1890, dated 28th December, 1899.

POLLING DISTRICTS (COUNTY OF NORTHUMBERLAND).

Order made by the County Council of Northumberland, dividing into polling districts so much of the Tyneside Parliamentary division of the County of Northumberland as is comprised in the parishes of Camperdown, Longbenton, and Weetslade.

Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

LIGHT RAILWAYS ACT, 1896.

I. Orders made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of a light railway—

1. In the county of Essex, from Kelvedon to Coggeshall.
2. In the West Riding of the county of York, from Bradford to Leeds.
3. In the county of Caithness, between Wick and Lybster.
4. In the West Riding of the county of York, in and near the borough of Doncaster.
5. In the county of Kent, between Cranbrook and Tenderden, in extension of the Rother Valley (Light) Railway, and the construction and working of that railway as a light railway.
6. In the county of Lincoln, from Lincoln to Scawby.
7. In the county of Lincoln, from Frodingham and Scunthorpe to Whitton, Winterton, and Winterringham.
8. In the counties of Worcester and Warwick, from Redditch to Astwood Bank.
9. In the county of Stafford, commencing in the parish of Essington and terminating in the parish of Darlaston, with branches.

II. Orders made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade—

1. Amending the Basingstoke and Alton Light Railway Order, 1897.
2. Authorising the Glasgow and South-Western Railway Company to construct and work as a light railway the Cairne Valley Railway, which the said Company have power to construct and work under the Glasgow and South-Western Railway Act, 1897.

Presented (by Command), and ordered to lie on the table.

NEW BILL.

INEBRIATES AMENDMENT (SCOTLAND) BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to amend the Inebriates Acts, 1879 to 1899, for Scotland—Was presented by the Lord Balfour; read 1st; and to be printed. (No. 9.)

House adjourned at half-past Four of the clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Friday, 9th February, 1900.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [Lords].

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, that, in respect of the Bills comprised in the List reported by the Chairman of Ways and Means as intended to originate in the House of Lords, they have certified that the Standing Orders have been complied with in the following cases, viz. :—

Army and Navy Investment Trust.
Aston Manor Tramways.
Barry Railway (Steam Vessels).
Bexhill and Rotherfield Railway.
Birmingham Corporation (Stock).
Birmingham (King Edward the Sixth) Schools.
Birmingham University.
Bournemouth Corporation.
Brewery and Commercial Investment Trust.
Bristol Water.
Burnley Corporation.
Bury and District Water (Transfer).
Caledonian Railway.
Church's Patent.
Cleethorpes Gas.
Clyde Navigation.
Commercial Union Assurance Company.
Cork, Bandon and South Coast Railway.
Cowes Pier.
Crystal Palace Company.
Dearne Valley Railway.
Donegal Railway.

Dorking Water.
 Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway.
 Dundee Harbour.
 East Shropshire Water.
 East Stirlingshire Water.
 Edinburgh Corporation.
 Edinburgh District Lunacy Board.
 Exmouth and District Water.
 Exmouth Urban District Water.
 Falkirk and District Water.
 Falkirk Corporation.
 Fishguard and Rosslare Railways and Harbours.
 Fishguard Water and Gas.
 Glasgow and South Western Railway.
 Glasgow Building Regulations.
 Glyncoirwg Urban District Council Gas.
 Government Stock and other Securities Investment Company.
 Great Berkhamstead Water.
 Great Central Railway.
 Great Southern and Western and Waterford and Central Ireland Railway Companies Amalgamation.
 Great Southern and Western and Waterford, Limerick, and Western Railway Companies Amalgamation.
 Great Southern and Western Railway.
 Gun Barrel Proof Act, 1868, Amendment.
 Gwyrfai Rural District Council Water.
 Hemel Hempsted Corporation (Water).
 Higham Ferrers Water.
 Ipswich Corporation Tramways.
 Kingston-upon-Thames Corporation.
 Kingston-upon-Thames Gas.
 Lancashire Inebriates Acts Board.
 Lincoln Corporation (Tramways).
 Liverpool Overhead Railway.
 London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway.
 London Hydraulic Power Company.
 London Sea Water Supply.
 Manchester Corporation Tramways.
 Manchester Ship Canal.
 Margate Corporation.
 Margate Pier and Harbour.
 Menstone Water (Transfer).
 Mersey Docks and Harbour Board.
 Mersey Railway.
 Midland Great Western Railway of Ireland.
 Milford Docks.
 Morley Corporation.
 Motherwell and Bellshill Railway.
 Motherwell Water.
 Mountain Ash Water.

Muirkirk, Mauchline, and Dalmellington Railways (Abandonment).
 Neath Harbour.
 Newport Corporation.
 Newport (Monmouthshire) Gas.
 New Russia Company.
 Newtown and Llanillwchaearn Urban District Gas.
 North British Railway.
 North Eastern Railway.
 North Eastern Railway (Steam Vessels).
 Otley Urban District Council Water.
 Paignton Urban District Water.
 Preston Corporation.
 Purfleet and Gravesend Junction Railway.
 Ramsgate Corporation Improvements.
 Rawmarsh Urban District Council (Tramways).
 Rhymney Iron Company.
 Rhymney Railway.
 Rotherham Corporation.
 Rotherhithe and Ratcliff Tunnel.
 Salford Corporation.
 Scottish American Investment Company.
 Scottish Widows' Fund and Life Assurance Society.
 Sheffield Corporation.
 Sheffield District Railway.
 Southampton Harbour.
 South Eastern and London, Chatham, and Dover Railways.
 South Eastern Railway.
 South Essex Water.
 South Essex Water Board.
 South Shields Corporation.
 South Staffordshire Tramways.
 Sunderland Corporation.
 Taff Vale Railway.
 Universal Life Assurance Society.
 Westgate and Birchington Water.
 Whitechapel and Bow Railway.
 Wirral Railway.
 Withington Urban District Council.
 Workington Railways and Docks.

And that they have certified that the Standing Orders have not been complied with in the following case, viz. :—

Cardiff Corporation.

PRIVATE BILL PETITIONS (STANDING ORDERS NOT COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Reports from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, that in the case of the Petitions for the following

Bills, the Standing Orders have not been complied with, viz. :—

Airdrie and Coatbridge Tramways Bill.
County and City of Dublin Electric
Lighting Bill.

Devonport Corporation Bill.

Newry, Keady, and Tynan Light
Railway Bill.

Shannon Water and Electric Power
Bill.

Ordered, that the Reports be referred
to the Select Committee on Standing
Orders.

**PRIVATE BILL PETITIONS [Lords]
(STANDING ORDERS NOT COMPLIED
WITH).**

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table
Report from one of the Examiners of
Petitions for Private Bills, that, in the
case of the Petition for the following Bill,
originating in the Lords, the Standing
Orders have not been complied with,
viz. :—

Cardiff Corporation Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Report be referred
to the Select Committee on Standing
Orders.

**ABERDEEN POLICE AND IMPROVE-
MENT.]**

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Mr. Bryce and Mr. Pirie.

**AIRDRIE, COATBRIDGE, AND DISTRICT
WATER TRUST.**

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Mr. John Wilson (Falkirk), Mr.
Douglas, and Mr. M'Killop.

**BAKER STREET AND WATERLOO
RAILWAY.**

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Sir John William Maclure, Mr.
Halsey, and Mr. Bill.

BEDFORD GAS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Mr. Pym and Mr. Thornton.

**BELFAST AND COUNTY DOWN
RAILWAY.**

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Mr. Blakiston-Houston and Mr.
M'Cartan.

BRADFORD CORPORATION.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Mr. Greville, Mr. Wanklyn, and Mr.
Flower.

BRAY AND ENNISKERRY RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Mr. Harrington and Mr. Clancy.

BRIGHTON CORPORATION.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Mr. Loader, Mr. Vernon-Wentworth,
and Sir Henry Fletcher.

**BRITISH GAS LIGHT COMPANY
(STAFFORDSHIRE POTTERIES).**

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Mr. Aird and Mr. Skewes-Cox.

**BROMPTON AND PICCADILLY CIRCUS
RAILWAY.**

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Mr. Alban Gibbs and Mr. Whit-
more.

**BUCKINGHAM, TOWCESTER, AND
METROPOLITAN JUNCTION RAILWAY.**

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Sir John William Maclure, Sir
Benjamin Stone, and Mr. Carlile.

**CHARING CROSS AND STRAND
ELECTRICITY SUPPLY.**

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Mr. Seton-Karr and Mr. Faithfull
Begg.

**CHARING CROSS, EUSTON, AND
HAMPSTEAD RAILWAY.**

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Mr. Bonsor and Mr. Lawson
Walton.

CHELSEA WATER.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Mr. Boulnois and Captain Bowles.

CHESHIRE LINES COMMITTEE.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Mr. Henderson and Mr. Jackson.

**CITY AND SOUTH LONDON
RAILWAY.**

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Mr. Kimber and Mr. Bond.

**CITY OF LONDON ELECTRIC
LIGHTING.**

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Mr. Kimber and Mr. Paulton.

CITY OF LONDON (VARIOUS POWERS).

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Reginald Hanson and Sir Horatio Davies.

CLONTARF URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Carson, Mr. J. H. M. Campbell, Captain Phillpotts, and Mr. William Moore.

COLONIAL BANK.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Hoare and Mr. Alban Gibbs.

COUNTY OF LONDON AND BRUSH PROVINCIAL ELECTRIC LIGHTING.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Boulnois and Sir Weetman Pearson.

COVENTRY CORPORATION.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Charles Murray and Mr. Newdigate.

CROYDON TRAMWAYS AND IMPROVEMENTS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir James Fergusson and Mr. Bonsor.

DUBLIN CORPORATION.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Hemphill, Mr. John Redmond, Mr. Field, Mr. Harrington, Mr. T. M. Healy, and Mr. Carew.

DURHAM (COUNTY OF) ELECTRIC POWER SUPPLY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Atherley-Jones and Mr. Samuel Evans.

EAST LONDON WATER.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Colonel Lockwood, Mr. Banbury, and Mr. Boulnois.

EXETER CORPORATION.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Edward Clarke and Sir Albert Rollit.

FARNWORTH URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Colonel Mellor and Mr. Cawley.

GAS LIGHT AND COKE, COMMERCIAL GAS, AND SOUTH METROPOLITAN GAS COMPANIES.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. James Stewart and Mr. John Burns.

GAS LIGHT AND COKE COMPANY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Boulnois and Mr. Aird.

GLASTONBURY AND STREET GAS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Hobhouse and Sir Alexander Acland-Hood.

GLASTONBURY CORPORATION GAS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Dickinson and Mr. Wodehouse.

GRANTHAM GAS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Lopes and Mr. Younger.

GREAT EASTERN RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Colonel Lockwood, Mr. Strutt, and Mr. Penn.

GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Jackson and Mr. Fison.

GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY (IRELAND).

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir James Haslett and Mr. James H. Campbell.

GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir William Wills and Mr. Llewellyn.

GREAT YARMOUTH PORT AND HAVEN.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Harry Bullard and Sir John Colomb.

HALIFAX CORPORATION.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Billson and Mr. Arnold.

HAMILTON BURGH.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Caldwell and Mr. John Wilson (Falkirk).

HARTLEPOOL GAS AND WATER.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Thomas Richardson and Mr. Richardson.

HASTINGS CORPORATION.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Lucas-Shadwell and Mr. Brookfield.

HASTINGS HARBOUR.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Lucas-Shadwell and Mr. Brookfield.

HASTINGS TRAMWAYS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Lucas-Shadwell and Mr. Brookfield.

HOYLAKE AND WEST KIRBY IMPROVEMENT.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Colonel Cotton-Jodrell, Sir Elliott Lees, and Mr. Yerburch.

HUDDERSFIELD CORPORATION TRAMWAYS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir James Woodhouse, Sir James Kitson, and Sir Albert Rollit.

HUNTINGDON CORPORATION.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Smith-Barry and Mr. Fellowes.

ILFRACOMBE IMPROVEMENT.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Cameron Gull and Mr. Lambert.

JARROW AND HEBBURN ELECTRICITY SUPPLY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Cruddas and Mr. Joseph A. Pease.

KINGSCOURT, KEADY, AND ARMAGH RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. John Redmond, Mr. Macaleese, and Mr. Daly.

KNOTT END RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir John William Maclure, Mr. Firbank, and Mr. T. M. Healy.

LAMBETH WATER.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Lyttelton, Mr. Cripps, and Mr. Talbot.

LANCASHIRE AND YORKSHIRE RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir William Hornby and Mr. Lees Knowles.

LANCASHIRE, DERBYSHIRE, AND EAST COAST RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bainbridge, Mr. Thomas Bayley, Mr. Oldroyd, Mr. Perks, and Mr. Pollock.

LANCASHIRE ELECTRIC POWER.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Macdona and Mr. James Bailey.

LANCASHIRE CORPORATION.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Colonel Foster and Mr. Tomlinson.

LATIMER ROAD AND ACTON RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Oldroyd and Mr. Lawson Walton.

LEE CONSERVANCY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Frederick Dixon-Hartland, Mr. Evelyn Cecil, and Mr. Courtenay Warner.

LIVERPOOL CORPORATION.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Warr and Mr. Charles M'Arthur.

LONDON AND INDIA DOCKS JOINT COMMITTEE.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bonsor and Mr. Cripps.

LONDON AND NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir William Houldsworth, Colonel Lockwood, and Mr. Macartney.

LONDON AND NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY (WALES).

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir William Houldsworth, Colonel Lockwood, and Mr. Macartney.

**LONDON AND ST. KATHARINE DOCKS
AND EAST AND WEST INDIA DOCK
COMPANIES.**

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Mr. Bonsor and Mr. Cripps.

**LONDON AND SOUTH-WESTERN
RAILWAY.**

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Mr. Beach, Sir Barrington Simeon,
and Colonel Williams.

**LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (COMPUL-
SORY PURCHASE OF LAND).**

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Mr. James Stuart and Mr. John
Burns.

**LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (GENERAL
POWERS).**

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Mr. James Stuart and Mr. Whit-
more.

**LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL
(IMPROVEMENTS).**

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Mr. James Stuart and Mr. Whit-
more.

**LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (SPITAL-
FIELDS MARKET).**

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Mr. James Stuart and Mr. John
Burns.

**LONDON, WALTHAMSTOW, AND
EPPING FOREST RAILWAY.**

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Mr. Lafone and Mr. Wanklyn.

LONDON WATER (PURCHASE).

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Mr. James Stuart and Mr. John
Burns.

LONDON WATER (WELSH SUPPLY).

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Mr. James Stuart and Mr. John
Burns.

LOWESTOFT RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Mr. Lyttelton and Mr. Clough.

MAIDENHEAD GAS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Mr. Palmer and Commander Young.

**MANCHESTER AND LIVERPOOL ELEC-
TRIC EXPRESS RAILWAY.**

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Sir James Fergusson, Mr. W. F.
Lawrence, Mr. Schwann, Sir John Willox,
Mr. Galloway, and Mr. Warr.

MANCHESTER CITY RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Sir James Fergusson, Mr. Schwann,
and Mr. Disraeli.

**MARKET WEIGHTON DRAINAGE AND
NAVIGATION.**

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Mr. Grant Lawson and Mr. Wilson-
Todd.

METROPOLITAN DISTRICT RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Sir Charles Dalrymple and Mr.
Aird.

METROPOLITAN WATER COMPANIES.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Mr. Boulnois and Colonel Lock-
wood.

MID-KENT WATER.

Petition and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Mr. Tomlinson, General Golds-
worthy, and Mr. Aird.

MIDLAND RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Sir Frederick Mappin and Mr.
Allison.

**MORECAMBE URBAN DISTRICT
COUNCIL (GAS).**

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Colonel Foster and Mr. Tomlinson.

**NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE ELECTRIC
SUPPLY.**

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Mr. Burt, Mr. William Allan, and
Mr. Joseph A. Pease.

**NORTH METROPOLITAN ELECTRIC
POWER SUPPLY.**

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Mr. Atherley-Jones and Mr. Samuel
Evans.

**NORTH METROPOLITAN RAILWAY
AND CANAL COMPANY.**

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought
in by Sir Albert Rollit and Mr. Aird.

NORTH WARWICKSHIRE WATER.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Joseph Leese and Sir Harry Bullard.

NOTTINGHAM CORPORATION.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Bond and Mr. Yoxall.

OLDHAM CORPORATION.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Emmott and Mr. Runciman.

OSSETT CORPORATION GAS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Alfred Hutton and Mr. Oldroyd.

OSSETT GAS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Jackson, Mr. Fison, and Mr. Aird.

PONTEFRACT PARK.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Nussey, Sir John Austin, and Colonel Gunter.

**READING CORPORATION
(TRAMWAYS).**

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Palmer and Sir Albert Rollit.

REDHILL GAS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Alexander Acland-Hood and Mr. Bonsor.

**RICKMANSWORTH AND UXBRIDGE
VALLEY WATER.**

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Alban Gibbs and Mr. Aird.

RUGELEY GAS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Heath and Mr. Henderson.

ST. ALBAN'S WATER.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Hudson and Mr. Vicary Gibbs.

**ST. DAVID'S RAILWAY (ADDITIONAL
POWERS).**

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Philipps, General Laurie, and Mr. David Randell.

SCARBOROUGH CORPORATION.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Beckett and Mr. Rickett.

SOUTH LANCASHIRE TRAMWAYS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Archibald Willox and Mr. Brigg.

SOUTH METROPOLITAN GAS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Banbury and Mr. Woodall.

SOUTHPORT CORPORATION.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir George Pilkington and Sir Joseph Leese.

**SOUTHPORT EXTENSION AND
TRAMWAYS.**

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir George Pilkington and Sir Joseph Leese.

SOUTHPORT WATER.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Kenyon and Colonel Mellor.

**SOUTH WALES ELECTRICAL POWER
DISTRIBUTION.**

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Samuel Evans and Mr. Alfred Thomas.

**SPALDING URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL
(WATER).**

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Pollock, Sir Joseph Leese, and Mr. Randell.

**STOCKPORT CORPORATION TRAM-
WAYS.**

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. George Whiteley and Mr. Melville.

TAUNTON CORPORATION.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Colonel Welby and Sir Alexander Acland-Hood.

**TOTTENHAM URBAN DISTRICT
COUNCIL.**

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Howard and Sir Frederick Dixon-Hartland.

TYNESIDE ELECTRIC POWER.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Joseph A. Pease, Mr. Cruddas, Sir James Joicey, and Mr. William Allan.

VALE OF RHEIDOL LIGHT RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Vaughan-Davies and Colonel Pryce-Jones.

WAKEFIELD CORPORATION MARKET.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Pickard and Mr. Oldroyd.

WANDSWORTH AND PUTNEY GAS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Kimber and Sir John Colomb.

WEST BROMWICH CORPORATION.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Ernest Spencer, Sir Alfred Hickman, Sir Henry Meysey-Thompson, Mr. Brooke Robinson, and Mr. Parkes.

WEST HAM CORPORATION.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Ernest Gray and Major Rasch.

WETHERBY DISTRICT WATER.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Colonel Gunter and Mr. Lyttelton.

WIDNES AND RUNCORN BRIDGE.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Colonel Cotton-Jodrell and Sir John Brunner.

WOLVERHAMPTON, ESSINGTON, AND CANNOCK CHASE JUNCTION RAILWAY.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir Alfred Hickman, Colonel Milward, and Mr. Warner.

WOLVERHAMPTON GAS.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Staveley Hill and Sir Alfred Hickman.

WOODBIDGE DISTRICT WATER.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Captain Pretyma and Mr. Moulton.

AIRDRIE AND COATBRIDGE TRAMWAYS.

Petition for Bill ; referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders.

COUNTY AND CITY OF DUBLIN ELECTRIC LIGHTING.

Petition for Bill ; referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders.

DEVONPORT CORPORATION.

Petition for Bill ; referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders.

NEWRY, KEADY, AND TYNAN LIGHT RAILWAY.

Petition for Bill ; referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders.

SHANNON WATER AND ELECTRIC POWER.

Petition for Bill ; referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders.

MILITARY LANDS PROVISIONAL ORDER.

Bill to confirm a Provisional Order of the Secretary of State, under the Military Lands Act, 1892, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Wyndham and Mr. Powell-Williams.

MILITARY LANDS PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL.

"To confirm a Provisional Order of the Secretary of State, under the Military Lands Act, 1892," presented accordingly, and read the first time ; to be referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, and to be printed. [Bill 71.]

LIGHT RAILWAYS ACT, 1896.

Copy presented,—of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of a Light Railway in the county of Essex from Kelvedon to Coggeshall (Coggeshall Light Railway Order, 1899) [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the county of Lincoln from Frodingham and Scunthorpe to Whitton Winterton and Winteringham (North Lindsey Light Railways Order, 1900) [by Command] ; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of

Trade, authorising the construction of a Light Railway in the county of Lincoln from Lincoln to Scawby (North Lincolnshire Light Railway Order, 1900) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of a Light Railway in the West Riding of the county of York from Bradford to Leeds (Bradford and Leeds Light Railway Order, 1899) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the West Riding of the county of York, in and near the borough of Doncaster (Doncaster Corporation Light Railways Order, 1899) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the counties of Worcester and Warwick, from Redditch to Astwood Bank (Redditch and District Light Railways Order, 1900 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of a Light Railway in the county of Stafford, commencing in the parish of Essington and terminating in the parish of Darlaston, with branches (Essington and Ashmore Light Railway Order, 1900) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of Light Railways in the county of Kent, between Cranbrook and Tenterden, in extension of the Rother Valley (Light) Railway, and the construction and working of that Railway as a Light Railway (Cranbrook and Tenterden Light Railway Order, 1899) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the construction of a

Light Railway in the county of Caithness, between Wick and Lybster (Wick and Lybster Light Railway Order, 1899) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, authorising the Glasgow and South-Western Railway Company to construct and work as a Light Railway the Cairn Valley Railway which the said company have power to construct and work under the Glasgow and South-Western Railway Act, 1897 (Glasgow and South-Western Railway (Cairn Valley Light Railway) Order, 1899) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

Copy presented,—of Order made by the Light Railway Commissioners, and modified and confirmed by the Board of Trade, amending the Basingstoke and Alton Light Railway Order, 1897 (Basingstoke and Alton Light Railway (Amendment) Order, 1900) [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

PETITIONS.

GROUND RENTS (TAXATION BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES).

Petition from Winnington, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES' SERVANTS' SUPERANNUATION.

Petition from Edmonton, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS (IRELAND) BILL.

Petition from Belfast, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL.

Petitions, in favour, from Stamford; and Lavenham; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS TO CHILDREN BILL.

Petition from Hull, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

TOWN COUNCILS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petition from Kilrenny, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

*RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.***COMPANIES (WINDING-UP) ACT, 1890.**

Copy presented,—of General Rules made pursuant to Section 26 of the Companies (Winding-up) Act, 1890, dated 28th December, 1899 [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

POLLING DISTRICTS (NORTHUMBERLAND).

Copy presented,—of Order made by the County Council of Northumberland, dividing into polling districts so much of the Tyneside Parliamentary Division of the county of Northumberland as is comprised in the parishes of Camperdown, Long Benton, and Weetslade [by Act]; to lie upon the Table.

NAVY ESTIMATES, 1900-1901.

Estimates presented,—for the year 1900-1901, with Explanation of Differences [by Command]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 41.]

ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND.

Copy presented,—of Eighteenth Report of the Royal University of Ireland, being for the year 1899 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

AGED DESERVING POOR (DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE).

Copy presented,—of Report of the Departmental Committee on the financial aspects of the proposals made by the Select Committee of the House of Commons of 1899 about the Aged Deserving Poor, with Appendices [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

*QUESTIONS.***SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—CONTRABAND OF WAR—RIGHT OF SEARCH—THE "HERZOG."**

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is he aware that the boarding and prize officers of Her Majesty's ship "Thetis," which detained the German ship "Herzog" on suspicion of carrying contraband of war, neither broke bulk nor made any search into or examination of the "Herzog's" cargo; what was the nature of the summary

search which is alleged to have taken place, by whom was it made, and in virtue of what authority; was it made before the "Herzog" was released by order of Her Majesty's Government, or after the release, and when and where was it made; and did those who conducted it examine the boxes marked "Macaroni," which there is reason to believe contained rifles, and did they examine any other part of the cargo.

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (MR. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): Bulk was not broken, nor could it properly be broken except under orders from a prize court. The reports received show that an examination of the papers on board relating to the cargo was made by the officers of Her Majesty's ship "Thetis" at sea on the 3rd of January. It was made before the ship was released. The boxes mentioned were not examined, but there is no reason to suppose that they contained rifles, as none were found at Lorenzo Marques, where a careful examination of the ship's cargo took place.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: By whom was it examined at Lorenzo Marques?

[No answer was given.]

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs did the Marshal of the Prize Court at Durban refuse to take charge of the German steamer "Herzog" when the prize officer of H.M.S. "Thetis," which had detained and brought her in, tendered her to the Prize Court; was this refusal a consequence of any communication or order from Her Majesty's Government; if so, on what ground was such communication or order given; if not, can he state on what ground the refusal of the Marshal to take charge of the prize was based; and, in case he is not able to state this, will he make inquiry.

*MR. BRODRICK: The Marshal's refusal to take charge of the "Herzog" was not based on any orders received from Her Majesty's Government, but on the fact that the vessel was not yet in harbour.

PROPERTY IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLICS.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies

can he explain the scope and effect of the notice issued by Sir Alfred Milner, High Commissioner for South Africa, on 26th January, 1900, to the effect that Her Majesty's Government will not recognise as valid any forfeiture, charge, fine, encumbrance, conveyance, transfer, or transmission in respect of property situate in the territories of the South African Republic or the Orange Free State which may be declared, charged, levied, created, made, or carried into effect by the governments of those countries subsequent to the outbreak of war; is the word governments intended to include the legislative body, and also the judicial authorities of the two States mentioned, or only their executive governments; does the notice affect transfers of property made by the subjects of the South African Republic or the Orange Free State as between themselves; does it affect transfers of property made by British subjects as between themselves; does it affect transfers of property made between themselves by subjects of Foreign States other than the South African Republic or the Orange Free State, or between such foreign subjects and British subjects; is he aware of any precedent for a notice during war by one belligerent State declaring invalid the executive, legislative, or judicial acts of the other belligerent State in respect of property situate within its own territories to be invalid; and is it the intention of Her Majesty's Government to prosecute the war until the invalidity of the acts contemplated by the notice is recognised by the two States.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham, W.): Her Majesty's Government has had reason to believe that it was the intention of the Republican Governments to impose burdens which it would be impossible to meet upon property within their territories owned by British subjects and the subjects of other Powers with the object of confiscating such property. It would be impossible for Her Majesty's Government to countenance such confiscation at the termination of the war, whether carried out by an Act of the Executive or under colour of legislation empowering the courts to declare such forfeiture. The text of the notice shows that it has no reference to transactions between individuals. It is

not desirable to enter into a discussion of the points raised in questions 6 and 7.

SIR ALFRED MILNER'S STAFF.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies to what position on the staff of Sir Alfred Milner has Mr. F. H. Wilson, legal assistant of the Colonial Office, been appointed; has Mr. Wilson been appointed in an advising capacity to Sir Alfred Milner as Governor of the Cape or as High Commissioner; has Mr. Wilson's appointment been recommended or approved by the Cabinet of Cape Colony; and whether, seeing that the legal advisers to the High Commissioners of South Africa have hitherto been selected from the Cape Bar on the recommendation of the Prime Minister of Cape Colony, will he explain on what grounds has there been a departure from this practice.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: In view of the pressure of work in the High Commissioner's office, Sir A. Milner requested the assistance of an additional staff-officer with legal experience. Mr. Wilson will give general assistance to the High Commissioner, and his presence will in no way affect the constitutional relations between the Governor and the Cape Ministry.

BRITISH COLONIAL ARMAMENTS AT THE OUTBREAK OF WAR.

MR. HEDDERWICK (Wick Burghs): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War how many fort guns were in Cape Colony and Natal prior to the outbreak of hostilities; what was their calibre and class; and whether any of them have been used in the present war.

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): None of the guns in the fortresses of Cape Colony and Natal which were there before the war have been used during the campaign. It is not in the public interest to state the armaments of these forts.

PROPORTION OF ARTILLERY STRENGTH.

COLONEL WELBY (Taunton): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether he can state how many

Royal Horse and Field Artillery guns are now in South Africa per thousand of the troops there; calculating the per thousand on the same basis as the guns of mobilised German Army Corps; their proportion to the three arms, trains, columns, and services employed in the field, and not at the base.

*MR. WYNDHAM: Even if it were possible, it would be inexpedient to give the distribution of troops in South Africa at the present time. My statement referred to the immediate future. I said that the number of field guns in or proceeding to South Africa will give a Continental percentage in the fighting line, and by that I mean a proportion of five guns to every thousand sabres and bayonets.

"MILITARY AUTHORITIES."

*SIR JOHN COLOMB (Great Yarmouth): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War if he will explain and define the exact meaning and limits of the official phrase, "the advice of the military authorities"; whether that phrase is to be taken to mean in general application the specific and particular advice or opinion of the Commander-in-Chief for the time being for which he is alone responsible, or whether it embraces advice and opinion given by other military officers not necessarily coinciding with that of the Commander-in-Chief; and whether that phrase excludes or includes the opinion or advice of political and civil officials of the War Office.

*MR. WYNDHAM: "Military authorities" is not an official term. It does not occur in any Order in Council or other official document. Its meaning and limits are, therefore, not defined. If they have ever seemed obscure the fault must have rested with the user of the phrase—probably myself—for it ought to have been obvious from the context that the step in question was taken on the advice of military and not of political and civil officials. If used in connection with important questions of policy it would point to the status of the Commander-in-Chief and Army Board as defined by Order in Council. If used in connection with minor executive subjects or with movements in the field it would point to the military officer or officers charged with their conduct.

*SIR J. COLOMB: My question was not directed to any official document. I wished to know what the hon. Gentleman himself means.

*MR. WYNDHAM: That is what I have endeavoured to explain. When speaking of great questions of policy I refer to the Commander-in-Chief and Army Board, in a matter relating to a district the general officer commanding in that district, and in relation to an action taken in the field the general commanding the troops there.

LORD IVEAGH'S AMBULANCE CORPS.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether every member of Lord Iveagh's ambulance corps had to sign an agreement that he would become a combatant if called on; and whether in any of the foreign ambulance corps with the Boers such a condition had been insisted on.

*MR. WYNDHAM: Nothing is known of this at the War Office.

MR. T. M. HEALY: It is a very good example for Russia.

VOLUNTEER RECRUITS.

MR. SAMUEL SMITH (Flintshire): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether the Government are placing obstacles in the way of obtaining recruits for Volunteer regiments by requiring that the expense of all members above the number allowed by Government shall be borne by the corps; and whether, in view of the present strong desire to enlist, and the exigencies of the war, the Government can see their way to relax this regulation.

*MR. WYNDHAM: It has already been announced that facilities will be afforded for men to join the Volunteer force in excess of the present establishments. Regulations on the subject will shortly be issued, and I shall refer to it in the statement which I shall make to the House, I hope on Monday.

CANADIAN MEDICAL CONTINGENT.

GENERAL LAURIE (Pembroke and Haverfordwest): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War, as it appears

from the published telegram, No. 61, of Secretary of State for Colonies to Governor General of Canada, dated 23rd October, 1899, that the Secretary of State for War could only accept Canadian military medical officers and trained female nurses for service with the Canadian contingent, as British troops can be legally only attended by surgeons registered in the United Kingdom and nurses belonging to the Army Reserve, and as Canadian troops accompanied by Canadian military surgeons and nurses are now serving at the front side by side with their comrades of the British Regular Service, whether he will take steps to remove the legal prohibition which prevents these Canadian and other colonial military surgeons from rendering medical assistance to their British comrades.

*MR. WYNDHAM: The Medical Act of 1858 prohibits the appointment as Army surgeon of a practitioner not registered in the United Kingdom; but it does not prevent a non-registered surgeon from rendering assistance under the orders of the Medical Staff. The general question of reciprocity with the colonies as regards medical qualifications is too broad a question for the War Office to deal with.

TREATMENT OF INVALIDED SOLDIERS —THE "SUMATRA."

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether two officers and 128 men invalided home from South Africa disembarked from the deck of the "Sumatra," on 7th December last, on the quay of the Royal Albert Docks, and were left for upwards of an hour in the rain in their khaki; whether some of the invalids who were landed amid these surroundings were victims of ague, consumption, and dysentery, while several had become insane from the hardships of the war; and will he state what steps he proposes to take in the matter.

*MR. WYNDHAM: The "Sumatra" arrived on the 6th December, at 12.30; being one and a half hours before the time at which the steamship company had notified that she was to be expected. The ambulances arrived at 2 p.m., and the invalids who had remained on board were landed at 3 p.m., and placed immediately

in a shed close by on the wharf. They all had great coats on and were never left in the rain. They were then removed without unnecessary delay in ambulances to Herbert Hospital, Woolwich. There were on board six cases of insanity, three cases of dysentery, one of tubercle, and one of phthisis, the remainder being of ordinary character.

SEPARATION ALLOWANCES.

MR. HAMMOND (Carlow): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that the Carlow Militia, a battalion of the King's Royal Rifles recently embodied, is now stationed in Templemore; that prior to their departure from Carlow last month, the men of this corps were informed that in their absence their families would be entitled to a separation allowance on the scale of 10d. per week for a wife, and 2d. per week for each child; and as the families of many of these men have been placed in a position of distress and destitution owing to the absence of their breadwinners and to the non-payment of the promised allowance, if he would have the goodness to inquire into the matter, and endeavour to arrange that these people shall be relieved by the regular weekly payment to them of the allowance to which they would appear to be entitled.

*MR. WYNDHAM: The rates of the allowances referred to are daily rates and not weekly rates, as stated in the question. Separation allowances are payable monthly in advance. A telegram has been sent to Ireland on the subject of the hon. Member's question, and if any mistake has been made, it will be set right at once. I may add that the rate of separation allowance for the wife is not 10d. a week, but 13d. a day.

CONTRACTS FOR HORSES.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Kilkenny): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether orders to buy horses suitable for the various branches of the Army have ceased in Ireland, while extensive orders have been issued for the purchase of horses for the British Army in continental countries; and whether he will inquire if all the requisite horses can be procured in Ireland at short notice, and order that they shall be purchased there.

*THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE WAR OFFICE (Mr. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS, Birmingham, S.): Trained horses of suitable ages are very difficult to obtain in Ireland, and it is impossible to purchase there all the horses that are required. It has therefore been found necessary to buy a few thoroughly broken horses abroad and others in the Colonies. A large number of cobs have been purchased in Argentina, as they are very hardy, are accustomed to live on grass, and are best suited to the mounted infantry serving in South Africa; they are also very cheap. Horses are still being purchased in Ireland, and the number purchased from home sources for South Africa is much larger than the number obtained elsewhere—not taking cobs into account.

BOOT CONTRACTS.

MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.): I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office, what has been the saving per pair of boots on the purchase of Indian boots for the South Africa forces as compared with the average price of English made Army boots; whether the leather of which Indian boots are made is thinner than the leather used for Army boots in England, and there is practically no heavy sole leather used in India at all; whether the Indian boots ordered have been, or will be, subjected to the examination and tests usually applied at Pimlico to English made boots; and whether the large orders for English made boots for the Army, amounting to about 300,000 pairs, have only been given out in the past few days, after the strong protests made a few weeks ago.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: I have already informed the hon. Member, in answer to his question of yesterday, that the price paid for the Indian boots referred to was about equal to the lowest price paid in England. Price, however, did not govern the transaction. Speedy supply formed the only element. Boots made in India to the pattern of the home Government closely resemble in thickness of sole and upper the English made article. The Indian boots, as I have already told the hon. Member, were subjected to strict and proper inspection in India before being shipped. I do not know what "strong protests" the hon. Member refers to in the last paragraph

of his question, but he may rest assured that the necessities of the Service alone caused the issue of recent orders.

MR. CHANNING: Have not orders for 300,000 pairs of boots been recently issued?

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: I cannot give the exact figures, but undoubtedly large orders for boots have recently been issued, but not in consequence of any protest such as my hon. friend refers to.

MR. CHANNING: I shall draw attention to this matter on the Estimates.

RIFLE RANGES.

MR. RADCLIFFE COOKE (Hereford): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether, of the nineteen new ranges that have been constructed or approved since the date of the return of the ranges closed since 1890, which was presented to the House in June last, those that have been constructed include any which in the said return were described as approved but not then constructed; and whether the nineteen new ranges should be added to the total of 186 new ranges mentioned in the return, making the total of new ranges to date in Great Britain 205, and the total of ranges closed 536.

*MR. WYNDHAM: The answer to the first paragraph is in the negative. The figures stand as stated in the second.

THE SIERRA LEONE CAMPAIGN —MEDALS.

MR. HEDDERWICK: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether a medal has been struck in commemoration of the operations in the Protectorate of Sierra Leone to put down the insurrection consequent upon the partial imposition of the Hut Tax; and, if so, whether the medal will be given to any of the natives in the Government employment who were reported by the late Sir David Chambers to have been guilty of cruel and unlawful acts towards native chiefs in the Protectorate.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: The Queen has been pleased to approve of the grant of the West African medal to the troops

employed in the operations in the Sierra Leone Protectorate in 1898 and 1899. With regard to the second part of the question, no native convicted of serious offence will get the medal.

AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH BILL.

SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies when the Australian Commonwealth Bill will be introduced, and if Her Majesty's Government propose to suggest to Parliament to make any change in the constitution as accepted by five colonies.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN: Delegates from the Australian Colonies are coming to this country to give and receive explanations as to certain points, and as they are expected at an early date the introduction of the Bill will be deferred until they have arrived.

THE "KOWSHING."

MR. PROVAND (Glasgow, Blackfriars): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he will state what is the present position of the negotiations for the settlement by arbitration of the claims made by Her Majesty's Government on the Chinese Government more than five years ago for compensation to the owners of the British steamer "Kowshing," and to the families of British subjects who lost their lives by the sinking of that vessel.

*MR. BRODRICK: It has now been arranged between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of China that the case of the "Kowshing" should be referred to the arbitration of a foreign jurist.

MR. PROVAND: Can the right hon. Gentleman say when the jurist is likely to arrive at a decision?

[No answer was given.]

RUSSIAN LOAN TO PERSIA.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether Her Majesty's Government received from the Persian Government in July last a *précis* of the financial proposals of the Russian Govern-

ment in regard to the Persian Loan conversion; and what reply was returned to the Government of the Shah by Sir M. Durand.

*MR. BRODRICK: No such communication was received.

FOOT AND MOUTH DISEASE REGULATIONS.

MR. STEVENSON (Suffolk, Eye): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Agriculture, in view of the fact that the Executive Committee for the County of Suffolk resolved on the 6th instant that it is strongly desirable that a modification of the Order of the Board of Agriculture of 31st January should be made, so as to enable fat cattle to be moved for slaughter, that the district comprised in the Order is unnecessarily large, and that the Board of Agriculture be requested to vary their Order to meet the foregoing, and that occupiers of land should be allowed to move their sheep and cattle across or along highways intersecting their own occupation, where it is more than three miles from the infected area; whether he is prepared to introduce at once into the Order modifications similar to what has been asked for in the case of Norfolk, in accordance with the first and third recommendations; and whether he will also reconsider the extent of the scheduled area, in accordance with the second recommendation, if it can be done without risk, especially having regard to the fact that districts in Suffolk, nearly forty miles from the scene of the outbreak have been included in that schedule.

*THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE (Mr. LONG, Liverpool, West Derby): The new Order which comes into operation to-day is applicable to the Suffolk portion of the district as well as to the Norfolk portion. I cannot as yet sanction the reduction of the area of the district, but the situation is carefully considered from day to day, and I shall be very glad indeed to find myself able to modify the severe restrictions we have felt it necessary to impose in the interest of stockowners generally.

MR. F. W. WILSON (Norfolk, Mid): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Agriculture whether he can state how many fresh cases of foot and mouth disease have occurred in the present

week; and whether any petty sessional division which has been scheduled, where no fresh outbreak has occurred for seven days, can be reopened for the movement of cattle for slaughter.

*MR. LONG: Two further outbreaks of foot and mouth disease have occurred in the scheduled district during the present week. I cannot at the moment sanction any further modification of the existing restrictions, the position being still a very serious one, but it is carefully considered from day to day, and the hon. Member may be sure that relief will be given at the earliest possible moment consistently with the safety of the country as a whole.

CENTRAL TELEGRAPH OFFICE HOLIDAY ARRANGEMENTS.

MR. STEADMAN (Tower Hamlets, Stepney): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, whether he is aware that the Departmental Committee appointed to inquire into the holiday arrangements at the Central Telegraph Office, in submitting a proposed scheme to the staff representatives, expressly stated that as a condition of its application the holidays should be distributed equally over the holiday months and chosen in order of seniority; whether these conditions are now being departed from; and whether he will direct that the holidays shall be distributed equally over the eight holiday months and chosen strictly in order of seniority.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (MR. HANBURY, Preston): No, Sir; I am informed that the Committee made no such statement. Considerable additions have been made to the staff to enable every telegraphist to take a holiday in one of the best eight months. The senior men have the choice of the best four months, and I understand that a senior officer who prefers taking a holiday in the other four has no difficulty in finding a junior to exchange with him.

POST OFFICE LONDON TELEPHONE EXCHANGE.

MR. PROVAND: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, whether he is

now ready to issue the tariff and regulations of the Post Office London Telephone Exchange.

MR. HANBURY: The tariff and regulations for the Post Office London Telephone Exchange system are practically complete; but until the work of constructing the main system is also completed, it has been thought better not to publish the details of the scheme prematurely.

IRISH PIERS AND HARBOURS.

MR. WILLIAM MOORE (Antrim, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if he will grant a return showing the application of the sum of £250,000, voted for piers and harbours in Ireland, under the Act 46 and 47 Vic., c. 26; and in what counties the said sum has been so far expended.

MR. HANBURY: No material change has occurred since the issue of House of Commons Paper No. 272 of 1898; and I think that this return will probably be sufficient for any purpose that the hon. Member may contemplate. But I shall be quite ready to inform him privately, if he desires it, as to any modifications recently made.

PARCELS POST TO IRELAND.

MR. WILLIAM MOORE: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, if any part of the parcel post traffic between London and Dublin is carried round by Carlisle and Stranraer and via Portadown; is the same carried, or any part of it, by the same trains in England which convey the mails to the north of Ireland via Larne and Stranraer; what is the extra distance of this route over and above the direct route to Dublin; and has this contributed to the delays in the mails recently so much complained of in the north of Ireland; and, if so, will the practice be discontinued.

MR. HANBURY: No part of the parcel post traffic between London and Dublin is forwarded by way of Stranraer and Portadown, nor is any part of it carried by the same train in England which conveys to Carlisle the mails for the north of Ireland.

SNEEM MAILS.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, whether he is aware that great inconvenience is caused in and around the district of Sneem (County Kerry) owing to the late delivery of mails; whether, under the late arrangements made by the Post Office authorities, letters now arrive and are delivered nearly one hour later than heretofore; and whether it should not be the object of the Post Office to accelerate rather than delay the arrival of mails in the Sneem district.

MR. HANBURY: No change has been made in the time of arrival of the mails at Sneem since 1897. In that year the time of arrival at Sneem had to be postponed from 9.40 a.m. to 10.30 a.m. in consequence of the later dispatch by fifty minutes of the night mails from Dublin to the various ports of Ireland. This in turn was due to the later despatch from the provinces of the day mail trains to Dublin in connection with the later departure from Dublin of the night mail for England. Under these rearrangements a considerable improvement of postal service was afforded, and the Postmaster General regrets that in a few instances some disadvantage has been unavoidable.

MR. FLAVIN: Cannot you make some representations to the carrying companies to accelerate the service?

[No answer was given.]

STEAM TRAWLERS IN WEXFORD BAY.

MR. FFRENCH (Wexford, S.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he is aware that the Wexford bye-laws are being constantly violated by steam trawlers, and that great damage is being done to the fishery, and numbers of poor men thrown out of employment; and that although the names of four trawlers have been supplied to the inspectors of fisheries, they refuse to prosecute on the ground of insufficient evidence; and whether, since local vessels can do no more than find out the names of the trawlers, he will consent to give a gunboat to protect Wexford and other Irish fisheries, considering that gunboats have

been given to protect English and Scotch fisheries.

*THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): As I have often explained, the duty of the Admiralty is to protect fishermen against any illegal inroads on the part of foreign fishing boats, but they do not undertake the enforcement of bye-laws passed by local authorities, nor have they appropriated vessels for local fisheries except in the special case of the Scottish Fishery Board, who have the assistance of two small vessels. There are gunboats on the coast of Ireland which are fully employed there at present.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): Under these circumstances cannot a gunboat be sent to protect Irish fisheries from steam trawlers? If not, of what use is the Navy to Ireland at all?

MR. POWER (Waterford, E.): Will the hon. Member for South Dublin take into consideration the advisability of—

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order: Notice should be given of these questions.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): Is it not the fact that these bye-laws are made not by the local authorities, but by the Fishery Board? Will the right hon. Gentleman under these circumstances reconsider the matter?

*MR. GOSCHEN: We do not undertake to enforce the bye-laws of the Fishery Board.

WARDEN ESTATE, CO. KERRY.

MR. FLAVIN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the landlord of the Warden estate, near Sneem, county Kerry, refused to give a site for a national school teacher's residence on the teacher's own farm of land unless the teacher would give up his tenant right to him, and that the teacher, under the landlord's pressure, has consented to give up his tenant right in his holding in order to obtain a suitable site for the residence he requires on his own farm; whether the Local Government Board have refused to sanction the site which the landlord

selected owing to its unsuitable condition; and what steps, if any, can the Government now take to compel the landlord to allow the teacher to build a residence on his own land which will be approved of by the Local Government Board.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.) (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR): I have no information as to the matters referred to in the first paragraph. It is the fact, however, that an application for a loan to erect a teacher's residence, in connection with the Sneem National School, was approved by the Commissioners of National Education. The site proposed was found to be rocky and unsuitable, and another site was suggested by the teacher. The manager was informed by the Board of Works of the legal steps necessary to be taken by him, and he was informed that pending the perfection and registration of the lease, nothing further could be done to complete the case. The Board are not aware of any difficulty with the landlord in obtaining this site, but if such difficulties exist the trustees can avail themselves of the provisions of the Irish Education Acts, under which sites for teachers' residences can be acquired compulsorily subject to certain conditions being satisfied.

MR. T. M. HEALY: The right hon. Gentleman says he has no information. Will he cause the police to make inquiries?

MR. FLAVIN: Has the right hon. Gentleman applied to the teacher for information?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

KANTURK BARONIAL RAILWAY GUARANTEE.

MR. FLYNN: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, whether the attention of the Local Government Board has been called to the case of the Kanturk Rural District Council in respect to the Baronial Railway guarantee; and if he can state whether the Commissioner of Valuation reported to the board, under Section 58, Sub-Section 4, that the Kanturk district was entitled to

relief, as the guarantee exceeds sixpence in the pound on the rateable value; and, if so, why has not the district received the relief for the current financial year.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR): The reply to the first paragraph is in the affirmative. The Commissioner of Valuation reported that, in his opinion, the provisions of Section 54, Sub-Section 4, of the Local Government Act, 1898, came into force on the 1st April, 1899, and that payments in respect of which a contribution may be made from the Local Taxation Account under these provisions will not become due until after the 31st March, 1900—the end of the current financial year.

MR. FLYNN: Surely, if the financial year commenced on the 1st April last year, the district is entitled to a full year's payment.

MR. ATKINSON: I have given all the information asked for in the question.

CLARE COUNTY POLICE CHARGES.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if his attention has been called to a resolution of the Clare County Council, in which they call attention to the high taxation that prevails in Clare, and respectfully ask the Irish Government to reconsider the question of the instalments of extra police charge, seeing that the county has returned to its normal position of peace; and whether the prayer of this resolution can be granted.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR): The attention of the Chief Secretary has been directed to the resolution referred to. The Government are unable to accede to the application contained in the resolution.

CAVAN POLICE FORCE.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Cavan, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland can he state whether any increase has taken place recently in the police force of Cavan County; and whether, seeing that he promised in 1896 to see that a gradual process of reduction would take place, it is intended to carry this promise into effect.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR): No increase has recently been made in the police force of County Cavan. For many years the county has been served by the free quota. The policy of reducing the strength of the entire police force throughout Ireland, promised in 1896, has been since then steadily pursued.

MARQUESS OF SLIGO'S ESTATE.

DR. AMBROSE (Mayo, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that negotiations have been proceeding for some time between the Marquess of Sligo and the Congested Districts Board, with a view to the sale to the Board of portions of his Lordship's estate: and could he state the price asked by the Marquess of Sligo, and would he give a copy of the correspondence with reference to such sale.

THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT FOR IRELAND (MR. PLUNKETT, Dublin County, S.): The reply to the first paragraph is in the affirmative. The correspondence that has passed between the Congested Districts Board and the Marquess of Sligo in the matter is regarded as confidential. The board can give no information as to the respective offers made, and it is not intended to lay on the Table the correspondence that has taken place.

MUZZLING ORDER IN CORK.

MR. MAURICE HEALY (Cork): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Agriculture whether he has received resolutions from the Corporation of Cork and the Cork Rural District Council recommending that the dogs muzzling order be rescinded; and whether he is now prepared to accede to the general desire that the order should be rescinded.

MR. PLUNKETT: Resolutions have been received from the Corporation of Cork and the Cork Rural District Council, recommending that the muzzling of dogs order be rescinded. Since the 29th April, 1899, twelve cases of rabies occurred within the County Cork, the last case so recently as the 3rd January. The question of rescinding the order has been carefully considered, but it is felt that the time has not yet arrived when any part of the County Cork could, with due re-

gard to the general interest, be exempted from the operation of the order.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—NEWS FROM THE FRONT.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): I think the House would like to know whether there is any news from South Africa.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (MR. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.): No, Sir, I do not think there is.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: May I give notice that on Monday I shall move, in accordance with the statement I have already made to the House, that, until the end of the financial year, financial business have precedence on Tuesdays whenever set down by the Government. Of course that is subject to the pledge I have already given in regard to Tuesday the 20th, in connection with the motion now down on the Paper for that day.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: With regard to the Tuesday referred to by the right hon. Gentleman, I think there would be a strong general feeling of disappointment and dissatisfaction if, as the right hon. Gentleman has rather implied, there were merely an evening sitting on that occasion. The matter which is to be discussed has excited a great deal of attention and interest, and I think it is a matter of such importance that it ought not to be relegated to an evening sitting.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I quite recognise the existence of the feeling to which the right hon. Gentleman alludes, and I can assure the House that nothing but absolute necessity would oblige me to reduce the time for discussing that motion to the three hours between nine and twelve o'clock.

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE (EXEMPTION FROM THE STANDING ORDER).

Motion made, and Question put, "That the proceedings on the Address, if under discussion at Twelve o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order, Sittings of the House."—(Mr. A. J. Balfour.)

The House divided:—Ayes, 226; Noes, 86. (Division List No. 6.)

AYES.

Aird, John
 Allsopp, Hon. George
 Archdale, Edward Mervyn
 Arrol, Sir William
 Asher, Alexander
 Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
 Austin, Sir John (Yorkshire)
 Bainbridge, Emerson
 Baker, Sir John
 Baldwin, Alfred
 Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r)
 Banbury, Frederick George
 Barnes, Frederic Gorrell
 Barry, Rt. Hon. A. H. Smith. (Hunts)
 Barry, Sir Francis T. (Windsor)
 Bartley, George C. T.
 Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir M. H. (Brist'l)
 Beach, Rt. Hon. W. W. B. (Hants)
 Bethell, Commander
 Bhownaggee, Sir M. M.
 Biddulph, Michael
 Bill, Charles
 Blakiston-Houston, John
 Blundell, Colonel Henry
 Bonsor, Henry Cosmo Orme
 Boulnois, Edmund
 Bowles, Capt. H. F. (Middlesex)
 Bowles, T. G. (King's Lynn)
 Brodric, Rt. Hon. St. John
 Brookfield, A. Montagu
 Bryce, Rt. Hon. James
 Brymer, William Ernest
 Buxton, Sidney Charles
 Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin)
 Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H.
 Causton, Richard Knight
 Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lances.)
 Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbysh.)
 Cecil, Evelyn (Hertford, East)
 Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
 Chaloner, Captain R. G. W.
 Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. (Birm.)
 Chamberlain, J. Austen (Worc'r)
 Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
 Chelsea, Viscount
 Coghill, Douglas Harry
 Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
 Colomb, Sir J. Charles Ready
 Colston, Chas. E. H. Athole
 Cornwallis, Fiennes Stanley W.
 Courtney, Rt. Hon. Leonard H.
 Cross, H. Shepherd (Bolton)
 Curzon, Viscount
 Dalkeith, Earl of
 Dalrymple, Sir Charles
 Davies, M. Vaughan. (Cardig'n)
 Dickinson, Robert Edmond
 Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
 Doughty, George
 Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
 Douglas-Pennant, Hon. E. S.
 Duncombe, Hon. Hubert V.
 Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
 Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
 Fardell, Sir T. George
 Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edw.
 Fergusson, Rt. Hon. Sir J. (Manch.)
 Finch, George H.
 Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
 Fisher, William Hayes
 Fitz Wygram, General Sir F.
 Flannery, Sir Fortescue

Flower, Ernest
 Forster, Henry William
 Fry, Lewis
 Galloway, William Johnson
 Garfit, William
 Gedye, Sydney
 Gibbs, Hn. A. G. H. (City of Lond.)
 Giles, Charles Tyrrell
 Gladstone, Rt. Hon. Herbert Jn.
 Goldsworthy, Major-General
 Gordon, Hon. John Edward
 Goschen, Rt. Hon. G. J. (St. Geo.'s)
 Gourley, Sir Edw. Temperley
 Graham, Henry Robert
 Greville, Hon. Ronald
 Gull, Sir Cameron
 Gunter, Colonel
 Gurdon, Sir William Brampton
 Halsey, Thomas Frederick
 Hanbury, Rt. Hon. Rbt. Wm.
 Hanson, Sir Reginald
 Hardy, Laurence
 Haslett, Sir James Horner
 Heath, James
 Helder, Augustus
 Hill, Rt. Hon. A. Staveley (Staffs.)
 Hoare, Edw. Brodie (Hampstead)
 Hoare, Sir Samuel (Norwich)
 Holland, William Henry
 Horniman, Frederick John
 Houston, R. P.
 Howard, Joseph
 Howell, William Tudor
 Howorth, Sir Henry Hoyle
 Hozier, Hon. J. H. Cecil
 Hudson, Geo. Bickersteth
 Hutchinson, Capt. G. W. Grice-
 Hutton, John (Yorks, N.R.)
 Jeffreys, Arthur Frederick
 Jessel, Capt. Herbert Merton
 Johnston, William (Belfast)
 Kenyon-Slaney, Col. William
 Kinloch, Sir John George S.
 Knowles, Lees
 Lafone, Alfred
 Laurie, Lieut.-General
 Lawrence, Sir E. D. (Cornwall)
 Lawson, John Grant (Yorks)
 Lea, Sir Thomas (Londonderry)
 Lecky, Rt. Hon. William Edw. H.
 Leese, Sir Joseph F. (Accrington)
 Llewelyn, Sir Dillwyn (S'sea)
 Lockwood, Lt.-Col. A. R.
 Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
 Long, Col. Chas. W. (Evesham)
 Long, Rt. Hon. Walt. (Liverpool)
 Lorne, Marquess of
 Lowe, Francis William
 Loyd, Archie Kirkman
 Lyell, Sir Leonard
 Macartney, W. G. Ellison
 Macdona, John Cumming
 Maclure, Sir John William
 M'Arthur, Charles (Liverpool)
 M'Calmont, Col. J. (Antrim, E.)
 M'Crae, George
 M'Ever, Sir Lewis (Edinbro, W.)
 M'Killop, James
 Malcolm, Ian
 Manners, Lord Edward Wm. J.
 Marks, Henry Hananel
 Millbank, Sir Powlett Chas. Jhn

Mildmay, Francis Bingham
 Milner, Sir Frederick George
 Milward, Colonel Victor
 Monckton, Edward Philip
 Monk, Charles James
 Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
 Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
 More, Robert J. (Shropshire)
 Morgan, J. L. (Carmarthen)
 Morton, A. H. A. (Deptford)
 Mount, William George
 Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
 Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
 Nicholson, William Graham
 Nicol, Donald Ninian
 Norton, Captain Cecil W.
 Nussey, Thomas Willans
 O'Neill, Hon. Robt. Torrens
 Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
 Palmer, George W. (Reading)
 Parkes, Ebenezer
 Pease, Joseph A. (Northumb.)
 Penn, John
 Phillpotts, Captain Arthur
 Pierpoint, Robert
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick
 Plunkett, Rt. Hon. Horace C.
 Pretymann, Ernest George
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
 Purvis, Robert
 Rankin, Sir James
 Rentoul, James Alexander
 Richardson, J. (Durham, S.E.)
 Richardson, Sir T. (Hartlepool)
 Ridley, Rt. Hon. Sir M. W.
 Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Charles T.
 Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
 Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
 Royds, Clement Molyneux
 Runciman, Walter
 Russell, Gen. F. S. (Cheltenham)
 Russell, T. W. (Tyrone)
 Samuel, Harry S. (Limehouse)
 Savory, Sir Joseph
 Scoble, Sir Andrew Richard
 Sharpe, William Edward T.
 Shaw-Stewart, M. H. (Renfrew)
 Sidebotham, J. W. (Cheshire)
 Simeon, Sir Barrington
 Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
 Smith, Abel H. (Christchurch)
 Smith, Jas. Parker (Lanarks.)
 Soames, Arthur Wellesley
 Spencer, Ernest
 Stanley, Edward J. (Somerset)
 Stevenson, Francis S.
 Stewart, Sir M. J. M. Taggart
 Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
 Stock, James Henry
 Strutt, Hon. Chas. Hedley
 Sturt, Hon. Humphry Napier
 Tennant, Harold John
 Thornton, Percy M.
 Tollmach, Henry James
 Trevelyan, Charles Philips
 Tritton, Charles Ernest
 Verney, Hon. Richard Greville
 Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
 Warr, Augustus Frederick
 Webster, Sir Richard E.
 Welby, Lieut.-Col. A. C. E.
 Whitely, H. (Ashton-under-L.)

Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, J. Powell- (Birm.)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, John (Falkirk)

Wodehouse, Rt Hon E. R. (Bath)
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, George
Young, Samuel (Cavan, East)

Younger, William
TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
Sir William Walrond and
Mr. Anstruther.

NOES.

Abraham, Wm. (Cork, N.E.)
Allan, William (Gateshead)
Allison, Robert Andrew
Ambrose, Robert
Austin, M. (Limerick, W.)
Barlow, John Emmott
Blake, Edward
Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Robt. (Durham)
Carvill, P. Geo. Hamilton
Channing, Francis Allston
Clancy, John Joseph
Commins, Andrew
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Crilly, Daniel
Curran, Thomas B. (Donegal)
Daly, James
Dewar, Arthur
Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Engledew, Charles John
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Farquharson, Dr. Robert
Farrell, James P. (Cavan, W.)
Fenwick, Charles
French, Peter
Flavin, Michael Joseph

Flynn, James Christopher
Gibney, James
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Hammond, John (Carlow)
Harrington, Timothy
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayne, Rt. Hon. Chas. Seale-
Hazell, Walter
Healy, Maurice (Cork)
Healy, Timothy M. (N. Louth)
Hedderwick, Thomas Charles H
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Charles H.
Hogan, James Francis
Jones, W. (Carnarvonshire)
Jordan, Jeremiah
Kilbride, Denis
Labouchere, Henry
Lawson, Sir W. (Cumberland)
Leng, Sir John
Lewis, John Herbert
Lloyd-George, David
Lough, Thomas
Lowther, Rt. Hn. James (Kent)
Macaleese, Daniel
McDonnell, Dr M.A. (Queen's C
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
McCartan, Michael
M'Ghee, Richard
Mandeville, J. Francis
Morton, E. J. C. (Devonport)

Murnaghan, George
O'Brien, James F. X. (Cork)
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary)
O'Connor, Arthur (Donegal)
O'Connor, James (Wicklow, W.)
Pinkerton, John
Power, Patrick Joseph
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Reid, Sir Robert Threshie
Roberts, John H. (Denbigha.)
Roche, John (East Galway)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick E.)
Souttar, Robinson
Steadman, William Charles
Strachey, Edward
Sullivan, Donal (Westmeath)
Sullivan, T. D. (Donegal, W.)
Thomas, David A. (Merthyr)
Tully, Jasper
Wason, Eugene
Wedderburn, Sir William
Weir, James Galloway
Wilson, John (Govan)
Young, Samuel (Cavan, East)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—Sir
Thomas Esmonde and Mr.
Woods.

NEW BILLS.

HOUSING OF THE WORKING
CLASSES.

Bill to amend the Law relating to the
Housing of the Working Classes, ordered
to be brought in by Mr. Steadman, Mr.
John Burns, Captain Norton, and Mr.
Woods.

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES
(RURAL DISTRICTS).

Bill to amend the Housing of the
Working Classes Act, 1890, so as to
facilitate the provision of cottages by
Rural Authorities, ordered to be brought
in by Sir Walter Foster, Mr. Channing,
Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Price, Mr. Broadhurst,
Mr. Billson, Mr. Frederick Wilson, and
Mr. Soames.

WINE AND BEERHOUSE ACTS
AMENDMENT.

Bill to amend the Law relating to the
licensing of Beerhouses and places for the
sale of Cider and Wine by retail in
England and Wales, ordered to be brought

in by Mr. Herbert Lewis, Mr. Courtney,
Sir Cameron Gull, and Mr. Cameron
Corbett.

WINE AND BEERHOUSE ACTS AMEND-
MENT BILL.

"To amend the Law relating to the
licensing of Beerhouses and places for the
sale of Cider and Wine by retail in England
and Wales," presented, and read the first
time; to be read a second time upon
Tuesday, 20th February, and to be
printed. [Bill 73.]

LICENSED PREMISES (HOURS OF
SALE) (SCOTLAND).

Bill to alter the Law relating to the
Hours during which premises licensed for
the sale of excisable liquors may be open
in Scotland, ordered to be brought in by
Mr. Provand, Captain Sinclair, Mr. Col-
ville, Mr. Ure, and Mr. Caldwell.

LICENSED PREMISES (HOURS OF
SALE) (SCOTLAND) BILL.

"To alter the Law relating to the
Hours during which premises licensed for
the sale of excisable liquors may be open

in Scotland," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Thursday next, and to be printed. [Bill 74.]

BAKEHOUSES (HOURS OF LABOUR).

Bill to restrict the Hours of Labour in Bakehouses to forty-eight per week, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Woods, Mr. John Burns, and Mr. Steadman.

BAKEHOUSES (HOURS OF LABOUR) BILL.

"To restrict the Hours of labour in Bakehouses to forty-eight per week," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 14th March, and to be printed. [Bill 76.]

STEAM ENGINES AND BOILERS (PERSONS IN CHARGE).

Bill to grant certificates to persons in charge of steam engines and boilers, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Jonathan Samuel, Mr. J. A. Pease, Mr. Haldane, Mr. Helder, Colonel Denny, Mr. Fenwick, Mr. John Wilson (Durham), Mr. Paulton, Mr. Joseph Walton, and Mr. Holland.

STEAM ENGINES AND BOILERS (PERSONS IN CHARGE) BILL.

"To grant certificates to Persons in Charge of Steam Engines and Boilers," Presented and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 77.]

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES BILL.

"To amend the Law relating to the Housing of the Working Classes," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 25th April, and to be printed. [Bill 72.]

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES (RURAL DISTRICTS) BILL.

"To amend the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890, so as to facilitate the provision of cottages by Rural Authorities," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Friday, 23rd February, and to be printed. [Bill 75.]

ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[NINTH DAY'S DEBATE.]

Order read for resuming Adjourned Debate on Main Question [30th January], "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, as followeth:—

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."—(*Captain Pretyman.*)

Question again proposed.

Debate resumed.

TAXATION OF IRELAND.

SIR T. G. ESMONDE (Kerry, W.): In seconding the Amendment which is on the Paper I feel myself in a position of considerable disadvantage because I have to follow the very admirable speech of my hon. friend the Member for North Dublin, which practically touched almost every aspect of the case. There is also this further disadvantage, that this subject has been so often debated that there is very little new to be said about it. Still, I am glad to second it in view of the special and peculiar circumstances of the present time. This country is engaged in a war which is likely to prove both long and expensive. It is a war from which it is not conceivable that Ireland can derive any advantage. On the other hand, it will undoubtedly lead to a very great increase of taxation, and of that taxation Ireland will be compelled, whether she likes it or not, to pay what we Irishmen consider to be an utterly disproportionate share. I do not propose to go extensively into the details of this question, nor do I believe there is any necessity for any justification on our part for the action we are taking at the present moment. We consider that in view of the feelings we hold on the question of the over-taxation of Ireland it is essential we should take the first opportunity of making our position clear with regard to any further increase of that taxation. We shall have many opportunities in the course of this session of considering pos-

Ninth Day.

sible further increases of taxation, and we trust and hope to be able to utilise those opportunities to the fullest possible extent when the occasion for doing so arises. There is no necessity for me now to speculate on the direction those possible increases of taxation may take. Neither, Sir, is there any necessity at this stage for me to go in detail into the historical aspects of the situation. The historical case of Ireland has been repeated over and over again in this House. It has been repeated so many times that we have, as a matter of fact, absolutely lost count of them, and although statements have been laid before the House many a time and oft, and although even in my own time there have been repeated discussions on the national grievances of Ireland, I do not think any Irish Member of this House has yet heard a satisfactory answer to the Irish case in respect to the over-taxation of Ireland. I will not, Sir, go back very far into this history, as it is not so very many years ago since the case of Ireland was set forth in most admirable and, I may say, unanswerable fashion by my hon. friend the Member for South Longford. The legitimate claims of Ireland for redress as put forward from this quarter of the House have met with no adequate settlement since that time, nor since our case was put later still by the hon. and learned Member for Waterford. No answer is yet forthcoming; I do not suppose there is any answer beyond that to which we are so well accustomed, namely, that Ireland has no substantial grievance at all. Sir, I may, perhaps, be allowed to give the House an outline of the Irish case. From our point of view, it is a record of continuous breaches of engagements entered into by England with Ireland. Ever since the Act of Union the question has been discussed and debated in this House in vain, and the injustice continues in face of our continued and unabated protest. That protest has been made now for nearly a hundred years, and invariably without success. Let us go back to the Act of Union. It was a solemn treaty entered into between England and Ireland, in which certain covenants as to financial relations between the two countries were set forth, and received the form of legislative enactment. We were regarded, in financial matters, as a separate entity. It was a solemn compact by which Ireland was to receive the benefit of cer-

tain exceptional treatment. She was promised exemption in one case and abatement in another; but the realisation of those promises is yet to come. From 1800 to 1816, the period at which the exchequers of Ireland and England were consolidated, we find by the records of this House, by the debates which are reported in *Hansard*, that Ireland has contributed to the war expenditure of England—war expenditure in which Ireland has had no concern whatever, and from which she can derive no possible advantage—money amounting to millions sterling. In that period Ireland has contributed between £60,000,000 and £70,000,000 compensation for England's benefit, and no less than £30,000,000 in excess of the proportion fixed by the Act of Union. These are statements which can be easily verified either by a reference to the pages of *Hansard* in the Parliamentary Library. In 1816 the Act came into force, and in 1817 the two exchequers were consolidated. A new treaty was made by which Ireland was promised that a revision of her taxation would be carried out at certain intervals of time. That was the main grievance; that agreement was not observed, there was no such revision of Ireland's taxation, and the main condition upon which the consolidation was ratified were never observed by this country. In 1854 there was a new departure in taxation, and Ireland contributed £30,000,000 at least more than was provided by the consolidation of the two exchequers. The Royal Commission which investigated the financial relations of the two countries resulted in a number of new taxes being imposed. The inducement which led the Irish people to consent to these new taxes was that they would be only of a temporary nature, and after seven years some of them would be taken off, and after a further period the whole of them would be removed. That was the engagement, but, like every other engagement, it was forgotten. The "temporary taxes," so-called, imposed in 1854, became permanent, although the Financial Relations Commission showed that Ireland was already overtaxed by 120 to 130 millions. That Financial Relations Commission was composed of eminent financiers, who went thoroughly into the question of the financial relations existing between the two countries. The record

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of its sitting is preserved in a Blue-book, which is, perhaps, the most valuable contribution to the question that we possess. According to the investigations of this Commission, the over-taxation of Ireland is put down, at the lowest figure, as £2,500,000 per annum. According to these eminent experts Ireland contributed at least £2,500,000 per annum more than the condition of her resources entitled her to pay. Well, that Report was promptly put into the waste-paper basket; and there has been no practical result of the Commission ever since. It has occurred to me and many of my hon. friends what a different view would have been taken of the Report of that Commission had it been found that Ireland was paying £2,500,000 less than her proper proportion of the taxation. However, since the sitting of the Commission, new taxation has been imposed on Ireland in the shape of an increase in the spirit duties and an imposition of the estate duty. By this additional taxation, increased revenue has been derived from Ireland amounting, at any rate, to £500,000 a year. Thus the Report of the Royal Commission, which showed that Ireland was already overtaxed to the tune of £2,500,000, only led to the imposition of another half million sterling. In these various stages of the financial relations between the two countries, it will be seen that these taxes were not imposed without strong protest on behalf of Ireland. Every opportunity that presented itself to the Irish party was seized by way of strongly protesting against England's unjust financial treatment. Ireland objected to the union of the two exchequers. She protested in 1854, and again in 1864, when another Commission of inquiry was appointed to sit in London. She protested then and since continually, and the day on which Ireland will get justice in this matter seems as distant as ever. And yet English members of this House, and especially hon. Members opposite, profess to be surprised that there is no more real sympathy existing between the people of England and the people of Ireland. I should like to know how this country would have behaved had the positions been reversed, and Ireland had treated England in the same way. What would have been the feelings of the English people under such circumstances? How can England expect Ireland to be kindly disposed towards her in view of

the financial treatment meted out by England? Our country is labouring under a most frightful injustice, and we protest against it; we have protested before, and shall continue to protest. As long as the Irish people take an intelligent interest in the concerns of their country, so long will they protest against this system, which is surely and inevitably bleeding Ireland to death, ruining her industrial and financial possibilities, and driving year by year thousands of Irish people out of the country simply because they cannot get employment at home. One result of your financial treatment of Ireland is that of all the countries in the world the one in which Irish industries do not succeed, except in a very small measure, is the country to which they belong. We shall probably hear, as we have heard many times before, the old arguments advanced against the claim of Ireland. We shall be told that Ireland is treated extremely well; that England makes nothing out of Ireland; that England spends an enormously disproportionate amount of money year by year in Ireland on the administration of the country. It is one of the strong points which is constantly raised in the discussion of the financial claims of Ireland that the expense of the administration is something prodigious. Our answer to that is that we are not concerned in the administration of Ireland; we have nothing whatever to say to it. The administration of Ireland has been devised in this House; for the expenses of that administration this House is responsible, and, as far as we are concerned, Ireland derives absolutely nothing from the amount of money you spend on the various swarms of officials in that country. If this argument is supposed to be a really strong and tangible one, you have a very easy remedy. If this House would approve of the appointment of a Commission of practical Irishmen to go into the figures of the administration of the country, and would undertake that whatever money was saved as the result of that Commission should be devoted to Irish purposes, I am perfectly certain that any body of intelligent Irishmen would be able to effect very considerable retrenchments in the expenses of Irish administration. As to the argument that for Irish purposes England has contributed, and continues to contribute, enormous sums of money, many Parliamentary

Papers and numerous speeches in *Hansard* make it perfectly plain that for every one of those generous contributions there was a very considerable *quid pro quo* given by Ireland. All those contributions from time to time were made in return for financial concessions on the part of Ireland, by which England was invariably the gainer. When we are told of the Imperial expenditure in Ireland, one is tempted to ask what is the Imperial expenditure in England? How much is spent in building men-of-war in England and in Ireland respectively? How much is spent on dockyards at Plymouth, Portsmouth, and other places in England, and how much is spent in Ireland in the same direction? Why, there is not a single dockyard in Ireland, although over one hundred years ago you promised that one should be established. The question of the great prosperity of Ireland under English rule has been threshed out so often that it is practically threadbare and not worth discussing. We should probably be told—it is a favourite argument of the Chancellor of the Exchequer—that the deposits in the Irish savings banks have increased, and that fact will be heralded forth as an evidence of the great advance in the prosperity of Ireland. I would very much like the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or anyone who puts forward that argument, to state the amount of the deposits in the English savings banks. It is understood that the amount of those deposits is such that the Post Office does not know what to do with the money. If a comparison was made between the deposits in the two countries, as an evidence of increasing prosperity, Ireland would show up very poorly as compared with England. I desire to direct the attention of the House to one or two small details in connection with the financial question. As was pointed out last night, there are so many ways in which England makes money out of Ireland without any acknowledgment being made that it is impossible to go into them all, but there are one or two points to which I will refer. First, there is the question of the redemption of the quit and crown rents in Ireland. It is very difficult to arrive at the figures, as the redemption has been going on ever since the Land Purchase Acts came into operation, and, of course, will continue for a number of years to come. As far as I understand it, what-

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ever money is derived from the redemption of these quit rents is devoted not to Irish but to English purposes. We hold that instead of devoting this money to the purchase of properties of the Crown in England or to the discharge of liabilities on Crown properties in England, it would be much more in accordance with justice if this money, which is essentially Irish, were devoted to Irish purposes. This is a matter which, perhaps, has been forgotten or overlooked by the representative of Ireland, but it is one we are not disposed to allow to remain in abeyance much longer. Perhaps the Chancellor of the Exchequer will inform us how much money has been received from the redemption of Irish quit and Crown rents, and to what purposes that money has been devoted. We would insist that the money so derived hitherto and to be derived should be devoted to Irish purposes. Then there is the agricultural grant in connection with the Irish Local Government Act. When that Act was introduced I understand the Chancellor of the Exchequer to say that we were to receive about £750,000. As it has worked out, however, we have received only about £720,000. There may be nothing in it, but the feeling in Ireland is that there is a grievance in this matter, and I shall be obliged if the Chancellor of the Exchequer will give us some information on the point. Another point as to which considerable doubt exists, which we are extremely anxious should be cleared up, is the question of Irish lunatic asylum finance. According to our contention the Treasury have made a profit of about £120,000 out of the rearrangement of the finances of the Irish asylums in connection with the Irish Local Government Act. I should be extremely glad if it is wrong, but my information is somewhat to this effect: In the old days, before the Irish Local Government Act was passed, the financial year of the lunatic asylums ended on 31st December, and the arrangement was that the Imperial Treasury gave a subsidy of 4s. a week, or half the amount per head paid by the local taxpayers—whichever was the smaller amount—for every lunatic treated in the asylums. Under the recent Act this arrangement ceased, and certain fixed sums are to be paid. This charge is to be met out of the Local Taxation Account for Ireland. That account opened on 31st March, while the old

Asylums Account ended on 31st December, and apparently the matter has been so arranged that the Treasury have escaped paying their contribution for the period between 31st December, 1898, and 31st March, 1899. The exact amount is a matter for the calculation of experts, but the general opinion is that the Treasury have made about £120,000 by the transaction. The original Treasury liability was called a "refund," and was in respect of payments already made. Under the new arrangement the Treasury contribution goes under the name of a "grant," and is supposed to be in respect of future payments. On that understanding it would seem that about £120,000 remains due to Ireland for the period I have named. The matter has already been brought to the notice of the House by a question to the Irish Secretary—whose absence, especially on account of its cause, I regret very much, and all of us hope we shall see him in his place again before long. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will be able to give a satisfactory explanation. I have only raised this question as one of the many details of Irish finance. Many others could be raised, but I do not propose to raise them now. We have put forward this Amendment for the purpose of asserting our position in this country, and emphasising the opinion of Ireland that it labours under a distinct grievance which, throughout the whole of this session, as far as the forms of the House will allow us, we shall continue to press upon the House, and, whether we receive justice or not, we shall have the satisfaction of knowing that we have done our duty.

Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the Question, to add the words, But we humbly represent to Your Majesty that the over taxation of Ireland, which promises to become greatly aggravated by the expenditure on the war in South Africa, is a most serious and pressing grievance, and demands the early attention of Parliament with a view to its removal."—(*Mr. Clancy.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

*MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): There is only one observation made by the hon. Member this evening with which I have the slightest disposition to differ. He said it was very difficult to say anything

new upon this question of Irish taxation. Unless Irishmen are able to say something new upon this matter they will never get their grievances redressed. This House does not care about archæology. It is useful, perhaps, to explain what mistakes were made in 1853, and the Royal Commission in 1894 made a splendid contribution to our history of Ireland. This House, however, pushes these things aside. It says they are past, and if you cannot show us that at the present moment you have a grievance of a pressing nature it is no use complaining. As I am strongly impressed with the belief that this grievance is one of the most acute that Parliament has got to deal with, and is growing more acute every day, I venture to make a few observations in this debate. I shall best make my point by alluding to a speech of the First Lord of the Treasury. The right hon. Gentleman has made three speeches on Irish taxation—the first was bad, the second was worse, and the third was the worst of all. No one appreciates more than I do the good feeling which the right hon. Gentleman has shown towards Ireland, and no one appreciates more than myself the useful character of some of the measures he has passed for Ireland. But it is very curious how his mind comes back to this financial question, and deals with it more inadequately upon every fresh occasion. The last speech he made was a very short but emphatic one. It was made during the recess, and he was drawing a parallel between the difficulties and grievances in South Africa and Ireland. I think Ireland might have been left alone in that connection. His argument went to show how just it was for the House of Commons to try and redress the grievances of the 'Uitlanders in the Transvaal, and he endeavoured to show that the 'Uitlanders' grievances were much more acute than the Irish grievances, and he mentioned them one after the other, and amongst others he alluded to the taxation grievance. He said that—

" The Irish people allege that they are overtaxed when compared with the English. Personally I think just the reverse, and I have given my reasons for that opinion in a very elaborate form, open to anybody to discuss and to criticise, and, if they can, to answer. Even the Irishmen who most believe in Ireland's financial grievances will hardly

maintain that they are taxed at £16 per head, which is what the Uitlanders are taxed at.”*

The argument is that because the Uitlanders pay £16 per head, their grievance is greater than the Irish. The sum now paid by Irishmen amounts to 60s. per head. At the commencement of the present reign the total amount of local and Imperial taxation was 16s. per head, but since that time it has been doubled twice. That is, of course, even now very different to the Uitlanders' proportion, but mark the difference in the position of the two. There are no gold mines in Ireland. The great feature of Irish geography is a huge bog, and £16 per head can be more easily paid by the Uitlander than the smaller sum of 60s. by the Irishman. The Chancellor of the Exchequer will admit that nothing can be gained by comparing figures so different as the Uitlanders' and the Irish, and what should be compared is the principle of taxation. Let us do so for a moment. What was the principle upon which President Kruger imposed his taxes? It was this—that the richer the Uitlanders became and the more numerous they were, the more he would make them pay towards the taxation of the country. What is the principle this House follows in Ireland? It is that the poorer Ireland becomes and the fewer her population, the more this House will make her pay. If that is the truth, I bring against this House the gravest charge that can be put into human words. It is an evil which does not exist in any other civilised country, and I question if there is any other country where wealth and population are declining, and where taxation is increasing, as in Ireland. To find taxes constantly increasing under such circumstances is certainly one of the most extraordinary things that can be imagined. And it is for this reason that I say this Irish grievance is growing more acute. The people are getting fewer and the wealth is getting less, but this House is continually thrusting increased burdens of taxation upon them. My Irish friends have said that this Report of the Royal Commission has been neglected. When the Report of the Royal Commission was presented to this House there were three courses open to it. One course

would have been for this House instantly to have said, “This is a serious matter; let us put this grievance right and reduce this burden of over-taxation.” Another course would have been to let the matter alone, and say, “We will not reduce taxation, neither will we increase it.” A third course—and I think everybody will agree the worst course—would have been for this House, after the Commission had reported, to go on increasing the taxes in a worse way than it had ever done before. It is this third and the worst course exactly that has been followed by this House. The figures are most extraordinary. Almost every Irish tax has been raised since that Commission reported, and the sum of £700,000 a year more was collected during the last financial year than in the year when the Commission reported. Perhaps the Chancellor of the Exchequer will say that this was caused simply by the normal operation of our system, but that is precisely what my hon. friends protest against and declare to be unjust. Perhaps some English Member will urge, “We have been treated in England in the same way;” but I contend that they have not been treated in the same way. They never were treated in the same way, for the English, Welsh, or Scotch Members would not stand it for an hour, and I am astonished at the patience with which my hon. friends the Irish Members have borne this burden. What is the case of the British? We must remember that great division which God has made between the two countries. There are two islands separated from each other; one is called Great Britain and the other Ireland. Our Chancellors of the Exchequer have tried to mix up the accounts of the two countries, but they have not succeeded. It is just as hard to mix them as to try and join the two islands together. What is the case of Great Britain as compared with Ireland? There has been a great increase of many millions in the wealth of Great Britain, and there has also been an increase of population. The increase in the wealth of Great Britain cannot be computed, and it has been mildly put at £50,000,000 per annum, in the revenue of the country. In England the increase of taxation has gone step by step with an increase of population and an increase of wealth. But how has it gone in Ireland? There the increase of taxation

* Speech of Mr. A. J. Balfour, at Dewsbury, 28th November, 1899.

has gone on with a decrease of population and a decrease of wealth. That is really the only point I want to make, because I believe if we could awaken the conscience of this House to the magnitude of this evil—and I believe in the justice of this House when it understands a question—it would become more sympathetic. The reason the House does not take up this question is because it is a question of figures, and it does not understand it. Although I am dealing mainly with principles, let me offer one practical illustration of how the system works. I will give a striking figure to prove the decrease of the wealth and population of Ireland. My hon. friend who has just spoken has said something upon that point, and I will not repeat anything he has said. I only wish to give the House one figure, and it is such an astounding figure that I did not care to quote it without first writing to the Local Government Board in Dublin to correct it and bring it down to the year 1898. It is the return of pauperism in Ireland. I am going to ask the House to bear with me while I quote three very simple figures from this astounding document. I will state the proportion between the population and pauperism at three periods. The periods are 1864, 1894, and 1898. I may be asked why I take the year 1864. The reason is because the returns were commenced in that year, and it was a fair normal year. I take 1894 to show the facts when the Commission reported, and 1898 to show the present position. I hope that selection will be admitted to be fair. Omitting the odd figures, the population in 1864 was 5,640,000, and in 1894, 4,600,000. In 1864 the total number of paupers returned by the Local Government Board in Ireland was 295,000, and in 1894, 437,000, with a population a million less. Let me put the matter in another way. In 1864 the proportion of pauperism to population was 52 per 1,000, and in 1894 95 per 1,000. British Members in this House pay great attention to pauperism—they understand its importance—and may I appeal to them to observe that while pauperism has, thank God, fallen one-half in this country, pauperism in Ireland has almost doubled. I will give further figures. In 1894 the number of paupers was 437,000, and in 1898 526,000—an increase of 90,000 in four years, and the proportion per thousand

had risen from 95 to 115. These are the most astounding figures presented to this House for many years. I believed from my own experience in Ireland that the figures were bad, but I had no idea that such a state of affairs existed, and before venturing to make a statement in the House of Commons I had the figures I have quoted confirmed by the Local Government Board. In Ireland taxation is constantly increasing while that phenomenon of decreasing wealth has to be dealt with. Let me deal with one other point. The English are very ingenious in meeting the arguments of the Irish, and they say, "Well, although you have very poor districts in the west of Ireland and a great many paupers, yet there are a great many well-to-do people, and their condition is improving, so that notwithstanding the appalling figures you have given the state of Ireland is better than you have led the House to suppose." I will give an answer to that argument. The Irish had a great genius for dealing with questions of finance, and it was agreed at the discussion which took place between the two Parliaments at the end of the last century that there would come a time when it would be possible to measure the conditions of Ireland and Great Britain respectively, and that that time would be when a common tax was levied on the same principle in both countries. There is such a common tax now. It is not equally just in both countries—it is just in Great Britain and unjust in Ireland—but it is levied on the same principle. I allude to the income tax. These great financial authorities at the end of the last century, among whom I include Pitt, agreed that when such a tax was levied for a large number of years it would be possible to judge the progress of the two countries by watching its operation. For the last five or six years income tax at the rate of 8d. in the £ has been levied in these two interesting islands, on the same principle, by the same authority, and passing into the same Treasury. In 1895 in Ireland income tax produced £18,000 more than it produced last year, while in Great Britain last year it produced nearly £2,000,000 more than it did in 1895. That proves that in Ireland the condition of the rich marches with the condition of the poor, and that they too are worse off than they were. I have given the House figures

with reference to pauperism and the produce of the income tax, and, tested by either, this grievance is proved to be most acute and dangerous in Ireland. I will now deal with another British objection. The defenders of the British position may say, "How can this be?" I would ask them to drop the "how" and say, "Is this true?" But the British will not be satisfied unless the Irish answer every poser put to them. They will never deal with an Irish grievance unless they understand it. They ask, "How can such a great grievance arise under a common system of taxation?" There have been three systems of taxation in Ireland during the century, all equally oppressive. The first was a system of unequal taxation. Ireland was simply robbed under that, because whenever the English wanted to take off a tax they merely put a stop to a tax which only existed in England. That grievance became so flagrant that equal taxation was resolved upon, but under that system selected articles were taxed which pressed more hardly on Ireland than on England, and the result was as bad under equal as it was under unequal taxation. Then a third and a worse system than either has arisen lately. It is the collection of too much taxation and the giving back of a certain amount in grants. I believe the real object for which that system was established was to facilitate the plunder of Ireland; otherwise the system would have no meaning. What is the object of asking Great Britain to pay too much, and then giving the balance back. This House discovered only five taxes that would be at all productive in Ireland. Almost the only thing which would pay that was left out was the potato, and the House said, "Now, we must never part with any of the taxes on these articles." Then came the time when taxation realised too much, and the system arose of giving grants. Of course, the machinery was at hand for cheating Ireland, and this House used it. It gave grants to England and forgot Ireland. We have had an illustration of that in the present Parliament. The House has no historic memory and no continuity of policy—to which may be attributed some of our international and other dangers at the present moment—and the grants which were given by the present Parliament differed in their nature from previous grants. How has the

present Parliament treated Ireland? In 1896 a large grant was given to land, and Ireland received only £180,000 instead of £800,000. In 1898 this House admitted it was wrong, and gave Ireland the larger sum. Now the House cannot have been right in both years, but its action is an example of how Ireland is treated under this system of grants. I will mention a smaller example. On what principle is the Science and Art Grant made? One would have thought that if there were to be a selection, the larger amount would be given to the poorer country, and to the country which had the greater artistic faculty to work on. On that principle the larger sum would go to Ireland, because the people are more artistic and have more time to devote to the work. It, however, gets not a twentieth or a twelfth—the proportion it pays of some taxes—but a fifty-ninth of the grant. In London alone about £35,000 a year is given, whereas the whole amount given to Ireland is only about £5,000. Without going into details, I have shown the principle on which Ireland has been invariably treated. Every system has been to the detriment of Ireland. The last point I have to mention is a very strong one, and refers to the war. I can see that my friends from Ireland mean to develop this point as the session goes on. In both the great wars of the century Ireland was treated in the most cruel way. In the Crimean War the tax was raised in Ireland and Great Britain. When that war was over it was taken off in Great Britain, but it has never been reduced a penny in Ireland. Then in the French War that culminated in the battle of Waterloo the tax was raised in Great Britain and Ireland; in the year after Waterloo £20,000,000 was struck off the British tax, but no corresponding reduction was made in Ireland. You will make this war a pretext for raising the taxes again, and when the war is over you will again forget to take them off. Now, I maintain that you cannot get money for this war from Ireland, because she has not got it to give you. The Chancellor of the Exchequer smiles, but if you do get anything it will be at a terrible expense of life. Even now the income tax does not produce so much as it did. Ireland has voted against you; all her people, or a large majority of them, are solid against you. The bulk of opinion in Ireland does not approve

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of the war, and in making the protest which they make by this Amendment the Irish people make a perfectly just protest which I commend to the sympathy of the House.

*MR. GRANT LAWSON (Yorkshire, N.R., Thirsk): The answer to the charge that the hon. Member has made that we heap heavier taxes on Ireland and the people grow poorer is that the taxes have not been raised in Ireland up to the same level as in Great Britain, and that the people are able to consume more taxable commodities, and that seems to show that they are growing, not poorer, but richer.

*MR. LOUGH: A clear £700,000 was the result of the fresh taxes imposed in 1894 and 1896.

*MR. GRANT LAWSON: The hon. Member apparently refers to the whisky tax.

*MR. LOUGH: No, the income tax and the death duties.

*MR. GRANT LAWSON: Then I gather that the hon. Gentleman means that the disparity is increased by the income tax and the taxation of property passing at death. I am perfectly sure that Irishmen will not endorse that statement. In considering fixed taxation on certain commodities you must assume, if it is found that fewer people produce a greater amount, that those people are getting not worse but better off. It is a sign of increased prosperity that they can consume more taxable articles. Now, the hon. Baronet just now appeared unhappy because our answer to the party which he adorns has been that Ireland has no financial grievance at all. That is a satisfactory answer. In assuming that Ireland has a grievance we must see how the individual is situated. It is said that the grievance is the grievance of the nation and not an individual grievance of the people forming that nation. Of course, if the individual grievance is nothing, the nation has no grievance. Now, the individual living in Ireland has no grievance whatever. He pays the same taxation as people living here.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford): What about the Union?

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*MR. GRANT LAWSON: The hon. Member asks about the Act of Union. Several hon. Gentlemen have referred to the Act of Union, but they have not read the words of the seventh section to the House. That section, after providing for a declaration of indiscriminate taxation, provides that the Parliament of the United Kingdom

"May from time to time, as circumstances may require, impose and apply such taxes" [equal on same articles] "subject only to such particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland, and in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, as circumstances may appear from time to time to demand."

That section appears quite unnecessary. It is an inherent power of any Government to do that at any time. Under that Ireland was exempted from land tax, house tax, passenger duty, and establishment charges. It is not only in the Treaty itself that Parliament has the right to make exemptions and abatements. We have had this point put to us as settled by authorities on taxation. The Commission which decided it consisted of very eminent financiers, and originally consisted of thirteen members, ten of whom were Irish or drawn from that section of the British who are more Irish than the Irish themselves. That mixture not being strong enough, two more Irish were added to the Commission. The report gave two pages of agreed report and 200 of different reasons, and the two pages which were agreed did not answer anything at all. The hon. Baronet said that in the matter of taxation for this war Irishmen will pay a disproportionate share —

SIR T. G. ESMONDE: On the basis of the finding of the Royal Commission.

*MR. GRANT LAWSON: If it falls on taxable commodities it presses the individual. The individual who drinks whisky will pay a disproportionate share as against that paid by a less convivial character, just as he will in England. The hon. Member for Islington suggested you ought to have given larger grants to Ireland in matters of technical instruction, but the Irish decline to recognise what they call a miserable apology for a set off by liberality in matters of expenditure. I hope hon. Members opposite will press this to a division, because I desire to see how many there are who suggest that England should pay more in order that Ireland may pay less.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): We are now discussing a question in which the majority of Irish Members say that by a clever arrangement of this country Ireland is monstrously overtaxed: yet the benches opposite present the appearance they usually do on a full-dress Indian debate. They do not think it worth while to come down and hear our criticisms. I am glad the hon. Gentleman did not deliver his speech in the presence of the First Lord of the Admiralty, because they take very different views. His argument is that as taxation falls on the unit it does not matter where that unit lives. The First Lord of the Admiralty, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, was the father of the expression that Ireland was a separate fiscal unit. He acknowledged it in 1891. We all knew, and the right hon. Gentleman knew, because he was a well-informed man, the real condition of Ireland, but the bulk of the English people could not know that Ireland was overtaxed to the extent of two and a half millions per annum. But I need not go into those details now, and the House would not care to listen to me if I did. The Amendment complains of over-taxation now, and that it will be undoubtedly enhanced by the present war. I differ from the hon. Member for Islington in believing that what took place at the time of the Union is no longer interesting. The 7th Section of the Act of Union was wholly ignored, or rather, was ruthlessly violated. At the time of the Union both Irish and English statesmen saw that it would have the effect of robbing Ireland by unfairly taxing her in the event of a war. The last Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, Mr. Foster, was the greatest fiscal authority of his time. For sixteen years after the Union we had in the English House an Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer to guard our interests, and Mr. Foster was Chancellor of the Exchequer for some time. He strongly opposed the Union for fiscal reasons, and I will just quote a sentence from a speech made a century ago which is applicable at the present time. Mr. Foster said that Mr. Pitt wanted the Union not from any desire to reform the Irish Constitution, but in order to take the guardianship of the people's purse out of the hands of the Irish representatives, so that Ireland might be unfairly taxed in the event of a war. Mr. Pitt attempted to buy and stop

Mr. Foster's mouth by writing a letter, which I have seen, attempting to bribe him with the offer of an English peerage in order to get his vote. I will not say more about the Act of Union except this. The object of the seventh section of the Act of Union was that the National Debts of the two countries before the date of the Union should be kept separate, and that Ireland, in matters of taxation, should be treated with consideration and with an absolute regard to her ability to pay taxes, and that in the event of a surplus from Irish sources it should be expended upon Irish purposes. I would implore the Chancellor of the Exchequer not to rely on the authority of Mr. Gladstone (as did the First Lord of the Admiralty in 1870) for supporting the present financial system between England and Ireland. The First Lord of the Admiralty wrote an article upon the subject in the *Contemporary Review*, and Mr. Gladstone, speaking on the merits of the article, said that Ireland loudly and bitterly complained that England had failed to deal justly with her, and that after some inquiry into a very intricate subject he was compelled to agree. When the income tax was first imposed in 1853 the great majority of the people voted against it through thick and thin, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer knows that this tax will not be cheerfully paid. We know that Ireland has been mercilessly robbed under the Act of Union. The truth is that the Government enforce the Act of Union when it tells against Ireland, and ignore it when it is in her favour. The passing of the 7th Article of the Act of Union arranged that Ireland should have separate taxation, and should be separately considered, and above all, that the pre-Union debt of four hundred and fifty millions should never be charged to Ireland. It was only owing to the insertion of that article that the Act of Union was carried even in the bribed Parliament of that day. What followed? The amalgamation of the Exchequers took place when Ireland had a public debt of only 28 millions, and one million of a rent charge, while England at the same time had a debt of 450 millions, with 17 millions of a rent charge. An hon. Member tells us that Parliament had a perfect right to repeal the 7th Article of the Act of Union; but the Act of Union was more than an Act of Parliament. The Act of Union was a treaty between

two great contracting powers, between two nations. I will not trouble the House with the details of it, which are well enough known already. But we must recollect how the Act of Union was carried as between one legislature and another. Mr. Pitt was fully alive to this. He was asked what guarantee would be given by the House of Commons, on the 21st April, 1800, that the provisions of the 7th Article of the Act would not be violated. We know what Mr. Pitt's strictures were. In his loftiest style he said: "If I were asked, 'What security would you give to Ireland for the performance of the 7th Article?' I would answer, None; the liberality, the honour, and the love of justice of the people of Great Britain have never yet been found deficient." I say, "Go and tell that to the Boers!" O'Connell in 1843 characterised the Union as "a gross financial swindle," and said that if his advice, as a lawyer, were asked in regard to a proposed partnership between a man owing 21 millions and a man owing 450 millions he would be inclined to say to the attorney, "Is our poor client on the way to a lunatic asylum?" This over taxation of Ireland will be protested against with the vigour of one voice and one party acting together in unison. It will be raised again and again, because this Act of Union, under which this wrong and injustice has been perpetrated, is an unconscionable wrong so great that the gentlemen who committed it would disgrace the dock of the Central Criminal Court. In season and out of season we shall protest against this malicious wrong till it be righted, for we believe that our efforts have the sympathy of the world.

MR. RENTOUL (Down, E.): I hope my hon. friend will not press this motion to a division, especially when I remind him of what took place last year. He is perfectly well aware that Members on this side of the House join with him and his colleagues in this matter. He will recollect that there is one thing both he and his opponents were careful to insist upon, namely, that there should be nothing done to put us in a definite position, and when it was proposed that the matter should be brought up again we were all anxious that it should not be brought up in such a way as to imply a vote of censure. Under these circumstances, and seeing what took

place then, I would put it to my hon. friend not to go to a division on this matter this evening, for the simple reason that we feel it is absolutely necessary to go into the other lobby. He knows that since this session began there has been proposed a vote of censure on the Government in connection with this war. He knows that even this Amendment is mixed up with the war, and as soon as any mention of the war is made in an Amendment I for one would vote against it. If the matter is deferred till a time when a vote can be taken without implying censure on the Government, hon. Members opposite will find that I and my colleagues in Ulster have not changed our minds. I think the discussion that has taken place has served a good purpose. It is necessary to keep the ball rolling. As to what has been said by the hon. and learned Member for South Donegal, it was largely a repetition of what has gone before; at the same time that is no reason why the matter should not be brought up again and again. The desire in the heart of everyone in the Committee Room upstairs was that Irish Members should all act together. Moreover, after what has been said by the hon. Member, the leader of the Irish Unionist party, for whom our estimation is miles higher than before, I ask my hon. friends, for the sake of Auld Lang Syne, not to press the Amendment to a division, but reserve it for another and more convenient season, when Unionist Members from Ireland can support it without joining in a vote of censure on the Government.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: I had not intended taking part in this debate, but after the speech of the hon. Member for East Down I think I should offer some answer to the remarks he has made. Considering the past relations between us and the Members for whom he speaks, it would scarcely be courteous on my part unless I made some answer. I will endeavour to explain in a few sentences how the matter presents itself to my mind. I believe that a great many Members are deterred from taking part in these debates by the idea that this is a very difficult and complicated question, and that in order to understand it it is necessary to study deeply the history of the past, and to pore over the

evidence contained in bulky Blue-books. I do not take that view at all. It seems to me in essence a question that is easily and simply understood. An hon. Member opposite has told us that he has read every word of the evidence given before the Royal Commission, but I must say, without meaning any disrespect to him, that if he has done so he has exhibited a lamentable ignorance of the question as it presents itself to us. Here is a treaty made between two nations on certain terms. One of those terms is that the Irish nation, one of the parties to the treaty, was never to be taxed beyond her relative capacity to bear taxation. Ireland under that treaty, or Act of Union, was to contribute to the Imperial expenditure only in proportion to her resources. The hon. Member for the Thirsk Division quoted two or three words from the seventh article of the treaty, and put a construction of his own upon it, but if anybody is uncertain as to the meaning and wants to interpret that article, surely the reasonable thing would be to go back to the declarations of English statesmen at the time when the treaty was made. Mr. Pitt, Lord Castlereagh, and other Englishmen at the time declared that the meaning of that seventh article was that Ireland should never be taxed beyond her relative taxable capacity, and Lord Castlereagh stated that the ratio of Ireland's contribution must ever correspond with her relative wealth and prosperity. Therefore the question is quite a simple one, and all these speeches going into elaborate details are beside the issue. The question is a simple one, and it is this—it has not been denied by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the First Lord of the Treasury that under the Act of Union Ireland is only entitled to be taxed according to her relative taxable capacity. The plain issue therefore is, is she taxed more than she ought to be, and beyond her taxable capacity, and if she is, are you going to repudiate the treaty of Union? Now, on the question as to whether Ireland is taxed beyond her relative capacity there cannot be any doubt. The Royal Commission found she was, and that since 1753 the taxation of Ireland has been doubled, whilst the taxation of England has been largely diminished, and nobody who heard the speech of the hon. Member for West Islington could fail to be struck by the extraordinary figures he

gave the House. During the period when the taxation of Ireland was doubled and that of England diminished the pauperism of Ireland increased from 294,000, or 54 per thousand of the population, to 536,000, or 105 per thousand of the population, and during the same period the prosperity of England increased and the pauperism of England diminished by one-half. These figures, to my mind, are extraordinary in their significance, and I say there is no answer to the judgment of the Royal Commission that Ireland is to-day taxed beyond her relative capacity to bear taxation. If that be so, I say that the only answer left to you is a repudiation of the Act of Union, and I say it is a serious question for the Unionist party to take up that position on this question. I do not intend to delay the House further than to say that this question has now been before the country and Parliament for several years. I admit in the frankest and fullest way that the Irish Unionist opinion is on our side in this matter. The right hon. and gallant Member who leads the Irish Unionist party in this House presided at a conference of Irish Members held upstairs, and with one or two exceptions the Irish Unionist Members were in thorough sympathy with our demands, and up to a certain point they gave us considerable assistance. But what has happened? We have argued this question and they have argued it. We have had full-dress debate after full-dress debate. But have we got any further? Sir, we have not advanced one single inch. I had almost said we had gone back, in spite of the help the Irish Unionist Members opposite have given us in making effective debates and arguments upon this question. Now, what are we to do under the circumstances? We are driven back to the old position which we always in the past adopted when we wanted to force a remedy for any grievances upon this House. We have tried argument, we have tried appeals coming from a practically united Ireland, and we have failed. What are we to do? The hon. Member for East Down says everything on this question has been heard on both sides, but I argue that from time to time the question ought to be brought up again, and we ought to have more full-dress debates. Does he not know as a practical man that by such proceedings we would not advance our case a single inch in our lifetime?

Mr. John Redmond.

MR. RENTOUL: Will pressing the matter to a division now advance it?

MR. JOHN REDMOND: As a practical man the hon. Member must know that the only chance we have of bringing this question to a successful issue is to make it a troublesome, and, if possible, a dangerous question for every English party which may be in power to ignore and despise. I therefore take the view that this question must be pressed upon the attention of the House of Commons and the Government, and not by a series of full-dress debates only. I think the proper action for us to take is to press it forward on every stage of the Budget. It ought to be pressed forward at every stage of the Budget, and of course if we take that course our friends opposite cannot follow us, because they naturally would not take part in an attempt to defeat the Government on the Budget, and it seems, therefore, if we are to listen to the appeal made to us and fall in with the view now expressed, that we ought to take no really serious action upon this question in attempting to force it on the Government. I and my colleagues of this side are not content to let these full-dress debates go on and to leave the Government in peace. I am in favour of dividing on this question, because it will impress upon the Government that we are determined to take an aggressive and militant attitude on this question, and to make it a troublesome one in the future. Let me put this to the House. If this question is to be brought to a successful issue by an expression of opinion from the Unionist Members for Ireland, we have got that and will always get it, because, whether or not we divide, hon. Members such as those who have just spoken will not go back on their opinions, but will always say we are right in asking for a redress of this grievance. We shall not lose anything by their not voting; we have got the value of their opinions. What we mean by going to a division is that we are prepared to take independent action, and to make this question a real trouble and danger to the Government on every possible occasion. I hope the hon. and learned Member will not think I have answered his appeal in either a discourteous or unreasonable way; I have endeavoured to answer it in a frank way, and I hope the House will understand our position.

*THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): It is not for me to suggest to those who take a different view to mine how best they may promote their view, but I very much doubt if any good has really been done to their cause by those who desire to follow the policy suggested by the hon. and learned Member for Waterford in bringing forward the question now. I will not attempt to detain the House at this moment, when time is so important, by dwelling on arguments used in past debates. It has been said again and again on either side that the whole question has been thoroughly threshed out on more than one occasion during the present Parliament, and I do not think we need go back to-night to the great principles that divide us upon these matters, and the arguments by which those principles are supported. But I demur entirely, and in a few sentences will state my reasons, to the view the hon. and learned Member for Waterford has expressed, that the Act of Union requires that the taxation of Ireland is to be decided according to the taxable capacity of Ireland, and that any other method of dealing with the taxation of the country is a repudiation of the Act of Union. The Act of Union contemplated in the seventh article the union of the exchequers and the adoption of a common system of taxation throughout the United Kingdom. That was decided with the assent—which was a ready assent—of the representatives of Ireland in 1817, and ever since that time that has taken place which was laid down as the object to be attained in the seventh article of the Act of Union—namely, that the expenditure of the country should be defrayed indiscriminately by taxes upon the same articles in the two countries; then comes the proviso, on which alone the case of the hon. Members opposite rests, “subject only to such exemptions and abatements as circumstances appear from time to time to demand.”

MR. JOHN REDMOND: The right hon. Gentleman will forgive me for interrupting, but may I say that I interpret these words by the statements of Mr. Pitt and Lord Castlereagh.

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: I interpret the words of the Act of Union by the Act of Union itself. Parliament, long ago, as I have said, with the assent of the Irish representatives of that date, adopted this

equal system of taxation on the same articles throughout the United Kingdom; and I hope with all my heart that Parliament will not depart from that position. I will not deal at length with this question of exemptions and abatements. I will only say that, as far as I am concerned, I accept the view laid down last session by my right hon. friend the First Lord of the Treasury in a speech which has been very much discussed in the course of this debate—namely, that the proviso, whatever it meant, had no reference to any periodical calculation of the taxable capacity of different parts of the United Kingdom, whether of Scotland or Ireland; or to any attempt based on such a calculation to adapt the taxation in these countries on that basis. It simply referred to this, that care should be taken, as care had been taken for the previous 100 years in Scotland, that taxes should not unfairly oppress individuals or industries in one country as compared with the others. That really in my belief was the intention of the framers of the proviso. That was the way it was understood for more than a hundred years in Scotland, and it was adopted in the Act of Union for Ireland from the Act of Union between England and Scotland. All this notion of taxable capacity as connected with a common system of taxation is, in my belief, entirely an erroneous offspring from the report of the Royal Commission. Having said that much I will confine myself to an attempt to deal with what seems to be the object of this motion. It is, no doubt—and the hon. and learned Member for Waterford so indicated—a sort of preliminary skirmish on a question of which we may expect to hear a great deal in the course of the session, but it has also been raised, perhaps mainly raised, at the present time with reference to expenditure on the war. Hon. Members below the gangway opposite object to the war, and they will object, I do not doubt, to all expenditure on the war, and from that point of view they are perfectly justified in opposing any proposals for increase of taxation on account of war expenditure and in taking such a course as they may think right and proper for resisting them. But if I may dismiss for a moment, by way of argument, the question of the requirements of the Act of Union, let me say that the imposition of increased taxation

on Ireland on account of the war cannot on any other ground create any injustice to Ireland. The hon. Baronet opposite, the Member for the Cokermouth Division of Cumberland, spoke and voted against the war the other night, and he will, no doubt, oppose taxation on account of the war as strongly as Members from Ireland; but, assuming that the majority of this House is of a different opinion, he will be in a minority, and he and his constituents will not have the faintest reason to complain of any injustice with regard to the result. The only way, therefore, in which this question, the expenditure on the war, is really relevant to the matter of Irish financial relations is that, in the opinion of the hon. Member for North Dublin, if there should be—upon which in February I certainly express no opinion—an increase of taxation on account of the war, that increase will aggravate what he considers the present injustice to Ireland. I would just observe in passing that it does not at all follow, assuming there be injustice to Ireland in the present system, that it would be aggravated by an increase of taxation. Hon. Members who have examined this question know that a greater percentage of certain taxes, according to the calculations which have been made of the true revenue raised in both countries, is raised in Ireland, as compared with the rest of the United Kingdom, than of other taxes. For example, suppose—hon. Members will remember I am not in any way suggesting anything with regard to future taxation; it is much too early in February to do that—but suppose for a moment that it was necessary to raise revenue by largely increased taxation on account of the war, and that the whole of the increase was raised by direct taxation, certainly that would not aggravate any injustice Members from Ireland complain of; that must be admitted by hon. Members opposite. The simple fact is this—Ireland pays a very much less proportion of direct taxation than she pays of indirect taxation, or of direct and indirect taxation taken together. I will give an instance from what happened last session. It was a small matter, but I had to increase taxation by something like £900,000 a year, and I increased the stamp duties, mainly, if not entirely, on documents connected with Stock Exchange transactions, and I placed an increased duty on wine. Now, was that an aggravation of the injustice to Ireland?

Sir M. Hicks Beach.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin, N.): Certainly.

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: Then why did not hon. Members oppose it on that ground? Upon the ground that it aggravated the injustice to Ireland there was not a single protest against the Budget of last session.

MR. CLANCY: The more shame to Irish Members.

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: I do not venture to suggest that Irish Members neglected their duty.

MR. CLANCY: It is an invitation to us this session, and I hope we shall not neglect it.

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: I should not have given the invitation if I had not had the promise already. I believe that hon. Members on that occasion did not neglect their duty, and I am convinced that if those who have studied this question had seen an increase of injustice last year they would have opposed the proposal on that ground. Let me say something more. I listened to the speech of the hon. Member for Islington on this subject, to which he has given great attention. From his point of view the injustice which he holds Ireland has to complain of under the present system is a growing injustice. Very well. But, even if you deal solely with the question of revenue, it certainly is not a growing injustice so far as the proportion of our revenue raised in Ireland is concerned. The Royal Commission reported upon the figures of the year 1893-94. In that year it was calculated that the total true revenue raised was £89,286,000 and the true revenue raised in Ireland £7,558,000. They reported that the proportion of the total revenue raised in Ireland was, I think, 1 in 11. Since that time that proportion has been steadily diminishing.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): I do not wish to interrupt the right hon. Gentleman, but were those figures accepted by the Royal Commission? There were several suggestions as to making them more accurate.

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: I believe they are the figures on which the calcula-

tions of the Royal Commission of the proportionate revenue of England and Ireland were based. What were the last figures presented to Parliament for the year 1898-99? The true revenue of Great Britain had increased to £108,837,000, the true revenue of Ireland had increased to £8,202,000. The true revenue of Great Britain therefore had increased by £19,500,000, or something of that sort, and the true revenue of Ireland by about £650,000. Although it is premature to give figures with regard to the outcome of the present year, I am convinced from what I have already seen that the increase in the true revenue of Great Britain is likely to be at least £4,000,000 more than that of the year 1898-1899, while the increase in the revenue of Ireland may possibly be £250,000. The result is this—that whereas the Royal Commission reported that the proportion of the revenue of the United Kingdom raised in Ireland was one in eleven, it now comes to something like one in fifteen. What is the answer of the hon. Member for Islington? He says the wealth of Great Britain has enormously increased, and that the wealth of Ireland has diminished, that Ireland is a poorer country than she was. With regard to the years I have quoted I entirely admit that the wealth of Great Britain has largely increased; it is the fact that the main part of the great increase in revenue in Great Britain to which I have referred has arisen from increased direct taxation levied since 1893-94, from the increase of the death duties; but it arises also from an increase in the wealth of the country. Neither the income tax, nor the death duties, nor any form of direct taxation, can for a moment fairly be argued to press heavily on Ireland. The hon. Member says Ireland has become very much poorer since 1864; that is not my view. As the hon. Member for the Thirsk Division has already pointed out to the House, there has been a considerable increase since that time in the receipts from indirect taxation on dutiable articles in Ireland. There is no doubt about it, and why? Because there has been an increased consumption of those articles, some of which certainly are subject to less taxation than they were in that day.

*MR. LOUGH: On the whole the rate of taxation is more.

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: It may be that the rate of taxation on spirits is higher; the rate of taxation on beer is higher; but does any hon. Member desire to reduce that?

*MR. LOUGH: That is not the point.

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: Yes, it is, and it is a very important point. There is not an hon. Member in this House who has suggested in the course of these debates that the rate of taxation on beer or whisky should be reduced.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Louth, N.): I suggest it.

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: I beg the hon. Member's pardon for not excepting him, but that at any rate has not been the view which has been pressed on Parliament. The rate of taxation on tea has been very largely reduced, and yet the receipts from tea both in Ireland and Great Britain are unquestionably larger than they were at the date which has been mentioned. That is a proof, and if the rates of duty on beer and spirits are higher, the increased consumption of beer and spirits is even more a proof, not of increased poverty, but of increased means on the part of the nation. When the hon. Member for West Islington puts before the House an increase in the number of paupers in Ireland during the last forty years as an irrefutable argument in favour of his contention that Ireland is poorer now than she was then, is he really ignorant of the enormous, and I think most unfortunate, change in the system of Poor Law administration in Ireland, which has spread out relief over the whole of the country, whereas at the time to which he referred it was, comparatively, hardly known at all?

*MR. LOUGH: I have compared the years 1894 and 1898.

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: No, 1864.

*MR. LOUGH: I beg your pardon. The right hon. Gentleman does not do me justice. I first took the years 1864 and 1894, and then the years 1894 and 1898. The system was thoroughly established in 1894, and I showed that the proportionate increase was far greater between 1894 and 1898 than between 1864 and 1894.

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: I do not agree with the hon. Member; I do not think the system was thoroughly established in 1894. I am afraid it has been increasing since and is increasing still; but what I have said is at any rate a complete answer to the statistics in regard to 1864. But the hon. Member went on to say that the income-tax in 1898 produces less in Ireland than it did in 1894. Does he not think there may be some reason for that besides the decrease in the wealth of Ireland? There are three reasons, to which I think some importance may be attached, as they certainly make the income tax apply more leniently to Ireland than to the rest of the United Kingdom. One reason is that there has been a considerable extension of the system of exemptions and abatements in favour of the smaller incomes, which necessarily must form a larger proportion in Ireland than in Great Britain of the whole amount on which income-tax is charged. Another is that there has been, I have no doubt, in those four years no inconsiderable increase in the number of small proprietors in Ireland, and every increase of that kind would relieve a man from income tax. When the estate of a large landowner is sold to his tenants, a property which formerly paid income tax tends to become free from it. That has been, I have no doubt, a factor of some importance of late years in Ireland. Another point in which Irish owners of property subject to income tax have an advantage over owners of such property in the rest of the United Kingdom is that in Great Britain the owner of such property is assessed at the rent which he receives from it, while in Ireland, whatever rent he receives from it, he cannot be assessed at more than Griffiths's valuation—[AN HON. MEMBER: That is frequently more than the rent.]—and if that valuation is more than the rent he can claim to be assessed at the rent which he receives. I am sorry to say it is a game of "heads I win and tails you lose," and the net result is that the income tax payer in Ireland is certainly assessed on the whole more favourably for himself than he is in Great Britain. As the hon. Member raised these points, I thought it well to put before the House something which I think deserves consideration on the other side. But I must now turn to a view of this case which I know is very distasteful to

hon. Members opposite; but I hope, as we have listened very patiently to accusations of cheating, robbery, fraud, and everything of that kind, with regard to this matter, they will hear me patiently. I have never been able to see the justice of dealing with taxation, as my hon. friend the Member for the Thirsk Division put it, on Separatist lines, and dealing with expenditure on Unionist lines. If you are to deal with taxation on separatist lines, you must also consider expenditure on the same lines. That brings me directly to the set-off which I know hon. Members opposite below the gangway never condescend to consider in respect to this matter. There have been for many years now returns annually presented to Parliament showing what is expended out of the Imperial revenue in the different parts of the United Kingdom for local purposes. [AN HON. MEMBER: They are not correct.] I know the hon. Member thinks they are not correct; I know it has been said in the course of this debate that some of the local expenditure in Ireland ought to be included among Imperial expenses. For instance, the hon. Member for North Dublin told us, although he dealt with Irish revenue on Separatist lines, that it was absurd to charge against Ireland the charge for collecting that revenue.

MR. CLANCY: Certainly, because the Act of Parliament says so.

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: And he went on to say that so far from being content with the suggestion which the First Lord of the Treasury made last year, and I think made rather generously, that only half the cost of the Irish constabulary ought to be counted as an Irish local charge, he thought none of the cost of that constabulary ought to be so accounted. In other words, that Irishmen ought to keep the peace at no cost whatever to themselves.

MR. CLANCY: You undertook the cost of keeping the peace in Ireland as the price to be paid for the injury done to Ireland by the repeal of the Corn Laws.

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: No, I do not follow the hon. Member in that argument at all. If you are to estimate these local charges fairly in the different

portions of the United Kingdom, you must make in each part a fair charge for the ordinary cost of keeping the peace. I have never been able to believe that under any system of Home Rule the cost of keeping the peace in Ireland would be less than it is now. ["Oh, oh!"] I feel that that is an unpopular opinion, and I do not want to press that point; but at least it must be admitted by hon. Members below the gangway that it would be advisable to have some policemen, and if they have policemen they would have to pay for them, and therefore there would have to be a charge against Ireland. The hon. Member for North Dublin told us that a good deal of this expenditure, besides that to which I have alluded, was expenditure which was forced upon Ireland, and that, at any rate, it was not expenditure which Irishmen, if left to themselves, would care to incur. I can only say with regard to such matters as the educational charge and charges for other things to Ireland which are unquestionably local charges, I never remember, in all the years during which I have had the honour of a seat in this House, any occasion on which Irish Members of all shades of political opinions did not cheerfully welcome any expenditure, and do their best to maintain that expenditure. I do not make any complaint of that at all; I merely point out that this is expenditure which they desire, and that, therefore, they cannot exclude it on the ground of its being forced upon them in calculating what are the local charges borne on the Imperial revenue. I suggested two or three years ago that, as I knew they questioned the way in which these accounts are calculated, the matter should be further examined by a Commission, which should endeavour to arrive at a fair adjustment. That suggestion was scouted by hon. Members, and I was told that it was a fraudulent device—a kind of term which hon. Members use rather freely on this subject. They would have nothing whatever to do with it, and, therefore, I can only rest myself upon the figures as they now stand. I will briefly state to the House how these figures have altered in recent years. Whether they rest on a fair basis or not, they may at any rate be used for the purpose of comparison with different years; it was calculated upon the basis which has been adopted that in 1893-94

Ireland's contribution to the Imperial expenditure was not one-twentieth, as it ought to be if you accept that proportion for her revenue, but one thirty-first part only; in 1897-98 that had decreased to one thirty-sixth, in 1898-99 to one forty-second, and this present year I believe it will work out at about one fifty-fifth. In other words, out of a total expenditure of £75,500,000—excluding the war expenditure—Ireland, for Imperial purposes, will pay nothing more than £1,375,000, and yet we are told that it is a gross injustice, robbery, and fraud, if Ireland is asked to pay anything towards the expenditure of this great war. I do not wish to detain the House further. I have endeavoured to address myself to what I may call new matters which have arisen in the course of this debate. On other matters I have nothing to add to what I have already said in previous debates, and, as I fear that the arguments which I have often adduced have not obtained the assent of hon. Members opposite, I have no greater hopes of converting them to-night. But this much I will say, as I have said before, that I never will consent to anything which would do what was suggested by the hon. Member for North Dublin—place the rich man in Ireland in a better position with regard to the payment of income tax than the rich man in Great Britain, or place the poor man in Ireland in a better position with regard to his tea and tobacco, his beer and his spirits, than the poor man in great Britain.

MR. CLANCY: That is what the Act of Union says should be done.

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: I absolutely deny that proposition. I absolutely deny that the Act of Union said or intended anything of the kind. It would be a gross injustice to the population of the United Kingdom as a whole; and I believe that our present fiscal system, if it were fairly looked at, even by hon. Members opposite, apart from the will-o'-the-wisp light of the Report of the Royal Commission, would be found to be as fair and as equitable as any which exists in any country in the world.

*MR. T. M. HEALY: The right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down, although I have always regarded him as a stern and severe taskmaster in English politics, and

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though he has always taken a strong line in rebutting our arguments, I have never regarded as personally unfriendly to Ireland. On the contrary, I have always believed, from the time when he was Chief Secretary, he would like to do something for Ireland, for, unlike some past Irish Secretaries, some of his knowledge still sticks to him. He has divided his present argument into three branches. He first scouted our argument on the Act of Union, and then he treated us to an examination of the figures based on our being Lancashire or Yorkshire. And then the third branch of his argument was: "Even granted that you are not Lancashire or Yorkshire, there is an Imperial set off of money spent in the country which suffices to repair any injustice." I should first of all like to say two or three words on the historical argument. I ask you when there is any question between any two countries as to the interpretation of a treaty, would you think it tolerable that the people in one country should be the sole arbiters of the interpretation and the construction of that treaty? You tried that on with Venezuela, and you said: "We have got the ships and we have got the men, and we will quarter up your country as we please." That was your intention, but the United States would not hear of it, and said: "No, this is a dispute between two sovereign States, and it must be referred to arbitration." And when it was referred to arbitration, as in all cases where England has been reluctant to enter upon arbitration, she got the worst of it. (Cries of "No, no.") It reflected a curious light upon the original reluctance to referring the matter to arbitration if it is now satisfactory. Ireland claims—whether rightly or wrongly is immaterial for my argument—that the construction of this treaty is not a matter for one of the parties to it. That it was a treaty is unquestionable. It was made between two countries which were separated, and between two sovereign legislatures. I say nothing now as to how the Union was produced; how all the unbribed intellect of Ireland was against it, while, instead of there being thousands of voters as there are now in the country, the three hundred Irish Members were elected by a mere handful of votes. Well, now, is it a prudent thing for the English, who at this moment are so strong about the observance of the London Convention

with the Boers—is it a prudent thing to suggest that we shall not have arbitration, we shall not have a court of law, and we shall only have the British Treasury to decide as to this treaty? I say that that in itself constitutes a *casus belli* between the two countries. Where is our remedy? You say in the Transvaal, because taxes are piled up on the Uitlanders, “We will go to war to redress that wrong.” You say you have a *casus belli* against the Transvaal. Kruger wanted to refer the matter to arbitration, and you refused. I say when there is a question of the construction of a treaty between two countries we have a right to ask that the matter should be referred to arbitration, and that we have a *casus belli* if you refuse. [AN HON. MEMBER: No, no!] I submit that, legally speaking, we have. Let us put it on lower ground than upon a dispute between two sovereign States. Let us suppose that we are all shareholders in a great international concern. Would you think it right that these shareholders should be denied access to the books, that they should be denied an audit, and that the books should be kept in the hands of a particular number of the directors? Supposing there was a railway and a steamship company from here to France. Suppose that the Northern Railway of France was fused with the London and Chatham Railway, would you think it right that the joint company should only have French directors, and that when the English directors demanded an audit the French directors should shrug their shoulders and refuse it? But that is the position taken up by the right hon. Gentleman. The whole system is English; the Treasury is English. We have not in the Government a single man to see fair play. The Irish Secretary is an Englishman or a Scotchman, which for our purpose is the same thing. The whole of the system is a British system, and we have no means of knowing how the books are kept; and even if they were kept by the most honourable set of people in the world I say it is a monstrous state of things that those who contribute some eight millions of money should be denied all access to the accounts. And then the right hon. Gentleman referred to the “true” revenue of Ireland. Why have you to speak of the “true” revenue of Ireland, and why should you have to use the word “true”? Is there a “false” revenue of Ireland? The reason is

this: because you have so manipulated the accounts of the three countries that you have absolutely erased and eradicated any means of ascertaining the true revenue of Ireland. You have abolished for your own purpose our Custom House, though a Custom House, even if there was not a separate fiscal system, would be an enormous value to us in showing what we exported, and so on; and if you enabled us to see what butter we were making and what cattle we were exporting it would be like a pulsometer, and would act, at all events, for registration purposes. But because this pulsometer or register or penny in the slot system would act injuriously for your Treasury purposes the Treasury even deny us the few clerks necessary in order to know what merchandise we send away, and you decline to take any account of it. Even if the system between England and Ireland were perfect then, for the purpose of quieting your conscience and showing the world that we were getting fair play, would it not be well for you to do something. You may be the most admirable people in the world, but you are as God made you and we have our suspicions of you. And, therefore, I say if it is only for the purpose of quieting your conscience, you ought to consent to submit this matter to some impartial judge. And then the right hon. Gentleman said that we absolutely refused, and scouted any suggestion of a further Commission to inquire into the question of set-off. For my part, I am always very cautious in referring to that question, and for this reason: the Irish party at the time was divided. Mr. Sexton, who behaved with so much credit to himself and so much advantage to his country on that Commission, was no longer a Member of the House. The Member for Waterford, the other member of the Commission, was acting with a small and separate party, and accordingly we were not in a condition to approach the Government on this question with any kind of a strong hand, and we did not feel in our then condition that it was a proposition which we were in a position to entertain.

*SIR M. HICKS BEACH: A meeting of the Irish Members was held, and there was an actual resolution passed

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on the subject, with the hon. Member for East Mayo in the chair.

*MR. T. M. HEALY : I do not think I myself attended that meeting, though I fully admit that it bound me, and accordingly with that resolution before us in our then somewhat distracted condition, I don't think it was an unfair thing of those asked to consider the question of this Commission to take up an attitude of hesitation upon it, when they already had the verdict of another Commission in their favour and the new one was to be manned to reverse or discredit its findings. But, at the same time, I don't think that the matter of what should be treated as Imperial and what should be treated as Irish expenditure should be entirely closed. Then let us see the nature of the set-off, which the Member for North Dublin handled so well yesterday. Take the present condition of Italy. It was determined, owing to the Triple Alliance, to keep up a certain number of regiments, with the result that every Italian peasant is ground to powder with extraordinary taxation, his bread and meat and salt being taxed, and practically there is no money in the country but paper money. Is it any satisfaction to the Italian peasant to know that at Spezzia or some other great place armaments are being heaped up, and that vessels are being filled with gunpowder and cannon, when he is absolutely rendered penniless by this extraordinary system of taxation? All these war taxes are spent in Italy for guns, ships, and soldiers. But what is the set-off to a man who wants to put salt in his porridge if he knows that some 110-ton guns are being built? Therefore I say that though there is something in a set-off it can never be considered a complete answer to our argument. I might deal with it in this way: Let us suppose that Dublin Castle is filled with rats, and that in consequence you have to find an extraordinary quantity of cat's meat. Would you consider this Castle cat's meat a set-off? No doubt for your own purpose you keep up this system of barracks, prisons, and poor-houses, and then you turn round and say to us, "We spend so much upon our Militia, so much upon our Army, so much upon guns, police, county court judges," and so on throughout the whole of the British form of administration in the

country. What satisfaction is that to us? What satisfaction is it to that person "the man in the street," walking along Merrion Square, to know that there are four or five judges living there receiving £4,000 or £5,000 a year? What satisfaction is it to a man in Phoenix Park to know that there is a Lord Lieutenant there holding a levee who is paid £25,000 per annum, or that there are barracks on all sides at which a limited class of the population, chiefly ladies, find consolation? I think the set-off argument may be fairly pigeon-holed under the title of "the Castle cat's meat." If I were dealing with the question of set-off, I would like to divide it into two heads, reproductive and non-reproductive works. I believe if you had reproductive works set going in Ireland like you have at Woolwich or Chatham, if you had in Ireland shipbuilding yards, I think then you might fairly say, "We will treat the wages as a set-off." But salaries paid to judges as part of the machinery of oppression like policemen and soldiers, or the gunpowder kept for the collection of rent, I decline to reckon as a set-off. The right hon. Gentleman must not assume that we cannot conceive that, in certain circumstances, the question of a set-off might not fairly arise. What we do say is that the items he refers to are not a set-off. May I say one or two other words upon this question? The right hon. Gentleman, in the third part of his argument, asked us not to assume that Ireland must necessarily be taxed for this war. I would not expect any extraction of opinion from him in advance upon that point, but could he lay his hands upon his heart and say that for the last hundred years the Irish fiscal system has been a fair one to our country? I challenge him to get up and declare upon his financial conscience that that is so. He can see that it is a system which has destroyed our mills, exported our millers, levelled our distilleries, stopped our tobacco industry, ruined our weaving and flax growing, and turned the whole country into one vast grazing tract, of which the profits go into the hands of a few grazers, and I challenge him to show that it is a fair system to our country. He says that Ireland is not hit by indirect taxation, but I deny it. I say that every farthing which you exact from the country,

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whether from stamps or whisky, to which we have not given our national assent is robbery, and it is nothing else. The right hon. Gentleman says stamp duties are no injustice to Ireland. Is it no injustice to a man going into the Land court when he has to pay a shilling or ten shillings as an initial proceeding to get justice? Is it no injustice to have to pay a tax upon the formation of a tiny company? Suppose we want to get up a company for the starting of any industry in Ireland, have we not to pay the same rate of taxation as if it were a company for the starting of a gold mine in the Rand? It is the very same tax. Will any man tell me that it is the same thing to put a stamp on the formation of a colliery as to put the same stamp upon the formation of a company to start a little cloth mill in Ireland? Our industries require, to some extent at all events, to be fostered. You do not even let them alone, and I deny, when you come to consider the relative question of taxation, that Ireland should be treated in the same spirit or temper as a country with vast mineral resources. He says: "What is the harm of a tax on whisky?" The right hon. Gentleman asks: "Is anybody in favour of reducing the tax on whisky?" I am in favour of reducing the tax on everything. That is my answer. With regard to this argument I would like to see fewer public-houses in the country, temperance established, and every man a teetotaler. Nobody would more rejoice at that than myself. But I deny, in a miserable country like ours, the proposition that alcohol is necessarily a luxury. I believe tea may sometimes be a greater luxury. Take a man working as a day labourer at 1s. or 1s. 6d. per day. Perhaps he may work in a flannel jacket and get thoroughly soaked, and can spare twopence to have half a glass of whisky. I wish him joy with it, and I deny that that twopence is a portion of his luxury. In a country like that would it not be something if that man was able to buy that for a penny?—[Laughter]—Or might he not buy a red herring or a pound of bread with his spare penny? You may say he would have two glasses, and then the British taxgatherer suddenly becomes a temperance philanthropist. I deny altogether the proposition that British philanthropists and taxgatherers have a right to say, "We will keep the

tax on whisky." Tax beer similarly to whisky, and then we will talk to you. How long does the right hon. Gentleman think he would occupy his honourable office if he taxed beer as he does whisky? The right hon. Gentleman also used this argument with regard to paupers—I never will be a statistician, I can badly add up figures, and I never will set up as an authority on finance—he says, with regard to the argument about paupers used by the hon. Member for West Islington, whose calculations and work on this subject entitle him to the lasting gratitude of our country, that the figures since 1864 were due to outdoor relief. That is a terrible condemnation of the system on which the workhouses were conducted in Ireland, a system under which a man was compelled to leave his wife and family instead of getting sixpence or a shilling on the English system. I do not credit that argument. It is true in recent years, no doubt, there has been some increase in the system of outdoor relief, but I cannot gather, nor will I admit that it is the fact that the increase of pauperism can be attributed to that. What is the answer? Does he consider that lunacy is pauperism? How is it that lunacy has increased in the country? Lunacy to an enormous extent has increased. I have seen calculations showing that if you take the statistics of lunacy in America, they show that lunacy has increased more largely among the farming and agricultural class than in any other class in the United States. "Farming must always be a bare business," was a saying of the late Mr. Biggar. When you have to meet your rent half-yearly or yearly, and the anxieties connected with the farm—whether the weather is good or bad, whether your flocks and herds will bear in a prolific manner, whether the blight will visit your potatoes or not—all tend necessarily to make the business of a farmer in a country with an uncertain climate a more anxious life than almost any other business or occupation. Now nine-tenths of the population of Ireland are farmers, and this extraordinary increase in lunacy, in my judgment, is due to the fact that it has an agricultural population of this kind. Is it fair to tax an agricultural population in the same way as you tax a mining or a textile population? Why not put all your taxes on coal? We have no coal, practically speaking, in Ireland. Would you think that fair?

Would you think it fair to put all your taxes on iron or on cheese? The English eat all the cheese. Would you think it fair if all the staple English industries were picked out and the other industries were left alone? I admit there are enormous difficulties in arriving at a just system of taxation for the English people. I think anybody in the position of the right hon. Gentleman must have anxious nights, even on the question of England alone. What is his burden, then, when he has to do justice between this enormously rich country, on the one hand, and this enormously poor country on the other, who are the two last partners that should ever have been brought together? I venture to think that if the statesmen of the Union had to solve the problem they had to consider one hundred years ago in the light of what has happened, the fiscal union of the two countries would be the last thing they would propose. Why is Ireland taxed when the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands are left out? Do you think you would promote loyalty in the Isle of Man by putting 10s. 6d. on their whisky? What becomes of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's statement when he said—

"I will never be a party to letting the rich man off in Ireland, or giving the poor man his beer and tobacco cheaper in Ireland than in England"?

What is the mystery about the Isle of Man? Why do not they pay? They have a separate Parliament, they have separate wealth, and they are wealthier than we are, and yet they do not pay a single shilling to this Imperial fund. Then, again, Jersey is at your doors. It sends you flowers and new potatoes, and yet it does not pay a single penny. Is not that a sad thing for us to contemplate in the unhappy position in which we are placed. Last of all, look at your great and glorious self-governing colonies. You boast about the splendid contingents they supply for this war, but in 1883 there were New South Wales and Canadian contingents fighting against the Mahdi in Egypt while the Colonial Secretary was still at the Local Government Board. Do your colonies give you a shilling? Not a penny, but you tell us they have given these splendid contingents of men. Do not we give you as good contingents? Why is it the Secretary of State for War will not tell us the proportion of militia regiments from England, Scotland, and Ireland?

Mr. T. M. Healy.

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman is not confining himself to the question of the over-taxation of Ireland.

*MR. T. M. HEALY: I feel the justice of that observation, Mr. Speaker. When we are invited to consider the question of "set-off" I think we are entitled to put the argument of "set-on," and when you think of the enormous assistance our country gives in the way of troops and physical contributions it is a matter that may fairly be set against the fiscal contributions to which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has referred. I entirely share the view of the hon. and learned Member for Waterford when he said that we cannot abstain from pressing this matter to a division. No doubt we have had useful assistance from hon. Gentlemen opposite from Ireland, but, unhappily, Sir, the authors of the Union forgot, when they were giving us one hundred Members for the purpose of advocating the claims of Ireland with regard to taxation and legislation, that they would be divided into two parties, and that one of them would be an Irish party and the other practically an English party. I say that without any intention whatever of reflecting on the patriotism of hon. Gentlemen opposite, but for some reason or other—either the expectation of office or because they are connected with land—they ally themselves with one or other of the great English parties, and therefore to that extent the arm of Ireland in fighting this question is paralysed; but we who have none of these expectations are bound to press the claims of Ireland irrespective of English party considerations; and when we find the British Ministry rejecting our arguments, refusing our demands, and refusing to submit this matter to the arbitration of a competent tribunal, we are bound to press it in a way perhaps more severely than hon. Gentlemen who sit on the other side of the House. These are the considerations we have to put before the House. They are founded on the Treaty of Union itself, and founded on the relative conditions of the two countries, and they may well be deemed worthy of consideration by any fair and impartial tribunal.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 77; Noes, 200. (Division List No. 7.)

AYES.

Abraham, Wm. (Cork, N.E.)
 Allan, Wm. (Gateshead)
 Ambrose, Robert
 Austin, M. (Limerick, W.)
 Blake, Edward
 Bolton, Thomas Dolling
 Caldwell, James
 Clancy, John Joseph
 Commins, Andrew
 Condon, Thomas Joseph
 Crean, Eugene
 Crilly, Daniel
 Curran, Thomas B. (Donegal)
 Daly, James
 Dewar, Arthur
 Doogan, P. C.
 Dunn, Sir William
 Engledew, Charles John
 Evans, S. T. (Glamorgan)
 Farrell, J. P. (Cavan, W.)
 Fenwick, Charles
 Freuch, Peter
 Flavin, Michael Joseph
 Flynn, James Christopher
 Glibney, James
 Griffith, Ellis J.
 Hammond, John (Carlow)

Harrington, Timothy
 Hayden, John Patrick
 Hayne, Rt. Hon. C. Seale-
 Healy, Maurice (Cork)
 Healy, Timothy M. (N. Louth)
 Hemphill, Rt. H. Charles H.
 Hogan, James Francis
 Holland, William Henry
 Jones, W. (Carnarvonshire)
 Jordan, Jeremiah
 Kearley, Hudson E.
 Kilbride, Denis
 Lewis, John Herbert
 Lough, Thomas
 Macaleese, Daniel
 MacDonnell, Dr MA (Queen's C)
 MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
 M'Dermott, Patrick
 M'Ghee, Richard
 M'Leod, John
 Mandeville, J. Francis
 Molloy, Bernard Charles
 Morton, E. J. C. (Devonport)
 Murnaghan, George
 O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
 O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary)
 O'Connor, Arthur (Donegal)

O'Connor, J. (Wicklow, W.)
 O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
 O'Malley, William
 Parnell, John Howard
 Pease, Joseph A. (Northumb.)
 Pinkerton, John
 Power, Patrick Joseph
 Price, Robert John
 Redmond, J. E. (Waterford)
 Redmond, William (Clare)
 Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
 Roche, John (East Galway)
 Samuel J. (Stockton-on-Tees)
 Soames, Arthur Wellesley
 Steadman, William Charles
 Sullivan, Donal (Westmeath)
 Sullivan, T. D. (Donegal, W.)
 Thomas, David A. (Merthyr)
 Tully, Jasper
 Williams, J. Carvell (Notta.)
 Wilson, J. H. (Middlesbrough)
 Woods, Samuel
 Young, Samuel (Cavan, East)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
 Sir Thomas Esmonde and
 Captain Donelan.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir Alex. F.
 Allhusen, Augustus Henry E.
 Allsopp, Hon. George
 Anson, Sir William Reynell
 Archdale, Edward Mervyn
 Arrol, Sir William
 Atkinson, Right Hon. John
 Bailey, James (Walworth)
 Baker, Sir John
 Balcarres, Lord
 Baldwin, Alfred
 Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch.)
 Banbury, Frederick George
 Barlow, John Emmott
 Bartley, George C. T.
 Bathurst, Hn. Allen Benjamin
 Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir M. H. (Bristol)
 Beumrose, Sir Henry Howe
 Bethell, Commander
 Bhownaggee, Sir M. M.
 Bill, Charles
 Blakiston-Houston, John
 Blundell, Colonel Henry
 Bousfield, William Robert
 Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn)
 Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
 Brookfield, A. Montagu
 Butcher, John George
 Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lanes.)
 Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbyshire)
 Cecil, E. (Hertford, E.)
 Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
 Chaloner, Capt. R. G. W.
 Chamberlain, Rt. Hn. J. (Birm.)
 Chamberlain, J. A. (Worc'r)
 Channing, Francis Allston
 Charrington, Spencer
 Clare, Octavius Leigh
 Clough, Walter Owen
 Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
 Colomb, Sir John Chas. Ready

Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
 Cook, Fred. Lucas (Lambeth)
 Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
 Cornwallis, Fienes Stanley W.
 Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
 Cubitt, Hon. Henry
 Currie, Sir Donald
 Curzon, Viscount
 Dalkeith, Earl of
 Dickinson, Robert Edmond
 Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
 Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. Dixon
 Doughty, George
 Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
 Douglas-Pennant, Hon. E. S.
 Duncombe, Hon. Hubert V.
 Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William H.
 Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
 Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
 Fardell, Sir T. George
 Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edward
 Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Man'r)
 Finch, George H.
 Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
 Firbank, Joseph Thomas
 Fisher, William Hayes
 Flannery, Sir Fortescue
 Forster, Henry William
 Fry, Lewis
 Galloway, William Johnson
 Garfit, William
 Giles, Charles Tyrrell
 Goldsworthy, Major-General
 Gordon, Hon. John Edward
 Gorst, Rt. Hn. Sir John Eldon
 Green, Walford D. (Wedn'sbury)
 Greene, Hy. D. (Shrewsbury)
 Greville, Hon. Ronald
 Gunter, Colonel
 Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord Geo.
 Hanbury, Rt. Hon. R. Wm.

Hanson, Sir Reginald
 Hardy, Laurence
 Hare, Thomas Leigh
 Haslett, Sir James Horner
 Heath, James
 Helder, Augustus
 Hoare, E. Brodie (Hampstead)
 Hornby, Sir William Henry
 Horniman, Frederick John
 Houston, R. P.
 Howell, William Tudor
 Howorth, Sir Henry Hoyle
 Hozier, Hon. Jas. Henry Cecil
 Hudson, George Bickersteth
 Hutton, John (York, N. R.)
 Jackson, Rt. Hon. Wm. Lawies
 Johnston, William (Belfast)
 Kenyon-Slaney, Col. William
 Keswick, William
 Kimber, Henry
 Knowles, Lees
 Lafone, Alfred
 Laurie, Lieut.-General
 Lawrence, Sir E. Durning (Corn)
 Lawson, John Grant (York)
 Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cumb'land)
 Llewellyn, Sir Dillwyn (Swan)
 Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
 Loder, Gerald W. E.
 Long, Rt. Hon. W. (Liverpool)
 Lopes, Henry Yarde Buller
 Lorne, Marquess of
 Loyd, Archie Kirkman
 Macartney, W. G. Ellison
 Macdonald, John Cumming
 Maclure, Sir John William
 McArthur, Chas. (Liverpool)
 McCalmont, Col. J. (Antrim, E.)
 McKillop, James
 Martin, Richard Biddulph
 Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.

Ninth Day.

Milbank, Sir Powlett Chas. J.
 Milner, Sir Frederick George
 Milward, Colonel Victor
 Monckton, Edward Philip
 Monk, Charles James
 Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
 More, R. Jasper (Shropshire)
 Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
 Morrell, George Herbert
 Moss, Samuel
 Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
 Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
 Nicholson, William Graham
 Nicol, Donald Ninian
 Norton, Captain Cecil William
 Nussey, Thomas Willans
 O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
 Paulton, James Mellor
 Penn, John
 Phillpotts, Captain Arthur
 Pierpoint, Robert
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick
 Plunkett, R. Hon. Horace C.
 Pretymann, Ernest George
 Provand, Andrew Dryburgh
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
 Purvis, Robert

Pym, C. Guy
 Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
 Rankin, Sir James
 Rentoul, James Alexander
 Richardson, J. (Durham, S.E.)
 Richardson, Sir T. (Hartlepool)
 Rickett, J. Compton
 Ridley, Rt. Hon. Sir Matthew W.
 Ritchie, Rt. Hon. C. Thomson
 Round, James
 Royds, Clemence Molyneux
 Russell, T. W. (Tyrone)
 Ryder, John Herbert Dudley
 Samuel, Harry S. (Limehouse)
 Saunderson, Rt. Hon. Col. E. J.
 Savory, Sir Joseph
 Scoble, Sir Andrew Richard
 Sharpe, William Edward T.
 Shaw-Stewart, M. H. (Renfrew)
 Sidebotham, J. W. (Cheshire)
 Simeon, Sir Barrington
 Sinclair, Louis (Roufford)
 Smith, A. H. (Christchurch)
 Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
 Souttar, Robinson
 Stanley, E. J. (Somerset)
 Stewart, Sir M. J. McTaggart

Strachey, Edward
 Strauss, Arthur
 Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
 Sturt, Hon. Humphry Napier
 Sutherland, Sir Thomas
 Tennant, Harold John
 Thornton, Percy M.
 Tritton, Charles Ernest
 Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
 Warr, Augustus Frederick
 Webster, Sir Richard E.
 Whiteley, H. (Ashton-under-L)
 Whittaker, Thomas Palmer
 Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
 Williams, J. Powell (Birn.)
 Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
 Willox, Sir John Archibald
 Wilson, John (Falkirk)
 Wilson, John (Govan)
 Wodehouse, Rt. Hon. E. R. (Bath)
 Wylie, Alexander
 Wyndham, George
 Young, Commander (Berke, E.)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
 Sir William Walrond and
 Mr. Anstruther.

Main question again proposed.

IRISH LAND ACTS.

MR. DALY (Monaghan, S.): In rising to move the Amendment which stands in my name, I would wish that the duty had fallen on some other member of the Irish party more capable of dealing with it, but the necessity for the Amendment is my apology for occupying the time of the House in considering it. Had it not been for the Tory party, I would not be moving this Amendment now. It was their opposition that prevented the passage of the Home Rule Bill, and prevented the Irish land question, instead of being discussed here, being settled by an Irish Parliament, which would understand it. I regret to say that the land legislation passed in this House for Ireland has left out a great many tenant farmers, and has given them no claim to protection. Had the Home Rule Bill been passed we would not at this time be endeavouring to get our railway companies to acknowledge the demand of the Irish farmer to have his produce properly placed on the English market. We are cut out in every respect by other nations whose railways are subsidised and encouraged by State funds. The Land Bill of 1896 was brought in with a great flourish of trumpets, but from my experience the Act has not fulfilled the expectations

formed of it. It was brought in by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, who, I regret, is not in his place to-night, and he said we might take it or leave it. There was one section in it which it was expected would benefit some of the tenants in Ireland. It was expected that under Section 4 the estates in the Landed Estates Court would pass immediately on satisfactory terms to the tenants. I regret to say that the expectation has not been realised, for the following reason. The Land Commissioners, who are not friendly to the tenants, state the value of the property that the tenants wish to purchase. In several cases they gave the bare value which it would be safe to advance, and when the matter came before the Landed Estates Court the judge said the sum was not sufficient, and unless the tenants were prepared out of their own private means to advance a certain amount in addition to that stated by the Land Commissioners the sale fell through, and the property was allowed to fall into the hands of a grabber. That is a very unsatisfactory state of things. The Act of 1896 barely touched the fringe of the land question in Ireland, and left the vital points untouched. The question of town parks was not dealt with in that Act, although the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury stated the last time the Tory party were in power that there should be a popula-

tion limit of 2,000 to enable tenants to enter the Land Courts. Again, the evicted tenants were not included in the Act of 1896, although during the last Liberal administration a Bill to reinstate these tenants was passed through this House, but the will of the representatives of the people was frustrated by another Chamber. Next, the future tenants were not dealt with in the Act, and altogether there are about 5,000 tenants every year in Ireland who cannot enter the Land Courts. There must be 125,000 souls in Ireland that had no benefit from the Land Act of 1896. It cannot be said that the people of Ireland are very well treated or encouraged when you take into account the fact that the average number of them who leave home for foreign countries every year is 35,000. I submit that if the land laws were as they should be that state of affairs would not have existed owing to the splendid rule of England over Ireland. It is a terrible thing that since 1851 no less than four millions of the best men and women of Ireland have had to seek foreign lands in order to make a living. No person knows better than the Attorney General for Ireland that the effect of a recent speech of the right hon. the Chief Secretary must have been to induce the Land Commissioners not to grant fair rents. There was a case in Armagh where a tenant planted fruit trees at his own expense, hoping that in the course of time they would bring in some revenue; and the chief Land Commissioner increased the rent of that holding. It amounts to this, that whether the land is deteriorated, or whether it is improved, the landlord comes out best in the transaction. I hold that there is only one means of settling this question, and that is by a Land Purchase Bill, and I would respectfully suggest that the Government should take this matter in hand and settle it once and for all. The chief Land Commissioner and the Sub-Commissioners cost the country from £80,000 to £90,000 a year, and the worst of it is that nobody seems to be pleased. In Belfast in December last, out of forty-nine appeal cases considered by the chief Land Commissioner, in twenty-two the rents were raised, twenty-four restored, and only two reduced--of course the farce would not be complete without one or two reductions. On the same day in six cases out of eight from Cory's estate, the rent was raised. In County Down in December

last, out of sixteen cases heard, thirteen were thrown out, and only three confirmed. What is extraordinary is that the chief Land Commissioner never sees the land at all, but decides on the reports submitted to him. Considering the class from which the Land Commissioners are appointed, it is impossible that they should be impartial; and their decisions are not received with any confidence; and under these circumstances the people of Ireland have become despondent. Some appeals have been no less than four years before the Sub-Commissioners, and it was only after a number of questions had been put in the House as to when these appeals were going to be heard, that the Sub-Commissioners sat upon them. Between 1891 and 1897 no fewer than 61,658 appeals have been made, and it is not to be wondered at that every landlord appeals when he sees that the tenant comes worst out of the transaction. The Chief Secretary for Ireland said, in addressing a meeting at Leeds, after the passing of the Land Act in 1896, what a great blessing that Act had been, and that the tenant farmers were purchasing their holdings to the tune of two millions a year. Now, it would take from eighty to a hundred millions to buy out the landlords of Ireland, and at the rate mentioned by the Chief Secretary it could not be done under forty or fifty years, while in the meantime four millions would have been spent in salaries of land commissioners alone. It would be far better if a Land Purchase Bill were passed, and the question settled once for all.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): In rising to second the Amendment which has been proposed by my hon. friend the Member for South Monaghan, I may perhaps be allowed to say that I think in this debate the Irish Members labour under some disadvantage in not having the presence of the Chief Secretary in his place; and in saying that I would like to say that we regret very much the absence of the right hon. Gentleman and the serious illness to which it is due, the news of which has caused serious pain in the House. We differ from the right hon. Gentleman on several topics, and sometimes come into sharp collision with him, but in a case of serious illness such as this no one, I think, is more ready to express sympathy with his opponent than are the

gentlemen who sit on these benches. My object in rising to second this Amendment is not because I have any special knowledge which would justify me in intervening in this debate, but to give expression to sentiments which I know are entertained almost throughout the land of Ireland. I represent a large portion of Clare, where the bulk of the people make their living out of the land, and as Member for such a district it is not out of place that I should second this Amendment. The real and true solution of the Irish question is not to be found in any Land Acts in force at the present time, but in an occupying owner or peasant proprietor. Whatever other subjects have disappeared periodically the Irish land question has always been a source of contention and a subject of discussion in this House. I have been here myself for something like seventeen years, and I never remember a single session during the whole of that time when the Irish land question did not crop up in the debates of this House, and did not occupy a considerable time. The same question has occupied the attention of Parliament and successive Administrations ever since 1860, when the Irish Land Act was introduced. Down to the present the Irish land question has been a subject upon which Bill after Bill has been introduced in this House, and yet at the present time, in spite of all these enactments, there is unrest and agitation in Ireland, and dissatisfaction at the condition in which the land question remains. I have often heard in this House that the land question is settled. We were told it was settled in 1867, and again in 1881, and again in 1887, and we were told as shortly ago as 1896 that the Act of that year put the finishing touch on all the Acts that had gone before. In spite of all these additions, much remains to be done in regard to the Irish land question, and the people have many legitimate reasons for complaint. In dealing with this subject of land purchase it is significant to observe that, although the land agitation of the past has not always received support from hon. Gentlemen's constituents in Ireland, the system of compulsory land purchase receives no more enthusiastic support than it does in Ulster, and that in itself should commend this matter to the Government, and urge them to take it into serious consideration. The Irish, we

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are told, have been the spoiled darlings of Parliament. We have been told that no people have received such privileges as those given by the Irish Land Acts. The efficiency of the Land Acts depends upon one thing, and that is whether they are administered impartially and fairly as between landlord and tenant. I am not going to make any sweeping charge of partiality against the agents who administer the Land Acts in Ireland, but this much I do say—that the operation of the Land Acts in Ireland is such that it cannot and could not command the confidence of the tenant. Many of the Land Commissioners are gentlemen who no doubt intended to act as gentlemen, but it must be remembered that they have been drawn almost exclusively from the landlord class, or from that portion of the population which sympathises with the landlord class, and therefore they cannot be expected to mete out impartial justice between landlords and tenants; but whether they have attempted to do so or not, the fact remains that they do not retain the confidence of the large body of tenants who appeal to them, and that in itself is sufficient to cause unrest in the country, and to compel this question to be brought periodically before the House. Mr. Speaker, the system whereby rents are periodically fixed and refixed, cannot, in my opinion, be satisfactorily settled or taken as a permanent incentive to real industry. There is nothing in it to make the occupiers of the soil really interested. I have noticed myself at different times where rents have come up to be refixed, the rents, instead of being lowered or instead of being confirmed, have actually been raised.

THE SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. T. W. RUSSELL, Tyrone, S.): The rents that have been raised are the rents fixed by the Sub-Commissioners in the second period. These have sometimes been raised on appeal.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: At all events they have been raised. What we want in Ireland is a system which exists with very beneficial results in very many Continental countries, and that is that the occupiers of the land, the tillers of the soil, shall be in reality the owners of the land upon

which they live. Thus placed they will be encouraged to renewed industry in the knowledge that the more work they put into the land the more benefit will they get for themselves and their families. Now, Sir, the question of compulsory sale is no doubt a very difficult question. It involves the expenditure of a large amount of capital; but that it is not an altogether impossible question, and not a question which has failed altogether to enlist the sympathy and interest even of English statesmen, is to be found in the fact that Mr. Gladstone himself, concurrently with his Home Rule proposal, formulated a scheme of peasant proprietary in Ireland. That scheme failed, and no doubt surprised people in this country; and a very strong protest was made against the embarkation of English capital to buy out the Irish landlord. The system which has grown up and been so disastrous in Ireland for so many generations is that which is the outcome of the government of Ireland by this country. It is the outcome of a system of confiscation practised century upon century by successive Governments in Ireland. We are told that the Irish occupiers of the soil are not to be trusted; and it may be urged that to embark an amount of British capital in reorganisation of the land system in Ireland would be to risk the loss of a large sum of money. But we can only reason by results. Under Lord Ashbourne's Act down to the present time, as far as I can gather from the figures, between 40,000 and 50,000 tenants in Ireland have, with the assistance of the State, bought under this purchase Act, and become practically the purchasers of their own land. The result has been most surprising to many doubting Englishmen. These 40,000 or 50,000 tenants have met their engagements in the most punctual way, and not the slightest complaint has been made of their defaulting or failing to keep their engagements in regard to the repayment of the instalments advanced, while the change in their condition from tenants to owners has been attended with the best results to themselves and to the districts in which they lived. That being the result, so far, of the attempts made to create a peasant proprietary in Ireland, is it unreasonable to ask that the system should be extended? We are told that there is great difficulty in fixing

the amount of the purchase-money. That is not the real difficulty. I don't believe that where a landlord is willing to sell and the tenant is willing to buy, the question of the amount to be paid is allowed to break down the negotiations. There have been difficulties and delays, but in most cases there has been a settlement of the price and the conditions. What, then, is the difficulty in extending the system of peasant proprietary, which so far has been a success? The real difficulty is what I must call the obstinate determination of certain landlords in Ireland not to meet the wishes of their tenants in this respect; and therefore it is that in the recognition in Ireland and in the constituency of the hon. Member for South Tyrone—as well as in the Unionist portions of Ulster more than anywhere else—of the system of peasant proprietary, it is absolutely necessary, to give it a fair chance, to exercise a certain amount of compulsion towards these unreasonable landlords. I think if we all live long enough we shall see the time when this Act will be unnecessary. Slowly and surely the idea is gaining ground amongst landlords in Ireland that it would be more satisfactory for themselves, and more beneficial to their tenants, to accept a fair price for their land. I can understand the feeling of certain landlords who say "Well, this land has belonged to my father and my grandfather, and these acres have been in the family for generations." I confess to a certain amount of respect for sentiment of that kind; but sentiment of that sort in the nineteenth or twentieth century must give way to the interests of the general community, and in obedience to public opinion. Take the case of the landlord with a large number of tenants. He may be an obstinate landlord. The result is friction and agitation and disputes as to the amount of rent to be paid, and the consequent expense of going to the land courts. Would it not be very much better for the landlord to receive in hard cash the equivalent for his land? Would it not be very much better for the tenants in that district to become their own landlords, so that every additional turn they gave to the plough would mean more money, not for the landlord, but for themselves? How is this worked abroad? It is a pleasure to travel in France and Belgium, and to see the thrift and industry

which the occupiers of the soil put into their work; it is a marked contrast to visit Ireland and see the signs of discontent and unrest in the tenants, who know not whether their rents may be raised or what may happen to them. The paramount feeling in the breasts of the Irish people is that the land question is a deep-rooted grievance. Let this be remedied and that discontent will pass away. I believe that in this lies the solution of the Irish problem. We have had Act after Act passed, and legal machinery of the most complicated kind devised to meet the case, while vast sums of money have been expended on litigation in Ireland, and yet the land question remains unsettled. This proves that dual ownership cannot settle it; and if you want to finally allay the spirit of agrarian agitation you will have to break up the dual ownership and give the people the absolute possession of their own farms. The late Mr. Parnell thought the solution of the Irish land question was to be found in the establishment of a peasant proprietary. That view has been consistently held by all prominent Irish politicians down to the present day. It is a view which has been gaining and gathering support day by day and year by year, until now it is not merely the representatives of the Nationalist party in Ireland, but those of the Unionist and Orange parties in the province of Ulster, who urge Parliament to take it up. I am really tired of week after week and month after month receiving complaints and letters and remonstrances on the subject from every part of my large agricultural constituency. First of all, their cases have been listed for so many months, and in some instances almost for years, and they have not come up for hearing. Then they bitterly complain that the Commissioners sent down to value the land have been men who, from their antecedents, surroundings, and associations, they could not believe would do them justice and fair play. These reasons for discontent, whether well founded or not, come to every Irish Nationalist Member, and the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite will be the last to deny that there has been a great deal of blocking and regrettable delay in connection with the matter. Whether the complaints of the *personnel* of the Commissioners and of delay are right or wrong, there can be no doubt that from one cause or another the people are unrestful and discontented, and there

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is a general feeling of uncertainty and irritation connected with the present Land Court and everything appertaining to it. For that reason we are entitled to come here and ask the Government to cut this knot once and for ever, to do away with these irritating legal complications, to give the landlords whatever in the sight of Heaven is their due, and at the same time to establish the people on the soil and make them owners of their land. That is the first reason which impels us to bring this matter forward. The second reason is that we are entitled to demand that the people of this country shall make some serious effort to give rest and peace to our people. We are sometimes described as being mere agitators, as men who thrive on discontent, and as being never happier than when voicing grievances in this House. I do not believe that hon. Gentlemen opposite sincerely believe that. It is a matter of the utmost displeasure to us personally to have to come here year after year and voice the eternal complaints of our agricultural constituents. It would be a source of infinite satisfaction and rest to us if a solution of this question was come to which would free us from the unpleasant position of always seeming to complain. It is an irksome duty, but we are entitled to ask that the Government and the people of this country shall do something to restore peace and harmony to Ireland, which were driven from our shores when the present land system was first established. I do not for a moment say that the relations between landlord and tenant must necessarily be unpleasant and strained because the landlords are mostly of one race and of one religion, while the tenants are of another. We do not, and I hope never shall, pay any attention to religion or race with regard to the landlords as long as they behave fairly. But this I do say, that it is proved in other countries, and in other times, that where the dense mass of the tillers of the soil are of one race and of one religion, and the owners of the soil, to whom they are obliged to pay tribute, are of another, the result is unsatisfactory and unpleasant for both parties. I say that, in common fairness and justice, you are bound to take some pains to remedy the result of your own misgovernment, and to give the people of Ireland a system of secure land tenure. The expenditure of British credit would

not be accompanied by any risk whatever. If you do this thing for the tenant farmers of Ireland they will keep their share of the bond honestly and fairly, and not a single shilling would be lost to this country. On the other hand, you would give peace and contentment to the agricultural population, you would relieve the landlords from an awkward and unpleasant position, and before many years you would see the people of Ireland—naturally still devoted to the national cause, but increasing in thrift and industry, growing prosperous and well-to-do, simply because they would be the owners of their land, and upon themselves, not upon the caprice of a Land Commission or the generosity of a landlord, would depend whether they lived in comfort and happiness with their families on the soil, or whether they missed their opportunities and went back to the system under which they have lived, unfortunately, in the past.

Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the Question to add the words, 'But we humbly represent to Your Majesty that the administration of the Irish Land Acts is not satisfactory to any class of Your Majesty's Irish subjects, and that the only and permanent solution of the Irish Land question must be found in a measure providing for the general and immediate creation of an occupying proprietary in that country.'"—(*Mr. Daly.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.): In the first place, I desire to join with the hon. Member for East Clare in expressing my deep and sincere regret that the Chief Secretary for Ireland is unable to be in his place to-night, and I am sure the House will be glad to hear there is every hope that his absence will be but temporary. I do not intend to travel over the vast field traversed by the hon. Member for East Clare. The Amendment, as I understand it, although it does not expressly say so, means that at once and immediately a system of peasant occupying proprietary should be created by compulsory powers. I am not concerned to defend the Land Act of 1881. The mover of the Amendment said that that Act was looked upon as unsatisfactory by all sides; but, lest that assertion might make any special reflection on

that Act, he expressed his belief that any Act that had ever been, could ever be, or would ever be introduced dealing with the same subject would not give satisfaction. I am very much inclined to agree in that opinion. But those who have formed that opinion, and feel that it is almost impossible to construct a statute which will enable you to set up a satisfactory system for the purpose of compulsory valuation of rents, ought to hesitate a little before they see their way to set up a compulsory system of sale and purchase when the amount of purchase money must be settled by the very same agency which when applied to the settlement of rents is said to give no satisfaction whatever. If you cannot secure gentlemen sufficiently free from bias towards either landlord or tenant to be safely trusted to say what the rent of a particular farm should be, I do not know the process by which in the same country, dealing with the same classes, and having the same materials, you will be able to select gentlemen who will give satisfaction in settling the price of sale. It is not necessary for the purposes of this Amendment to enter into a defence of the Land Act of 1881, but it is only just and right that some misapprehensions and mistakes into which hon. Members have apparently fallen should be dealt with. The Land Act of 1881 at all events sought to gain four great objects—first, to prevent rack-renting; secondly, to prevent capricious evictions; thirdly, to secure to the tenant his interest and improvements; and, fourthly, to secure free sale. All that the Land Act of 1886 purported to do was—not to offer a panacea for all the errors and mistakes in the Irish land system, but merely to extend the provisions of the Act of 1881 to persons who were within its spirit, but without its letter, to take further steps for securing to tenants the benefit of their improvements, and to facilitate purchase. The mover of the Amendment expressed his dissatisfaction with the operation of Section 40 of the Act of 1896. He apparently expected that that section would have the effect of transferring vast tracts of land from landlord to tenant. I do not know whence the hon. Member got the notion that the section had failed, because it has been but a short time in operation, owing to a difference of view between those charged with its adminis-

tration. Those differences have been settled by the Court of Appeal, and since the removal of all impediments, 802 tenant proprietaries have been created, and almost a quarter of a million of money advanced.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: What is the amount of the rental?

MR. ATKINSON: I do not know the exact rental. Objection was also taken to the statement of my right hon. friend in reference to the duties of the Commissioners when dealing with cases of wilful deterioration. The hon. Member seemed to anticipate that that statement would act as an instigation to the Commissioners to refuse to fix fair rents where there was deterioration. If the words of my right hon. friend arouse Sub-Commissioners to a sense of their duty to refuse to fix fair rents where they find there is wilful deterioration, can any friend of honest and fair dealing between landlord and tenant, and between man and man, but rejoice at that? There can be no greater piece of dishonesty practised by any man against his neighbour, or any person with whom he has relations, commercial or otherwise, than deliberately to deteriorate his land for the purpose of getting a lower rent fixed. It is a mean fraud, and while I am happy to think that it very seldom occurs, it is the imperative duty of every tribunal before which such cases come to endeavour to defeat the object of such a practice. The hon. Member in reference to the Appeal Court appeared to think that that court must necessarily be corrupt or inefficient unless its decisions were always on one side.

MR. PINKERTON (Galway): They always are.

MR. ATKINSON: If the Appeal Court either confirms the order of the Sub-Commissioner or decreases the rent it is satisfactory and proper, but the moment it increases the rent as fixed by the Sub-Commissioner it shows that it is either inefficient or corrupt. That is not my opinion. There never was an Appeal Court which always agreed with the Court from which the appeal came. I do not see what the use of such an Appeal Court

Mr Atkinson.

would be. The variation of a great many decisions may be accounted for neither by the corruption nor by the inefficiency of the Appeal Court, but by a greater amount of evidence being given and a more satisfactory investigation being made. Landlords, from a very mistaken view of their own interests, I think, very often do not lay their case as fully before the inferior tribunal as before the Court of Appeal. That accounts for many instances in which appeals have been made. It was also objected that the members of the Appeal Court do not go to the lands to view. That is quite true, but the hon. Member is entirely mistaken in supposing that they necessarily and always decide upon the report of their own Court valuer. They have the reports of the valuers of the parties; they have the report of the Commissioners who did value the land. With those reports, as corrected by the evidence given before them, and supplemented by the report of the Court valuer, it would appear to me that unless there is something more difficult than usual in fixing the value of land they have the materials before them on which they should be able to arrive at a correct conclusion. In reference to the speech of the hon. Member for East Clare, he has entirely misapprehended the observations of my hon. friend. On the whole, the reductions which have been made amount to close upon 40 per cent. on an average. The first reductions were 20·9 per cent., and the second reductions amount to almost the same. The rents which have been reduced have in no case been increased. On the contrary, they have almost invariably been reduced, the average reduction being about 20 per cent. What has occurred is that where the Sub-Commissioners reduced the rent, on appeal the order made by the Sub-Commissioners as to the amount of rent has been raised. [AN HON. MEMBER: What about putting an increased rent on tenants' improvements?] I am sorry I did not know the hon. Member expected me to be so very fully informed on a given case as to give an answer to that question. All I can say is that both in the Act of 1881 and the Act of 1896 ample provision is made to protect tenants' improvements. Clause 8, Sub-clause 9, as the hon. Member knows, specially enacts that rent is not to be put on tenants' improvements, and if that course has been departed from

the Act has not been attended to. I have not sufficient cognisance of the case mentioned to know whether that is the case or not. I can hardly believe that if the case came within the section to which I have referred the Commissioner would have disregarded the provision of these different Acts. I pass from these matters to the broad question introduced by the Amendment, namely, the propriety of setting up at once and immediately a system of compulsory purchase and sale. Attention has not been directed to the vast and almost insurmountable difficulties that present themselves in carrying out any such scheme. In the first place, no such scheme would be at all justifiable unless an overwhelming necessity required it. Even if it were desirable to adopt such a course it should be perfectly clear that it was practicable. First of all, is it necessary? ["Yes!"] Before you come to that conclusion it would be interesting for me to give to the House some few statistics in reference to the rate at which purchase is at present progressing. After all, the creation of a peasant proprietary is almost the favourite remedy of the Unionist party for the solution of the agrarian question in Ireland. Under the Ashbourne Acts, 1885 and 1888, £9,999,640 has been advanced to purchase 25,368 holdings. Under the Acts of 1891 and 1896, sales have been made to 25,100 tenants, and £7,947,580 has been advanced. In all, under those four Acts, 50,468 peasant proprietors have been created, and the sums advanced amount to £17,940,220, or practically £18,000,000. Even that is not the most satisfactory feature, because the rate of progress indicates clearly that still greater increases may be confidently looked for in the future. Contrasting the years 1897-98 with the two previous years, we find that £2,201,223 was advanced as against £1,200,000, while in the year concluded on 31st December, 1899, the enormous sum of £1,775,295, or practically £2,000,000, was advanced. Therefore the rate of progress has been such that the amount of money advanced in the one year 1899 was almost as large as in the two years 1897-98, and almost twice as large as in the two years 1895-96. There is no reason to apprehend that the amount of money available is not sufficient, by slow and steady progress, to create a large number of peasant proprietors.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: Might I ask the right hon. Gentleman if he can give us any information as to how the instalments have been paid?

MR. ATKINSON: I do not know the exact amount of money, but I think it is admitted that the purchasers under these Acts have discharged their obligations in a praiseworthy manner. I think we ought to remember that possibly the reason—and the principal reason—why they are punctual in their payments is because compulsory sale is not established. No person buys who does not wish to buy, and no person sells who does not wish to sell; and consequently we get willing purchasers who pay punctually and satisfactorily the sums they are bound to pay. I do not think hon. Members opposite have considered some of the enormous practical difficulties which stand in the way of carrying out the proposal contained in this Amendment, even if necessity called for it being put into operation. First of all this scheme of compulsory purchase—sale would be more accurate—must be reciprocal. If the tenant compels the landlord to sell, it should be possible for the landlord to compel him to buy. If it were otherwise, two or three tenants in the middle of a man's estate might come into court and compel the landlord to sell to them their holdings, leaving the balance of the estate absolutely and almost entirely worthless, and inflicting a very considerable injury upon him. We all know in the case of compulsory sales under the Lands Clauses Act and all Acts of that character, sums far in excess of the actual purchase money of the land taken have been awarded to owners for consequential injury done to the surrounding lands, although such lands still remain in the hands of the owner. So that it would be manifestly unjust if such a principle were put into operation, and it would be unjust not to make it apply to both landlord and tenant respectively. I do not know how the tenants of Ireland would regard any proposition to compel them to buy when they did not want to buy; and even if they did regard it as satisfactory I do not know where you would get the material from to construct a tribunal that would award the sum to be paid to the satisfaction of all parties. One of the hon. Members who have spoken to-night has urged that the Sub-Commissioners are unsatisfactory, and that

they belong to one particular class of the community. All I can say is that the very utmost care is taken to select men who will discharge their duties satisfactorily. I must confess that there are a number of men in Ireland who are most careless and reckless about the statements they make. I think, however, we can look with confidence to the creation of an adequate system, by the free will, co-operation, and agreement of all parties. This has worked well up to the present and will work well in the future, because it is not forced upon them and they get only what they desire, and I believe this system will enable a vast number of tenants of Ireland to become the owners of their holdings. On the other hand, I submit that a principle so novel and so wide as that indicated in the Amendment cannot be adopted. It would inflict the most cruel injury and suffering on vast numbers of proprietors. I cannot on behalf of the Government hold out any encouragement in regard to the adoption of the principles which have been advocated by hon. Gentlemen opposite.

*MR. PINKERTON : After listening to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman I came to the conclusion that it was most regrettable, considering all the changes that have been made, that the right hon. Gentleman had not been elevated to the judicial Bench, as the speech we have just listened to gave evidence of most impartial judicial balancing. I must say that while I deeply regret the absence of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, I am not sorry that it has given an opportunity to the right hon. Gentleman, who has, in reply, made the most half-hearted apology I have ever heard. We know already that a sum of money sufficient to buy out all the landlords in Ireland has been sunk in the Modder River. We know that every shell fired in South Africa will delay a settlement of this question, and, therefore, it is all important that this subject should be settled as soon as possible. We are nearing the time when we must face our constituencies, and the right hon. Gentleman, if he was not returned as an advocate of compulsory sale, at least was elected as a very strong friend of it. I am glad to see the hon. and learned Member who represents East Down and other Unionist Members in their places. With one solitary exception, in all their election addresses they place the question

of compulsory sale in the front. I can understand the delicate distinction between compulsory sale and compulsory purchase which has been drawn by the right hon. Gentleman, but why did he not draw that distinction before he was elected? We have brought Amendment after Amendment from this side of the House, and it has been pretty generally agreed that landlords should be compelled to sell when the tenants are willing to buy. The right hon. Gentleman said the Act of 1881 was intended to secure occupation and the right of free sale, but he cannot sit upon that bench ignorant of the fact that the right of free sale has been absolutely ruined. I can quote evidence to show that the right of free sale has been destroyed because the landlord claims the right of pre-emption unless the tenant is willing to add an additional sum to the annual rent, and in almost every case throughout the north of Ireland where the tenant cannot clearly prove to the satisfaction of the Land Commission that it is an Ulster Custom estate the landlord prevents the right of free sale. The hon. and learned Gentleman said if we object to the machinery for fixing fair rents how can we hope to have a satisfactory settlement of the question of compulsory sale? I am prepared to say, without fear of contradiction, that upon a close examination it will be found that Head Commissioners represent one class, and one class alone. The only gentleman belonging to the Head Commissioners who is suspected of sympathising with the tenants is Mr. O'Brien, and if he is allowed to adjudicate in any case his decision is always overpowered by the majority of his colleagues. The right hon. Gentleman has alluded to a number of cases which have been satisfactorily settled under the 40th section. I know the Act is working more smoothly now than it did some time ago, when there was a considerable amount of friction. The right hon. Gentleman very fairly said that the landlords refused to come before the court of Sub-Commissioner and give their evidence because they preferred to reserve their evidence for a higher court. I think without any Act of Parliament, or without any attempt to introduce a drastic remedy, the power rests with the Government to prevent such evidence being given before a superior court. In every case neither landlord nor tenant should be allowed to amend their

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case, and the evidence they have refused to tender in the first instance should not be allowed to be given in a superior court. Since the Local Government Act was passed, when the Agricultural Grant was dangled before our eyes, the landlords have all pocketed their share, but the tenants of Ireland have not benefited by one single farthing. No doubt if you try to carry a compulsory purchase measure it will be argued that you must give a certain bonus to the landlords. As I have pointed out already, in the shape of the Agricultural Grant, the landlords have received a bonus which I do not think, in many cases, they deserved. With regard to the appointment of Sub-Commissioners, I would ask hon. Members opposite, why should Home Rulers not have their feelings considered in this matter as well as Unionists? Can they not discharge those duties just as well as the followers of the hon. Member for South Belfast? I do not claim that they should be elected from the political party to which I belong, but as it is purely and simply a court of arbitration, I say those Commissioners should be appointed who will command the respect of all the classes interested in this question. We have been trying year after year and session after session to have the Head Commissioners strengthened in such a way as to inspire a certain amount of confidence on the part of the tenants. The right hon. Gentleman said no one ever expected that the Court of Appeal would agree absolutely and entirely with the lower court, but I noticed the other day that in the list of cases in the Appeal Court nine-tenths or at least four-fifths of them were increased, and only a very small number—about 5 per cent.—were reduced. That is undoubtedly using the machinery and the powers put into the hands of those Commissioners not to administer justice, but for the purpose of making the Land Acts palatable to the landlord class. It seems to me most remarkable that the Head Commissioners—who have no opportunity of visiting the land—should act upon the decision of the Court valuers, who have simply taken a superficial view of the land in question, and who have had no opportunity of hearing the evidence given before the Sub-Commissioners. The Sub-Commissioners have not only the advantage of visiting the land, but they have an opportunity of corroborating or refuting other state-

ments made in the lower Court. The Sub-Commissioners, by examination, see clearly, and they have ocular demonstration of the truth of the evidence given in Court and of sifting the evidence, and their opinion is better than the Court valuer who is sent out to examine the holding, and who has never heard the evidence. I can say, for my part, that no stronger argument can be advanced in favour of the abolition of the superior Court than that which has been put forward by the right hon. Gentleman the Attorney General, and I think they may very well ask to be delivered from their friends. There is another point, and I sympathise immensely with the landlords who are in that position. All these Acts of Parliament were unjustly framed, because no notice was taken of the mortgagee. It is very hard, for instance, for a man whose rents amount, say, to £5,000, £4,000 of which goes in payments on mortgages and other charges, that the reduction should all fall on the remaining £1,000. That leaves a man in a very unfortunate position, and I think every Act of Parliament introduced into this House should be framed in such a manner that the mortgagee would have to bear a fair share of the reduction. I do not know why a mortgagee who has advanced money on land should be treated differently to a man who has invested in a railway. At the same time it is also very hard that a stumbling block should be put in the way of land purchase in Ireland by the fact that so much of the land is subject to mortgages. It is, unfortunately, a very difficult position for the Irish landlords, but all the same it is a fact that the tenants, who are not responsible for these debts, have to pay the penalty. I can assure English taxpayers that for every penny of British money invested in Irish land, you are certain to be paid your full price. It is a good investment, better than throwing away your money to steal goldfields in South Africa.

MR. WILLIAM MOORE (Antrim, N.): I should like to state that the primary object with which I was sent to this House was that of supporting Her Majesty's Government in the policy which they are carrying out. Therefore, as the passing of this Amendment would not lead to legislation and would practically amount to a vote of censure on the

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Government, I shall vote against it, although I agree with a great deal that has been said on this subject by hon. Members opposite. The question of the ultimate settlement of the Irish land question is one which is a very burning question, and one which has come to the front very much during the last few years. It has been said that many Irish Members sitting on this side of the House pledged themselves at the last election in favour of a final settlement of the Irish Land question more or less upon the lines indicated in this Amendment—that is, a compulsory scheme of purchase on fair terms. The hon. Member for Galway has informed the House that I was similarly pledged. It is beyond all doubt, as the hon. Member for East Clare has stated, that in the North of Ireland this is a very burning question, and one on which we are anxious that the House should know our opinions. As far as the work of the Commission is concerned I should like to say that there are a good deal of complaints on all sides about the working of the Land Commission. It has been urged by hon. Members opposite that it is packed by the landlord class, but in practice I have never found that to be the case. At present I am not aware that there are any landlord nominees on the Land Commission. I only know two Commissioners, and one of them is a cousin of the hon. Member for Galway. Regarding the manner in which the work is carried on, speaking as a neutral, I think that both tenants and landlords equally mistrust the members of the Land Commission, but I am bound to add that, taking the Commissioners all round, the Government could not have made a better selection or found better men for the work. When you have a tribunal to decide vexed questions in which so many pecuniary interests are involved, the members of that tribunal, unless they are paid salaries which render them above suspicion, will always have these charges made against them. Then there is another objection—I can see how it could be remedied, but other people may not take the same view—and that is the trouble and bother of this perpetual litigation. If the landlords and tenants of Ireland would only consent to an automatic revision of rents, that would be a great help. But the present position is that at the end of every fifteen years it is

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open to either the landlord or tenant to have a new rent fixed by the courts. That leads to unrest and litigation, and is very undesirable, for reasons which will appear to every hon. Member. I cannot agree at all with the attacks made on the Appeal Court or the Land Commission. With reference to the Sub-Commissioners sitting in the country, it is an objection of which I have a certain amount of experience, that although the Sub-Commissioners are supposed to take evidence in court and on oath in the presence of the legal representatives of the parties, they are too often in the habit of going on the lands and picking up evidence themselves.

MR. PINKERTON: Is the hon. and learned Member aware that the landlord or his agent always accompanies the Sub-Commissioners?

MR. WILLIAM MOORE: In any event the practice cannot fail to operate on the minds of the Sub-Commissioners. They then fix a rent which I venture to say is in nearly every case from 45 to 50 per cent. less than the rent in 1881. In some cases the landlord settles with the vast majority of his tenants. I know one case where a landlord settled with all his tenants except one on the basis of 22 per cent. below the first term rent. This tenant went into court and got a reduction of 46 per cent. If the landlord submitted to that reduction every other one of his tenants would think he had sold them, and accordingly he appealed, and the reduction was decreased to 22 per cent., and the other tenants were satisfied. You could not blame the landlord for having appealed in a case of that kind. I would wish, however, that some means could be devised whereby the vexation and cost of the present delays connected with appeals could be avoided. I should now like to say a few words with reference to compulsory sale. I am bound to say that I view with the greatest suspicion the suggestions of hon. Gentlemen opposite when it is proposed to expropriate the Irish landlords. The hon. Member for East Clare went into questions of religion and politics, which seem to me to have no application in land cases at all. When hon. Gentlemen declare that their whole aim is to drive the landlords, who are described as the English garrison, out

of Ireland, and to give them only prairie value for their land— [Several HON. MEMBERS: Oh, oh!] This is the first time I have ever heard that repudiated. If hon. Gentlemen are prepared to treat the matter on business lines I am prepared to meet them. Before the Act of 1870 the Irish landlords were the absolute owners of their land, subject to the tenancies which existed under them. In 1870 the system was introduced which has landed us in all our present difficulties. It may have been right or wrong—I am not quarrelling with it, because it is not in my power nor in the power of any hon. Member to repeal that Act. It was supposed to compose all differences; it made the tenant part owner with the landlord, and created the principle of dual ownership, and although the landlord could still turn the tenant out he could only do it by paying him a fixed scale of compensation. The principle of dual ownership was still further recognised by the Act of 1881, which, instead of leaving the parties as it found them, restricted the rights of the landlords in different ways. The tenant could not be evicted if he paid the fair rent fixed by the courts, and he secured the right of selling his interest in his holding. Prior to the Act of 1881 the landlord and tenant might be described as half-owners, but after that Act the landlord had only something between a fourth and a third of the interest, and the tenant had the balance. Whenever two interests exist in that proportion they are always in conflict, and as long as that conflict continues there will be no peace in Ireland, and therefore it is the duty of every statesman to endeavour to end such a state of affairs. It seems to me the only end that can be effective is to buy out the landlords on fair and equitable terms. The landlord, being the weaker partner, will have to go. I say that with regret, but you cannot deny the trend of public opinion, and therefore the only choice of the unfortunate landlord is between confiscation and compensation, and in the interests of all parties and in the interests of the landlords themselves the sooner they get compensation the better. The Attorney General for Ireland referred to the Purchase Act of 1885. Long-headed men in Ireland when that Act was passed sold their properties and got twenty years purchase on first-term rents, but if they

were about to sell now they would be very lucky if they got eighteen or nineteen years purchase on second-term rents. Land is a falling market, and it is to the interest of the landlords to sell as soon as they can. I know I shall be told by my hon. friends on this side of the House that in advocating compulsory sale I am doing something far from Conservative doctrine. In Ireland we have not had very much Conservative doctrine from our brother English Conservatives, and although it may be said it is against the principles of Conservatism to take a man's property against his will, the Irish landlords have been suffering for the last twenty years. The Liberal Government first of all in 1881 put it into the power of a tribunal to take 25 per cent. off the landlords' rents for fifteen years without one particle of compensation. In 1887 the Conservative Government said, "The Liberals have made a reduction of 25 per cent. on ordinary rents, but we will strike 25 per cent. off the leasehold rents without any compensation whatever." It therefore seems to me that no objection can be made by English Conservatives when it is proposed to buy out the landlords compulsorily on fair terms. In the middle of the last century the Scotch lairds had certain rights which were found to be inconsistent with English law, and the English Government compelled them to give them up, but compensated them. In the early part of the present century slavery was considered to be a national disgrace, and Parliament accordingly compelled the English slave-owners in the West Indies to free their slaves, but secured them compensation. It seems to me that in buying out the Irish landlords at a fair price Parliament would be only following the policy which has been pursued for a century. If the landlords are to go, let them go without being robbed or despoiled. A great many difficulties have been suggested by hon. Gentlemen, and also by the Attorney General for Ireland; in the way of carrying this out. The very success of your Acts of Parliament providing for voluntary sale is one of the best reasons for compulsory sale. I know a property which was owned by an English absentee landlord. He sold it to his tenants with the result that they, who will be the purchasing proprietors, are year by year paying a less sum by way of instalments

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of the purchase money to the Government, than the tenants around them whose landlords have not sold; and the more voluntary sales there are, the more general will be the discontent. At the same time I think it would be exceedingly hard to compel the landlords to sell without fully compensating them. Take a landlord getting £1,000 a year out of his estate. He gets £18,000 for his interest, and that amount at 3 per cent. or $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. is not an equivalent for £1,000 a year. He cannot get any more for his interest, and by one stroke of the pen his income is diminished. How can such a man be expected to submit to a reduction which would render it impossible for him to live as he had been living? You will find it exceedingly hard to persuade the Irish tenants to give more than eighteen or nineteen years purchase, and it will be equally hard to get the landlords to accept eighteen or nineteen years purchase on second term rents. You cannot charge the tenant more than a fair price, and the Government should step in, as it compensated the Scotch lairds and the West Indian slave owners, and make up the difference. These are the views held by my constituents—as loyal as any in the United Kingdom—and by the vast majority of the Unionists in the surrounding constituencies. It is a policy to which I and other Unionist Members are pledged, and whoever gets in for Mid-Armagh is pledged to the same thing. We are all agreed that the sooner the question is settled the better, and as far as I am concerned my desire is to have it settled on terms fair to both landlords and tenants.

*SERJEANT HEMPHILL (Tyrone, N.): One observation fell from the right hon. Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland which all the House fully received with pleasure, namely, his statement that the absence of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary would be only temporary. That announcement gave great satisfaction to everyone in this House. I think the House is indebted to the hon. Member for North Monaghan for bringing forward this Amendment, because it has been the means of eliciting from a very representative member of the Unionist party from the North of Ireland a very clear, distinct, and eloquent avowal of his adoption of the principle of compulsory purchase. We have also been told that

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not only the hon. Member for North Antrim, but several other hon. Members from the North of Ireland, are pledged to compulsory purchase, and that the candidates in the pending election in Mid-Armagh have also promised to support it. That was not the only matter elicited by the Amendment, because we also had it stated by the Attorney General for Ireland that the Government which he so ably and eloquently represents on this and every other occasion in which he addresses this House have long regarded the abolition of dual ownership as a panacea for the evils of Ireland. Dual ownership can only be abolished by some system of compulsory sale and purchase, and we have a great Government—great in numbers—I could not pay them any other compliment; if I did I would be open to the charge which I should least like to be laid at my door, namely, the charge of insincerity—committed to some such system. But if this is the panacea how is it that the hon. and learned Member for North Antrim—who, like the candidates in Mid-Armagh, and, I suppose, the candidate who will seek to displace myself whenever the opportunity arises, is pledged to support compulsory sale and purchase—stated in his opening observations that although he agreed with every word of the Amendment he must vote with the Government?

MR. WILLIAM MOORE: I did not use the words imputed to me by the right hon. Gentleman. What I said was that owing to my pledge to my constituents I was not at liberty to join in a vote of censure on the Government.

*SERJEANT HEMPHILL: I beg the hon. and learned Member's pardon. I did understand that he was going to vote with the Government, although he was voting against his convictions, because if the vote of censure were carried it would lead to the resignation of the Government and to a General Election, when he would have to go over to North Antrim and repeat the sincere pledges he has already given. I thoroughly agree with the spirit of the Amendment; and speaking, of course, wholly for myself, I am in the happy position of being able to vote for the Amendment in accordance with my pledges, and not, in a Parliamentary sense, having to break my word. I believe the Amendment embodies a prin-

ciple which is essential to the well-being of Ireland. I have had experience of the working of the land laws, both under the old regime and the new, and I was surprised to hear from the right hon. Gentleman the Attorney General that he considers the Act of 1881 unsatisfactory. That Act was the creation of the greatest Liberal statesman that has ever existed in the country, and probably one whose like it will be a long time before we shall see again; but though it was Mr. Gladstone's Act, we must recollect that it was adopted and considerably extended by a Ministry professing the opinions put forward by the present Government. The cause of all our misfortunes in Ireland, and one of the great causes of the misery, degradation, and crime which disfigure our annals, was the unhappy state of the land laws, until Mr. Gladstone came to the rescue. If the law of landlords and tenants had been left to the operation of the English common law, the evils that sprang up in the last century, and two-thirds of the present century, would never have existed. From the time of the Union down to 1867-8, with very short intervals, almost all the land laws of Ireland were passed by Tory Governments, and these made the Irish tenants bondsmen, and left them to the tender mercies of the landlords. That state of things was rectified by Mr. Gladstone in 1881, the Act passed that year being the first to give security of tenure to a vast proportion of the tenants of Ireland. What remains to crown the edifice, to restore peace and harmony to Ireland, to abolish all those grievances which rankle so in the hearts of our countrymen, even when they are obliged to leave their homes, and the memory of which is handed down to their children from generation to generation, is to plant the tenants firmly on the soil, and make them proprietors, leaving to the landlords their mansions and their domains. The principle embodied in the Amendment would accomplish that great object. It would only do what has led to prosperity, happiness, and peace in many parts of the Continent, where the tillers of the soil are the owners. The principle of fixing fair rents and voluntary purchase has been recognised by the legislature, and I see no practical difficulty in going this further step. The Attorney General for Ireland had said that the progress made in land

purchase under the Acts of 1885 and 1891 had been slow, steady, and satisfactory, that the payments had been made with the utmost punctuality, and that the whole arrears only amounted to between £3,000 and £4,000. This showed that the difficulty in getting in the rent in old times was not from deficiency of honest principle on the part of the tenants, but really because it was impossible for them to meet the exorbitant rents which ruled in many parts of the country. It may be said that that would be very hard on mortgagees; but it must be remembered that, under the Encumbered Estates Act, which really prevented a revolt in Ireland, the estates were sold for whatever they would fetch. The first mortgagees went into court and bought the property, leaving the owners without a penny. But that is no reason why justice should not be done, and an act of public policy should not be carried out, and dual ownership be abolished. I am not going to say much about the tribunals which have been raised up under the existing Land Acts. I take it for granted that every judge decides everything according to the best of his ability. We all know that in Ireland, of course, every lawyer is a politician. [Laughter.] Well, more or less. You all know that the general view in Ireland is that the Government for the time being selects the judges from their own supporters. But that is no reason why, when the judges ascend the bench, they should not leave their politics behind. It is not impossible to discharge from their minds their politics, and I have no doubt that these judges do discharge their duty to the best of their ability. But the fact remains that the circumstance of these judges having been politicians gives rise to the idea on the part of certain suitors that they deal partial justice, an idea which I am sure has no foundation in fact. But there is one thing in the system that I do deprecate. I am in a position to know, from representations I have had made to me from my own constituency, that very often a round peg is put into a square hole, and that Land Commissioners are appointed whose opinions differ as to what is fair rent. Another thing is that the Land Commissioners are more or less removable. Every man who sits upon the bench ought to have the feeling that he cannot be removed. They ought to be made per-

manent. One of the great grievances of the Uitlanders in the Transvaal was that the judges were removable. The Supreme Judges in Ireland were removable until 1782, and yet that is made a *casus belli* in the case of the Transvaal now. Then, I think, there should be appeals from the Assistant Land Commissioners on matters of law; but on a mere question of valuation a properly constituted tribunal of Land Commissioners would be much more likely to be right than the judges of any Appeal Court. It will not be denied that it is a common practice for landlords to appeal, no matter what decision is given. I would, therefore, abolish appeals altogether, except on questions of law. That is the principle of the ordinary courts, where the decision of the jury is as a general rule final, and only an appeal is allowed on a question of law. One other point I wish to make. It is repugnant to all my ideas of judicial proceeding to have a case decided on *ex parte* statements. My idea is that these land courts, like every other court, should decide only on a full hearing of the evidence offered on both sides, and with a full opportunity to the representatives of both sides to cross-examine. But as I understand the working of the system in ninety cases out of a hundred, no matter what evidence may be produced, the land court takes the valuation of the court valuer, of which only a copy has been supplied to the suitor, and on that valuation the court acts. I trust that the Government will deal with this subject either this session or the next. I am quite sure there is statesmanship enough among the occupants of the front bench to enable them to conceive some method which will abolish dual ownership and will satisfy all parties in Ireland, including the right hon. Member for North Armagh.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.): The right hon. Gentleman, in his very impassioned peroration, wanted practically to get rid of the Irish landlords, and that these should be compelled to sell their estates at prairie value.

SERJEANT HEMPHILL: I am a landlord myself in a small way.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON: I thought so much from the speech of the right Serjeant Hemphill.

hon. Gentleman. I am not going to vote for the Amendment, for two reasons—first, because the object of any Amendment to the Address is to make it a vote of want of confidence in the Government; and, second, because I disapprove of it. [Laughter from hon. Members on the Irish benches.] I have the advantage which hon. Members opposite do not possess, that I voted for the Land Bill of 1870 when many of them were in arms. I voted for that Bill because I remember Mr. Gladstone, in a very eloquent speech, said that it was a final measure, and to give a final settlement to this long-vexed Irish question. Not very many years after, Mr. Gladstone brought in another Bill, which was absolutely to settle the question for ever and ever. The object of that Bill was to give the Irish tenants the “three F’s,” which was then their ultimate aspiration.

MR. T. P. O’CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): The right hon. and gallant Gentleman is not correct in that. The Land League, which then represented the views of the Irish tenants, strongly advocated peasant proprietary, or compulsory purchase, as a final settlement of the land question.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON: I did not include the Land League. The Land League wanted to get rid of the landlords without compensation.

MR. T. P. O’CONNOR: That statement is absolutely incorrect. The Land League published their programme, and in that very document they proposed that the landlords should be bought out at a reasonable number of years purchase—twenty years purchase.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON: I can only say that I judge of the objects and position of the Land League by the speeches of the gentlemen who supported it. I remember the hon. Member for East Mayo saying that he would “make short work of Irish landlords.” The meaning of that phrase may be left to the imagination of the House. Mr. Gladstone himself said in this House that after all the minutest inspection made in view of the passing of this Act, the vast majority of Irish landlords had come honourably out of that severe inquest. That is very much to the

honour of the Irish landlords. I never did deny that there are bad landlords; but I think if you find a man like Mr. Gladstone, who was not very fond of Irish landlords, stating that it was his conviction, after examining all the circumstances, that they had come well out of the examination, that is a very good certificate of character. I would remind the House that Mr. Gladstone said that the position of the Irish landlords after the passing of the Act of 1881 was infinitely more secure than ever before, and now we find that the Irish people are far from being satisfied. I have always opposed compulsory purchase. A great majority of the people of North Armagh have always given me their support, and I told them the reasons why I oppose compulsory purchase. First, because I look upon it as an act of tyranny and injustice, in what is called a free country, to say to me, whether I like it or not, "You must sell your land"; and to say to my tenant, whether he likes it or not, "You must buy the land." I say that is an evil principle. I told my tenants that if that principle were established, it would sweep away the right of property—which, after all, is the foundation of liberty—and the prosperity of the country. Then when are you going to stop? Do you think you can isolate an act of national injustice to Ireland? I do not think you can. Another reason why I oppose compulsory purchase is that I am an Irishman, and I am proud to be an Irishman, and have as much right to live in Ireland as hon. Gentlemen opposite. What right have you to buy my land at a depreciated value, and force me to invest the purchase money in Consols, which would render it impossible for me to live in Ireland? I say you have no right to do that. The hon. Member for Galway said that what he looked forward to was an Act which would give equal satisfaction to all parties concerned. [An HON. MEMBER: I think he said, "Do equal justice to all parties."] If you wait for that tribunal you will wait very long. I learned from my hon. and learned friend here that, although he supports the principle of compulsory purchase, he supports it with the addition that if you buy out the Irish landlords at what the courts in Ireland may consider a fair price you will add to the purchase money a sum which would

really make up to him the loss he would sustain.

MR. CLANCY: That is not in his election address.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON: I have not read his election address; I never read election addresses. What I ask myself is this: Who is going to pay that additional money? The British taxpayer, I suppose. The British taxpayer and the Government representing the British taxpayer would naturally ask this question: Is it worth while to pay this money? I can conceive a Government reasoning in this way: Here is Ireland, not exactly what you would call a particularly loyal country or an extremely easy country to govern. Would it be worth our while to supplement the price to be paid to get rid of these Irish landlords in order to bring about that "peace which we all desire," as my hon. and learned friend terms it? Can anyone imagine for one moment that if all the Irish landlords were bought out it would have the slightest effect on the views taken by hon. Gentlemen opposite—for instance, with regard to the war in South Africa? Would it make them loyal subjects of the Crown? [An IRISH MEMBER: No.] Of course it would not. They are above bribes. They are not going to sacrifice their patriotic aspirations in order to buy out Irish landlords. If the British taxpayer would buy out the Irish landlords without taking any money at all from Ireland they would never consent to sacrifice the aspiration of that part of the race to which they belong, the aspiration which they have always stated as kicking the English out of Ireland and to reign themselves supreme. That is the object which they say is the highest aspiration of their lives. Therefore, I conclude that a British Government, to whichever side it might belong, would say that it was not worth while sacrificing the taxpayers' money to buy up these landlords and still leave Ireland in as bad a state as it was before. I cannot conceive the sense of justice, which to my mind is one of the prominent features of the British people, permitting a Government or the House of Commons, in order to satisfy a momentary exigency which may arise, to perpetrate what I would look upon as an act of absolute and unbounded injustice.

I quite admit that it might be far more to my interest to consent to sell my land at twenty years' purchase than to allow fifteen years to elapse, when I or my successors might be possessed of a diminished income, and be much poorer than would have been the case had I consented to sell. As representing a family who have lived in Ireland for hundreds of years, I say that no matter how much you whittle down my income I will never sell my land. I may be looked upon as very foolish, but I intend to live in Ireland, and I hope that those who come after me may live in Ireland. From the aspect of the House I believe that this Amendment will be rejected by a very large majority, though I cannot conceive the House of Commons being influenced by the arguments which have been urged from the opposite side of the House, and, indeed, from some Members on this side. The House must reason in this way: Which is the class who have always come forward to assist in the maintenance of law and order in Ireland? The class of all others is the landowning class. Hon. Gentlemen opposite, of course, will not accept that, but I should like them to prove the contrary. Who are the people who have come forward to help the Irish in distress? The men who have done more than any others in Ireland have been the landlords. Who now in Ireland are subscribing the most money for the relief of the suffering caused by this war? The landlords. There is one thing, at any rate, I am proud to say, in which all classes in Ireland join, and that is in furnishing Her Majesty the Queen with the bravest men who have ever fought in her Army. Now, I have done. I have tried to show that the landlords in Ireland probably refuse to sell because they wish to continue to live in their country. That is the reason which animates me, and that is the main reason why I shall vote against the Amendment.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Cavan, W.): As far as I know the sentiments of any gentleman on this side of the House there is no desire whatever to drive the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh out of the country in which he expresses a desire to live. He has a perfect right to live there, and it is stretching the argument against this Amendment very much too far to suggest that because we ask

Colonel Saunderson.

the Government to pass a compulsory Land Bill for Ireland he and his class must necessarily take their departure from the country. There would be a considerable proportion of private property still left in their hands; they would not be deprived of their demesne lands or of their residences, while as regards his patriotism in wishing to remain in the country there is no reason why, because he is compelled to sell his holdings, he should take his departure. Several speeches of a very contradictory character have been delivered from the other side of the House, and I will leave hon. Gentlemen to settle their differences between them. As regards the speech of the hon. and learned Member for North Antrim, it seemed to me that he followed the example of the Attorney General for Ireland in trying to circle his argument. He was in favour of compulsory purchase, but yet he was not in favour of voting for this Amendment. He was in favour of compulsory purchase to drive out the Irish landlords, but yet he was in favour of giving the landlords better treatment than the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh expects they will ever get. The two positions are entirely contradictory, and it is impossible to give effect to them. The position taken up by the hon. and learned Gentleman is the same as that adopted by his political friends in Ireland, namely, to obstruct us who by our agitation in the country have brought this land question within measurable distance of settlement, but the moment we get legislation passed they will be the first to rush into the courts to take advantage of it. The Amendment before the House naturally divides itself into two parts. One part of the Amendment very justly and properly finds fault with the administration of the Land Acts in Ireland. I listened with considerable interest to the defence of the Attorney General of this maladministration—it can be called nothing else—but I cannot by any means compliment him upon his performance. He told us, in effect, that if we had patience the operation of the land purchase department of the Land Commission would effect the purposes of this Amendment. What are the facts? He told us that in a period of fifteen years, from 1885 to the present time, 55,000 tenants have become possessors of their holdings at a cost of about £18,000,000. There

are 600,000 occupying tenants in Ireland, so that it is merely a question of arithmetical calculation to discover how long it will take to convert all the tenants into the owners of their own farms. It would take 180 years, on a moderate calculation, if the process proceeded at the same rate as during the past fifteen years. I venture to hope the process will be considerably expedited. No doubt, by the decision of the Court of Appeal as regards the 40th section a considerable improvement has taken place, but the right hon. Gentleman cannot deny that a tremendous amount of unnecessary delay takes place in the working of the Acts. I know of one small case in County Longford that took seven years to pass through the Commission Court in Dublin. It was sent about from chamber to chamber; it was put back on motions to explain delay; it was kept going about for seven long years before the tenants who signed their agreements in 1887 got their vesting orders in 1894. What was the result? Could it be said to be satisfactory to either party? The landlords were deprived of the money which they required, and for which they had sold their property, for those seven years. The tenants were compelled to pay seven years interest in lieu of rent, so that they paid that amount more than they would have done had the sale been expedited as cases will be in the future. There is a considerable amount of discontent existing in connection with the fixing of fair rents. I know perfectly well how things are done in County Longford. No doubt some of the gentlemen who are sent down as Sub-Commissioners come with the very best intentions, but they do not come down with the intention of hurrying on the cases in their lists. I have frequently seen them rise in the middle of the day, on some pretext or other, when there was plenty of time to hear a considerable number of other cases. There has been most unreasonable delay in the inspection of farms. It was stated to-night that these inspections were highly unsatisfactory. I know, as far as the Commissioners are concerned, whenever I have been present, notice was given to both sides and the day fixed, but it is as to the length of time that elapses with which I particularly find fault, the period invariably running from a fortnight to three, four, or six weeks as the date of visitation. There was no valid reason why the visit should

not be made the next day or the day after, or at any rate before the Commissioners left that locality. In this connection the delay is the strongest part of our case against the Commissioners. It may be said there is a great deal to allow for, that a great number of these applications are coming in constantly, and that they are being dealt with as quickly as possible. I do not know how far that statement can be substantiated with proof. I have no doubt the right hon. Gentleman gets reports supplied to him which may to some extent refute any case I may set up as regards these tenants. But as to County Longford I have known tenants to be kept from six to sixteen or twenty months out of hearing of their case, and these tenants, so far from being treated with the consideration which litigants before any other court in the land would receive, were not even vouchsafed a reply to their requests for expedition when they wrote to the Land Court complaining of this delay.

MR. ATKINSON: Would the hon. Member give me the name of such a case?

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I will give the name of a particular estate and send the facts to the right hon. Gentleman by post. In approaching the consideration of the settlement of this question I venture to say it is not by any legal quibbling we will effect the object we have in view. The right hon. Gentleman cannot be ignorant of the fact that there is in Ireland a strong and growing agitation for the redress of the grievances of the people in this matter. He cannot be unaware of the fact that large public meetings are being held week after week—some of which the forces of the Crown are illegally, in my opinion, suppressing—for the purpose of calling the attention of the Government to the grievance of the tenants in the matter of land purchase, and to the necessity of passing legislation to compel unwilling landlords to sell. It must be, it follows from the nature of things, a matter of dissatisfaction to tenants living in a particular locality to see one estate sold to the tenants at a very considerable reduction, while the tenants on one

or both sides of that estate have no prospect whatever of getting into the same position. The right hon. Gentleman may say that it is unjust and improper of us to force on this question or to expect the Government to commit the injustice of passing legislation of this character. That argument has been used from the beginning. Every effort to deal with this question, no matter in what way, has been denounced in the past, and will be denounced in the future, from the side which has an interest in maintaining the *status quo*. The Unionist Government, which professes to be a strong and resolute Government, able to carry out any policy to which it commits itself, could not do anything more to its credit or more to the satisfaction of the tenant farmers of Ireland than to deal in a wholesale and thorough manner with this question. The people are unanimously in favour of it; they will not be satisfied until some effort is made to remedy the grievances entailed on different estates by reason of the sale of other estates in the same locality. On higher and national grounds I would be disposed to speak more strongly on this question, but I do not want to irritate the feelings of hon. Gentlemen opposite, who have expressed opinions in favour of this resolution to-night, and whose co-operation will in due time, I trust, have the effect of making the Government deal in a more liberal spirit with this question. Of one thing I can assure the right hon. Gentleman, and that is, that if he or the Government think the land question has been settled by the Act of either 1887 or 1892 or 1896 they are woefully mistaken. The people of Ireland are by no means satisfied with the progress which has been made under the existing law, and I sincerely trust that the division to be taken on this Amendment will bring home to the Government and their advisers that there is a real and vivid land question in Ireland to be settled, and that they will have no rest until it is settled.

*MR. O'MALLEY (Galway, Connemara): I desire to join in the expression of our regret at the absence, and its cause, of the Chief Secretary from the House. I am sure we shall all be glad to see him back again in his place. The question before the House is undoubtedly one of

Mr. J. P. Farrell.

vital importance to Ireland. I will go further, and say that it is a question of vital importance to England. The people of this country cannot wish Ireland to go on from year to year and from generation to generation in a state of discontent and a condition of penury, and with famine periodically scourging its people. If the Government desire to do away with Irish discontent and Irish distress, and, to a large extent, Irish disloyalty, they must grapple with this land question, and grapple with it soon. If there is one thing more certain than another it is that the Land Act of 1881 and the subsequent amendments of that Act have not settled the Irish land question. We still have the tenants and the landlords at loggerheads. We have the tenants appealing, very often in vain, to have their rents fixed; years elapse from the time they apply to the court before the rents are fixed; and then in almost every case the landlords appeal, their main object being to frustrate the operation and the administration of the Act, and to defeat the tenants—not because they want to have the rents fixed by the court raised, but to put the tenants to expense, and to cause them to be in a state of rebellion. That is a most unsatisfactory state of affairs. There are poor people living from hand to mouth in the west of Ireland, paying exorbitant rents for most miserable tracts of land, who, after years of weary waiting, get their rents fixed by the courts, only to have an appeal entered against the decision by the landlord. Do you mean to tell me that while that state of things continues we can have peace and comfort and prosperity in Ireland? We have been charged during the last few months with disloyalty. Is it not a matter of serious consequence to this country that the Irish people should be loyal? Have you not seen the effect of this feeling of disloyalty in America and in South Africa? and it is only too true that the Irish people for generations have been taught that England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity? Do you mean to tell me you want this state of affairs to continue? If you want to make the Irish people loyal make them contented. Get rid, I will not say of the landlords, bag and baggage, but of Irish landlordism, and then you will find that a contented and peaceful Ireland will not be the disloyal Ireland of to-day. I would strongly appeal to

hon. Gentlemen opposite, who, no doubt, are anxious in their hearts to do the right thing to my country. I believe the English people, if they fully realised the facts, if they were not blinded by centuries of persecution and bigotry, would settle this question very soon. It is our duty as Nationalist representatives to bring this question before the House. You may defeat us to-night. But take care that you do not have again in Ireland, and very soon, an agitation that will stir up all the elements that we on this side are most anxious to keep down. We want to see Ireland and England as brothers together, loving instead of hating each other. But by ignoring this question, by defeating this Amendment, by giving it out to the Irish people that you will not grapple with this matter in the way it should be grappled with—that is, by compulsory purchase—you will have once more all the bad elements in Ireland up against you. And who will be to blame? This House will be to blame, because the English people would be only too glad to endorse whatever decision you arrive at. I shall not detain you longer; but I strongly urge Gentlemen opposite, even at the risk of offending those gentlemen on the Treasury Bench,

to yield to their consciences in this matter and support the Amendment.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.) characterised the action of the Land Commissioners in Ireland as extraordinary, and gave several examples. From personal experience of the county of Kerry and surrounding counties, the hon. Member averred that the only solution of the question was compulsory purchase, with a fair price fixed for landlord and tenant alike. There were good and bad landlords in Kerry, where they had allowed a reduction of as much as 4s. in the pound; but, generally speaking, while landlords and tenants were going to war with each other, unless this House intervened by bringing in a Compulsory Purchase Bill, they would have a continuance of this bitter feud in Ireland.

Question put.

The House divided:—For the Amendment, 75; against, 209. (Division List No. 8.)

AYES.

Abraham, Wm. (Cork, N.E.)
Allison, Robert Andrew
Ambrose, Robert
Austin, M. (Limerick, W.)

Barlow, John Emmott
Blake, Edward
Bolton, Thomas Dolling

Caldwell, James
Carvill, Patrick G. Hamilton
Channing, Francis Allston
Clancy, John Joseph
Clark, Dr. G. B. (Caithness-sh.)
Commins, Andrew
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene

Daly, James
Dewar, Arthur
Doogan, P. C.

Engledew, Charles John

Evans, S. T. (Glamorgan)
Farrell, James P. (Cavan, W.)
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Fox, Dr. Joseph Francis

Hammond, John (Carlow)

Hayden, John Patrick
Hayne, Rt Hon Charles Seale-
Healy, Maurice (Cork)
Holland, William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John

Jones, William (Carnarvonsh.)
Jordan, Jeremiah

Kearley, Hudson E.
Kilbride, Denis

Lawson, Sir W. (Cumberland)
Lea, Sir T. (Londonderry)
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas

Macaleese, Daniel
MacDonnell, Dr MA (Queen's C
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
M'Cartan, Michael
M'Ghee, Richard
M'Leod, John
Mandeville, J. Francis
Molloy, Bernard Charles
Morton, Edw J C (Devonport)
Moss, Samuel
Moulton, John Fletcher
Murnaghan, George

Nussey, Thomas Willans

O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Malley, William

Parnell, John Howard
Pearson, Sir Westman D.
Pease, Joseph A. (Northumb.)
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Pinkerton, John
Power, Patrick Joseph

Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Richardson, J. (Durham, S.E.)
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbigha.)
Robson, William Snowden

Sullivan, D. (Westmeath)
Sullivan, T. D. (Donegal, W.)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, D. A. (Merthyr)
Trevelyan, Charles Phillips
Tully, Jasper

Ure, Alexander
Warner, T. Courtenay T.
Young, S. (Cavan, E.)

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir
Thomas Esmonde and
Captain Donelan.

NOES.

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir Alex. F.
 Allsopp, Hon. George
 Anson, Sir William Reynell
 Archdale, Edward Mervyn
 Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
 Bailey, James (Walworth)
 Balcarres, Lord
 Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r
 Banbury, Frederick George
 Barry, Rt. Hon. A. H. Smith-
 Bartley, George C. T.
 Bathurst, Hon. A. Benjamin
 Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir M. H. (Bristol
 Beach, Rt. Hon. W. W. B. (Hants)
 Beckett, Ernest William
 Bemrose, Sir Henry Howe
 Bethell, Commander
 Bhowaggee, Sir M. M.
 Bill, Charles
 Blakiston-Houston, John
 Blundell, Colonel Henry
 Bonser, Henry Cosmo Orme
 Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
 Brookfield, A. Montagu
 Brymer, William Ernest
 Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin)
 Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
 Cavendish, V. C. W. (D'rbysh're
 Cecil, Evelyn (Hertford, East)
 Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
 Chaloner, Captain R. G. W.
 Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. (Birm.)
 Chamberlain, J. Austen (Worc'r
 Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
 Charrington, Spencer
 Chelsea, Viscount
 Clare, Octavius Leigh
 Clarke, Sir Edw. (Plymouth)
 Coghill, Douglas Harry
 Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
 Colomb, Sir John Chas. Ready
 Colston, Chas. E. H. Athole
 Cook, Fred. Lucas (Lambeth)
 Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasg'w
 Cornwallis, Fiennes S. W.
 Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
 Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
 Cross, H. Shepherd (Bolton)
 Cubitt, Hon. Henry
 Curzon, Viscount
 Dalkeith, Earl of
 Dickinson, Robert Edmond
 Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
 Donkin, Richard Sim
 Doughty, George
 Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
 Douglas-Pennant, Hon. E. S.
 Doxford, Sir Wm. Theodore
 Duncombe, Hon. Hubert V.
 Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir W. Hart
 Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
 Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
 Fellowes, Hon. A. Edward
 Fergusson, Rt. Hon. Sir J. (Manc'r
 Finch, George H.
 Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
 Fisher, William Hayes
 Flannery, Sir Fortescue
 Fletcher, Sir Henry
 Flower, Ernest
 Forster, Henry William

Fry, Lewis
 Galloway, William Johnson
 Garfit, William
 Gedge, Sydney
 Gibbs, Hn. A. G. H. (C. of Lond.
 Giles, Charles Tyrrell
 Godson, Sir Augustus Fredk.
 Goldsworthy, Major-General
 Gordon, Hon. John Edward
 Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir J. Eldon
 Goschen, Rt. Hon. G. J. (St. Geo.'s
 Graham, Henry Robert
 Green, W. D. (Wednesbury)
 Greene, H. D. (Shrewsbury)
 Greville, Hon. Ronald
 Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord George
 Hanbury, Rt. Hon. Robert Wm.
 Hanson, Sir Reginald
 Hardy, Laurence
 Hare, Thomas Leigh
 Haslett, Sir James Horner
 Heath, James
 Helder, Augustus
 Henderson, Alexander
 Hickman, Sir Alfred
 Hozier, Hon. James Henry Cecil
 Hudson, George Bickersteth
 Hutchinson, Capt. G. W. Grice-
 Hutton, John (Yorks, N.R.)
 Jackson, Rt. Hon. Wm. Lawies
 Jeffreys, Arthur Frederick
 Jessel, Capt. Herbert Merton
 Johnston, William (Belfast)
 Kenyon-Slaney, Col. William
 Keswick, William
 Kimber, Henry
 Knowles, Lees
 Lawrence, Sir E. Durning-
 Lawson, John Grant (Yorks.)
 Lecky, Rt. Hon. William E. H.
 Leigh-Bennett, Henry Currie
 Leigaw, Stanley
 Llewelyn, Sir Dillwyn-
 Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
 Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
 Long, Rt. Hon. W. (Liverpool)
 Lopes, Henry Yarde Buller
 Lorne, Marquess of
 Lowe, Francis William
 Lowles, John
 Macartney, W. G. Ellison
 Macdonald, John Cumming
 Maclure, Sir John William
 McCalmont, Col. J. (Antrim, E.)
 M'Alver, Sir L. (Edinburgh, W.)
 Malcolm, Ian
 Manners, Lord Edward Wm. J.
 Martin, Richard Biddulph
 Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
 Maxwell, Rt. Hon. Sir Herbert E.
 Mendl, Sigismund Ferdinand
 Milbank, Sir Powlett Chas. J.
 Mildmay, Francis Bingham
 Milner, Sir Frederick George
 Milward, Colonel Victor
 Monkton, Edward Philip
 Monk, Charles James
 Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
 Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
 More, Robt. Jasper (Shropshire)
 Morrell, George Herbert

Morton, A. H. A. (Deptford)
 Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
 Murray, Chas. J. (Coventry)
 Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
 Nicholson, William Graham
 Nicol, Donald Ninian
 O'Neill, Hon. Robt. Torrens
 Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
 Penn, John
 Phillpotts, Captain Arthur
 Pilkington, R. (Lancs, Newton)
 Platt-Higgins, Frederick
 Plunkett, Rt. Hon. H. Curzon
 Pollock, Harry Frederick
 Pretymann, Ernest George
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
 Purvis, Robert
 Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
 Rankin, Sir James
 Rentoul, James Alexander
 Richardson, Sir Thos. (Hartlepl
 Ridley, Rt. Hon. Sir Matthew W.
 Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Chas. Thomson
 Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
 Robinson, Brooke
 Round, James
 Roys, Clement Molyneux
 Russell, Gen. F. S. (Cheltenham)
 Russell, T. W. (Tyrone)
 Ryder, John Herbert Dudley
 Samuel, Harry S. (Limehouse)
 Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
 Sanderson, Rt. Hon. Col. Ed. J.
 Scoble, Sir Andrew Richard
 Sharpe, William Edward T.
 Shaw-Stewart, M. H. (Renfrew)
 Sidebotham, J. W. (Cheshire)
 Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
 Smith, Abel H. (Christchurch)
 Smith, James Parker (Lanarks)
 Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
 Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset
 Stewart, Sir M. J. M. Taggart
 Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
 Strauss, Arthur
 Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
 Sturt, Hon. Humphry Napier
 Talbot, Rt. Hon. J. G. (Ox. Un.)
 Thornton, Percy M.
 Tollemache, Henry James
 Verney, Hon. Richard G.
 Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
 Ward, Hon. Robt. A. (Crewe)
 Webster, Sir Richard E.
 Welby, Lieut.-Colonel A. C. E.
 Whiteley, H. (Ashton-undr-L.)
 Whitmore, Charles Algernon
 Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
 Williams, Joseph P. (Birm.)
 Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
 Willox, Sir John Archibald
 Wilson, John (Falkirk)
 Wodehouse, Rt. Hon. E. R. (Bath
 Wylie, Alexander
 Wyvill, Marmaduke D'Arcy
 Young, Commander (Berks, E.)
 Younger, William

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
 Sir William Walrond and
 Mr. Anstruther.

Main Question again proposed.

DEPORTATION OF PAUPERS INTO IRELAND.

MR. FLAVIN: I beg to move the Amendment standing on the Paper in my name.

MR. MURNAGHAN (Tyrone, Mid) seconded the Amendment.

Amendment proposed—

"At the end of the Question to add the words, 'But we humbly represent to Your Majesty the great regret of this House that no reference has been made in Your Majesty's Speech regarding a Bill to discontinue the deportation of paupers from England and Wales into Ireland.'—(*Mr. Flavin.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

*THE SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. T. W. RUSSELL, Tyrone, S.) said that the ques-

tion would be considered by the Local Government Board and the Irish Government with a view to the introduction of a measure that would satisfy hon. Members.

MR. FLAVIN, on this assurance of the Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board, begged leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Main question again proposed.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The House divided:—Ayes, 215; Noes, 64. (Division List No. 9.)

AYES.

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir A. F.
Allsopp, Hon. George
Anson, Sir William Reynell
Archdale, Edward Mervyn
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Balcarras, Lord
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manc'r.
Banbury, Frederick George
Barry, Rt. Hon. A. H. Smith (Hts.
Bartley, George C. T.
Bathurst, Hn. Allen Benjamin
Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir M. E. (Brist'l
Beach, Rt. Hon. W. W. B. (Hants
Beckett, Ernest William
Bemrose, Sir Henry Howe
Bethell, Commander
Bhowaggee, Sir M. M.
Bill, Charles
Blakiston-Houston, John
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bonsor, Henry Cosmo Orme
Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
Brookfield, A. Montagu
Brymer, William Ernest
Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin)
Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbysh.)
Cecil, Evelyn (Hertford, East)
Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
Chaloner, Captain R. G. W.
Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. (Birm.)
Chamberlain, J. Austen (Worc'r
Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
Charrington, Spencer
Chelsea, Viscount

Clare, Octavius Leigh
Clarke, Sir Edward (Plymouth)
Coghill, Douglas Harry
Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
Colomb, Sir John Charles Ready
Colston, Chas. Edw. H. Athole
Cook, Fred. Lucas (Lambeth)
Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
Cornwallis, Fiennes Stanley W.
Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
Cubitt, Hon. Henry
Curzon, Viscount
Dalkeith, Earl of
Dickinson, Robert Edmond
Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
Donkin, Richard Sim
Doughty, George
Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
Douglas-Pennant, Hon. E. S.
Doxford, Sir Wm. Theodore
Duncombe, Hon. Hubert V.
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir W. Hart
Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
Elliot, Hon. A. R. Douglas
Fellows, Hon. Ailwyn E.
Fergusson, Sir J. (Manches'r.
Finch, George H.
Finlay, Sir R. Bannatyne
Fisher, William Hayes
Flannery, Sir Fortescue
Fletcher, Sir Henry
Flower, Ernest
Forster, Henry William
Fry, Lewis

Galloway, William Johnson
Garfit, William
Gibbs, Hn. A. G. H. (City of L.)
Giles, Charles Tyrrell
Godson, Sir A. Frederick
Goldsworthy, Major-General
Gordon, Hon. John Edward
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon
Goschen, Rt. Hon. G. J. (Sussex)
Graham, Henry Robert
Green, W. D. (Wednesbury)
Greene, H. D. (Shrewsbury)
Greville, Hon. Ronald
Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Ld. George
Hanbury, Rt. Hon. Robert Wm.
Hanson, Sir Reginald
Hardy, Laurence
Hare, Thomas Leigh
Haslett, Sir James Horner
Heath, James
Helder, Augustus
Henderson, Alexander
Hickman, Sir Alfred
Horniman, Frederick John
Hozier, Hn. James Henry Cecil
Hudson, George Bickersteth
Hutchinson, Capt. G. W. Grice-
Hutton, John (Yorks. N.R.)
Jackson, Rt. Hon. Wm. Lawies
Jeffreys, Arthur Frederick
Jessell, Captain H. Merton
Johnston, William (Belfast)
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. William
Kewick, William

Kimber, Henry
Knowles, Lees
Lawrence, Sir E. Durning (Corn
Lawson, John Grant (Yorks.)
Lea, Sir Thos. (Londonderry)
Lecky, Rt. Hon. W. E. H.
Leese, Sir J. F. (Accrington)
Leigh-Bennett, Henry Currie
Leighton, Stanley
Llewelyn, Sir Dillwyn (Swansea)
Lockwood, Lt.-Col. A. R.
Loder, Gerald Walter E.
Long, Rt. Hon. W. (Liverpool)
Lopes, Henry Yarde Buller
Lorne, Marquess of
Lowe, Francis William
Lowles, John
Macartney, W. G. Ellison
Macdona, John Cumming
Maclure, Sir John William
M'Calmont, Col. J. (Antrim, E.)
M'Ever, Sir Lewis (Edin'. W.)
Malcolm, Ian
Manners, Lord Edward Wm. J.
Martin, Richard Biddulph
Massey-Mainwaring, Hn W. F.
Mend, Sigismund Ferdinand
Milbank, Sir Powlett Chas John
Mildmay, Francis Bingham
Milner, Sir Frederick George
Milward, Colonel Victor
Monckton, Edward Philip
Monk, Charles James
Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
More, Robt. Jasper (Shropshire)
Morrell, George Herbert
Morton, Arthur H. A. (Deptford)

Moulton, John Fletcher
Murray, Rt. Hon. A. Graham (Bute)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Nicholson, William Graham
Nicol, Donald Ninian
Nussey, Thomas Willans
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
Pearson, Sir Weetman D.
Penn, John
Phillipotts, Captain Arthur
Pilkington, R. (Lancs. Newton)
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plunkett, Rt. Hn. H. Curzon
Pollock, Harry Frederick
Pretymann, Ernest George
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert
Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
Rankin, Sir James
Rentoul, James Alexander
Richardson, Sir T. (Hartlep'l)
Ridley, Rt. Hn. Sir Matthew W.
Ritchie, Rt. Hn. Chas. Thomson
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Robinson, Brooke
Round, James
Royds, Clement Molyneux
Russell, Gen. F. S. (Cheltenham)
Russell, T. W. (Tyne)
Ryder, John Herbert Dudley
Samuel, H. S. (Linehouse)
Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
Saunderson, Rt. Hon. Col. E. J.
Scoble, Sir Andrew Richard
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw-Stewart, M. H. (Renfrew)

Sidebotham, J. W. (Cheshire)
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Smith, Abel H. (Christchurch)
Smith, J. Parker (Lanarks)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Stanley, Edw. Jas. (Somerset)
Stewart, Sir M. J. M'Taggart
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Strauss, Arthur
Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
Sturt, Hon. Humphry Napier
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxf'd Univ)
Thornton, Percy M.
Tollemache, Henry James
Verney, Hn. Richard Greville
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Ward, Hon. Robt. A. (Crewe)
Warner, Thos. Courtenay T.
Webster, Sir Richard E.
Welby, Lieut.-Col. A. C. E.
Whiteley, H. (Ashton-under-L.)
Whitmore, Charles Algernon
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Williams, Jos. Powell (Birm.)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Willox, Sir John Archibald
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Wodehouse, Rt. Hn. E. R. (Bath)
Wylie, Alexander
Wyvill, Marmaduke D'Arcy
Young, Commander (Berke, E.)
Younger, William

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—Sir
William Walrond and Mr.
Anstruther.

NOES.

Allison, Robert Andrew
Austin, M. (Limerick, W.)
Barlow, John Emmott
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Caldwell, James
Carvill, Patrick G. Hamilton
Channing, Francis Allston
Clancy, John Joseph
Clark, Dr. G. B. (Caithness-sh.)
Commins, Andrew
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Crilly, Daniel
Daly, James
Dewar, Arthur
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Engledew, Charles John
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Farrell, James P. (Cavan, W.)
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Fox, Dr. Joseph Francis

Gedge, Sydney
Hammond, John (Carlow)
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayne, Rt. Hon. C. Seale
Healy, Maurice (Cork)
Holland, William Henry
Jones, W. (Carnarvonshire)
Jordan, Jeremiah
Kilbride, Denis
Lawson, Sir W. (Cumberland)
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
MacAleese, Daniel
MacDonnell, Dr. M. A. (Qn's Co)
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
M'Cartan, Michael
M'Ghee, Richard
M'Leod, John
Mandeville, J. Francis
Molloy, Bernard Charles
Morton, E. J. C. (Devonport)
Moss, Samuel
Murnaghan, George

O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Malley, William
Parnell, John Howard
Pease, Jos. A. (Northumb.)
Pinkerton, John
Power, Patrick Joseph
Redmond, J. E. (Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Roberts, J. Bryn (Eifion)
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robson, William Snowdon
Sullivan, Donal (Westmeath)
Sullivan, T. D. (Donegal, W.)
Tennant, Harold John
Tully, Jasper
Ure, Alexander
Young, Samuel (Cavan, East)

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
Mr. Samuel Evans and Mr.
D. A. Thomas.

Main Question put accordingly.

The House divided :—Ayes, 229 ; Noes, 39. (Division List No. 10.)

AYES.

Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir A. F.
 Allison, Robert Andrew
 Allsopp, Hon. George
 Anson, Sir William Reynell
 Archdale, Edward Mervyn
 Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
 Bailey, James (Walworth)
 Balcarres, Lord
 Balfour, Rt. Hn. A. J. (Manch'r)
 Banbury, Frederick George
 Barlow, John Emmott
 Barry, Rt. Hn. A. H. Smith- (Hunte)
 Bartley, George C. T.
 Bathurst, Hn. Allen Benjamin
 Beach, Rt. Hn. Sir M. H. (Bristol)
 Beach, Rt. Hn. W. W. B. (Hants.)
 Beckett, Ernest William
 Bemrose, Sir Henry Howe
 Bethell, Commander
 Bhowaggee, Sir M. M.
 Bill, Charles
 Blakiston-Houston, John
 Blundell, Colonel Henry
 Bonsor, Henry Cosmo Orme
 Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
 Brookfield, A. Montagu
 Brymer, William Ernest
 Caldwell, James
 Campbell, J. H. M. (Dublin)
 Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
 Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbysh.)
 Cecil, Evelyn (Hertford, East)
 Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
 Chaloner, Captain R. G. W.
 Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. (Bir.)
 Chamberlain, J. A. (Worc'r)
 Channing, Francis Allston
 Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry
 Charrington, Spencer
 Chelsea, Viscount
 Clare, Octavius Leigh
 Coghill, Douglas Harry
 Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
 Colomb, Sir John C. Ready
 Colston, Chas. E. H. Athole
 Cook, Fred. Lucas (Lambeth)
 Corbett, A. C. (Glasgow)
 Cornwallis, Fienes Stanley W.
 Cox, Irwin E. Bainbridge
 Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
 Cross, H. Shepherd (Bolton)
 Cubitt, Hon. Henry
 Curzon, Viscount
 Dalkeith, Earl of
 Dewar, Arthur
 Dickinson, Robert Edmond
 Disraeli, Coningsby Ralph
 Dodkin, Richard Sim
 Doughty, George
 Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers
 Douglas-Pennant, Hon. E. S.
 Doxford, Sir William Theodore
 Duncombe, Hon. Hubert V.
 Dyke, Rt. Hn. Sir William Hart
 Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
 Elliot, Hon. A. Ralph Douglas
 Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
 Fellowes, Hon. Ailwyn Edward
 Fergusson, Rt. Hn. Sir J. (Man'r)
 Finc'h, George H.

Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
 Fisher, William Hayes
 Flannery, Sir Fortescue
 Fletcher, Sir Henry
 Flower, Ernest
 Forster, Henry William
 Fry, Lewis
 Galloway, William Johnson
 Garfit, William
 Gedge, Sydney
 Gibbs, Hn. A. G. H. (City of Lon.)
 Giles, Charles Tyrrell
 Godson, Sir Augustus F.
 Goldsworthy, Major-General
 Gordon, Hon. John Edward
 Gorst, Rt. Hn. Sir John Eldon
 Goschen, Rt. Hn. G. J. (St. Geo's)
 Graham, Henry Robert
 Green, W. D. (Wednesbury)
 Greene, H. D. (Shrewsbury)
 Greville, Hon. Ronald
 Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord G.
 Hanbury, Rt. Hn. Robt. Wm.
 Hanson, Sir Reginald
 Hardy, Laurence
 Hare, Thomas Leigh
 Haslett, Sir James Horner
 Hayne, Rt. Hn. C. Seale-
 Heath, James
 Helder, Augustus
 Henderson, Alexander
 Hickman, Sir Alfred
 Horniman, Frederick John
 Hozier, Hn. James Henry C.
 Hudson, George Bickersteth
 Hutchinson, Capt. G. W. Grice-
 Hutton, John (Yorks. N.R.)
 Jackson, Rt. Hon. Wm. Lawies
 Jeffreys, Arthur Frederick
 Jessel, Capt. Herbert Merton
 Johnston, William (Belfast)
 Kearley, Hudson E.
 Kenyon-Slaney, Col. William
 Keswick, William
 Kimber, Henry
 Knowles, Lees
 Lawrence, Sir E. Durning- (Corn)
 Lawson, John Grant (Yorks.)
 Lawson, Sir W. (Cumberland)
 Lea, Sir T. (Londonderry)
 Lecky, Rt. Hon. Wm. Edw. H.
 Leigh-Bennett, Henry Currie
 Leighton, Stanley
 Llewelyn, Sir Dillwyn (Swans'a)
 Lockwood, Lt.-Col. A. R.
 Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
 Long, Rt. Hon. W. (Liverpool)
 Lopes, Henry Yarde Buller
 Lorne, Marquess of
 Lowe, Francis William
 Lowles, John
 Macartney, W. G. Ellison
 Macdonna, John Cumming
 Maclure, Sir John William
 M'Calmont, Col. J. (Antrim, E.)
 M'iver, Sir L. (Edinburgh, W.)
 Malcolm, Ian
 Manners, Lord Ed. Wm. J.
 Martin, Richard Biddulph
 Maasey-Mainwaring, Hon. W. F.

Mendl, Sigismund Ferdinand
 Milbank, Sir Powlett C. John
 Mildmay, Francis Bingham
 Milner, Sir Frederick George
 Milward, Colonel Victor
 Monckton, Edward Philip
 Monk, Charles James
 Moon, Edward Robert Pacy
 Moore, William (Antrim, N.)
 More, Robt. Jasper (Shropshire)
 Morrell, George Herbert
 Morton, A. H. A. (Deptford)
 Moss, Samuel
 Moulton, John Fletcher
 Murray, Rt. Hn. A. H. G. (Bute)
 Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
 Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
 Nicholson, William Graham
 Nicol, Donald Ninian
 Nussey, Thomas Willans
 O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrena.
 Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
 Pearson, Sir Weetman D.
 Pease, Joseph A. (Northumb.)
 Penn, John
 Phillpotts, Captain Arthur
 Pilkington, R. (Lancs. Newt'n)
 Plact-Higgins, Frederick
 Plunkett, Rt. Hn. Horace Curzon
 Pollock, Harry Frederick
 Pretymann, Ernest George
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
 Purvis, Robert
 Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
 Rankin, Sir James
 Rentoul, James Alexander
 Richardson, Sir Thos. (Hartlep't)
 Ridley, Rt. Hon. Sir Matthew W.
 Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Chas. Thomson
 Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
 Roberts, John H. (Denbighs)
 Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
 Robinson, Brooke
 Robson, William Snowdon
 Round, James
 Roys, Clement Molyneux
 Russell, Gen. F. S. (Cheltenham)
 Russell, T. W. (Tyrone)
 Ryder, John Herbert Dudley
 Samuel, Harry S. (Limehouse)
 Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thos. Myles
 Sanderson, Rt. Hon. Col. Ed. J.
 Scoble, Sir Andrew Richard
 Sharpe, William Edward T.
 Shaw-Stewart, M. H. (Renfrew)
 Sidebotham, J. W. (Cheshire)
 Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
 Smith, Abel H. (Christchurch)
 Smith, James Parker (Lanarks.)
 Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
 Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset)
 Stewart, Sir Mark J. M. Taggart
 Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
 Strauss, Arthur
 Strutt, Hon. Charles Hedley
 Sturt, Hon. H. Napier
 Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Ox. Univ.)
 Tennant, Harold John
 Thomas, D. A. (Merthyr)
 Thornton, Percy M.

Tollemache, Henry James
Ure, Alexander
Verney, Hon. Richard G.
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Ward, Hon. R. A. (Crews)
Warner, Thomas C. T.
Webster, Sir Richard E.
Welby, Lieut.-Col. A. C. E.

Whiteley, H. (Ashton-under-L)
Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
Williams, J. Powell (Birm.)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Willox, Sir John A.
Wilson, John (Falkirk)
Wodehouse, Rt.Hn. E.R. (Bath)
Wylie, Alexander

Wyvill, Marmaduke D'Arcy
Young, Commander (Berks, E.)
Younger, William

TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
Sir William Walrond and
Mr. Anstruther.

NOES.

Austin, M. (Limerick, W.)
Bolton, Thomas Dolling
Clark, Dr. G. B. (Caithness-sh.)
Commings, Andrew
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crilly, Daniel
Daly, James
Donelan, Captain A.
Doogan, P. C.
Engledew, Charles John
Esmonde, Sir Thomas
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Fox, Dr. Joseph Francis

Hammond, John (Carlow)
Hayden, John Patrick
Healy, Maurice (Cork)
Holland, William Henry
Jordan, Jeremiah
Kilbride, Denis
Macaleese, Daniel
MacDonnell, Dr. M. A. (Qn's C)
MacNeill, J. Gordon Swift
McCartan, Michael
McGhee, Richard
McLeod, John
Mandeville, J. Francis
Murnaghan, George

O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Malley, William
Parnell, John Howard
Pinkerton, John
Power, Patrick Joseph
Redmond, J. E. (Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Sullivan, Donal (Westmeath)
Sullivan, T. D. (Donegal, W.)
Tully, Jasper
Young, Samuel (Davan, East)
TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
Mr. J. P. Farrell and Mr.
Crean.

Resolved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty as followeth:—

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the Gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament."

To be presented by Privy Councillors and such Members as are of Her Majesty's Household.

SUPPLY.

Resolved, That this House will, upon Monday next, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty.

Ordered, That the several Estimates presented to this House during the present session be referred to the Committee of Supply.—(*Mr. Hanbury.*)

WAYS AND MEANS.

Resolved, That this House will, upon Monday next, resolve itself into a Com-

mittee to consider of the Ways and Means for raising the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty.—(*Mr. Hanbury.*)

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—NEWS FROM THE FRONT.

On the Motion for Adjournment,

MR. CALDWELL (Lanarkshire, Mid) asked whether there was any information from the seat of war.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Our information points to the fact that General Buller is not pressing his advance from the position occupied on Wednesday. We have not thought it right to press him for detailed information about the operations which are in progress; nor, if he gives us such information, do we think it right to make it public until the operations are completed.

*MR. TENNANT (Berwickshire): May I ask whether it is true that General Macdonald has been ordered back?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: We have no information upon the point.

Adjourned at ten minutes before One of the clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Monday, 12th February, 1900.

VISCOUNT CLIFDEN.

Report made from the Lord Chancellor that the right of Thomas Charles Agar Robartes, Viscount Clifden, to vote at the elections of Representative Peers for Ireland has been established to the satisfaction of the Lord Chancellor; read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

SAT FIRST.

The Lord Wynford sat first in Parliament after the death of his brother.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificates from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have been complied with—

Imschenetzky's Uralite Patent.
Maryport Harbour.
National Markets, Stores, and Workshops.
Rochdale Corporation.
Southport and Lytham Tramroad.
Walsall Corporation.

And the Certificates that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bills have not been complied with—

Blackpool, St. Annes, and Lytham Tramways.
South-Eastern Metropolitan Tramways.
Aberdeen Corporation Tramways.

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

ASTON MANOR TRAMWAYS BILL [H.L.]
BIRMINGHAM CORPORATION (STOCK) BILL [H.L.]
BIRMINGHAM (KING EDWARD THE SIXTH) SCHOOLS BILL [H.L.]
BIRMINGHAM UNIVERSITY BILL [H.L.]
BOURNEMOUTH CORPORATION BILL [H.L.]

Presented, and read 1^a.

VOL. LXXVIII. [FOURTH SERIES.]

BURNLEY CORPORATION BILL [H.L.]

BURY AND DISTRICT WATER (TRANSFER) BILL [H.L.]

CARDIFF CORPORATION BILL [H.L.]

CHURCH'S PATENT BILL [H.L.]

CLYDE NAVIGATION BILL [H.L.]

COWES PIER BILL [H.L.]

DUNDEE HARBOUR BILL [H.L.]

EAST SHROPSHIRE WATER BILL [H.L.]

EAST STIRLINGSHIRE WATER BILL [H.L.]

EDINBURGH CORPORATION BILL [H.L.]

EDINBURGH DISTRICT LUNACY BOARD BILL [H.L.]

EXMOUTH URBAN DISTRICT WATER BILL [H.L.]

FALKIRK AND DISTRICT WATER BILL [H.L.]

FALKIRK CORPORATION BILL [H.L.]

GLASGOW BUILDING REGULATIONS BILL [H.L.]

HEMEL HEMPSTEAD CORPORATION (WATER) BILL [H.L.]

HIGHAM FERRERS WATER BILL [H.L.]

IPSWICH CORPORATION TRAMWAYS BILL [H.L.]

KINGSTON-UPON-THAMES CORPORATION BILL [H.L.]

LANCASHIRE INEBRIATES ACTS BOARD BILL [H.L.]

LINCOLN CORPORATION (TRAMWAYS) BILL [H.L.]

MANCHESTER CORPORATION TRAMWAYS BILL [H.L.]

MARGATE CORPORATION BILL [H.L.]

MENSTONE WATER (TRANSFER) BILL [H.L.]

MERSEY DOCKS AND HARBOUR BOARD BILL [H.L.]

MORLEY CORPORATION BILL [H.L.]

Presented, and read 1^a.

2 X

MOTHERWELL AND BELLSHILL RAIL-
WAY BILL [H.L.].

MOTHERWELL WATER BILL [H.L.].

MOUNTAIN ASH WATER BILL [H.L.].

NEATH HARBOUR BILL [H.L.].

NEWPORT CORPORATION BILL [H.L.].

NEWTOWN AND LLANLLWCHAIARN
URBAN DISTRICT GAS BILL [H.L.].

OTLEY URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL
WATER BILL [H.L.].

PAIGNTON URBAN DISTRICT WATER
BILL [H.L.].

PRESTON CORPORATION BILL [H.L.].

RAMSGATE CORPORATION IMPROVE-
MENTS BILL [H.L.].

RAWMARSH URBAN DISTRICT COUN-
CIL (TRAMWAYS) BILL [H.L.].

ROTHERHAM CORPORATION BILL
[H.L.].

ROTHERHITHE AND RATCLIFF
TUNNEL BILL [H.L.].

SALFORD CORPORATION BILL [H.L.].

SHEFFIELD CORPORATION BILL [H.L.].

SOUTHAMPTON HARBOUR BILL [H.L.].

SOUTH ESSEX WATER BOARD BILL
[H.L.].

SOUTH SHIELDS CORPORATION BILL
[H.L.].

SUNDERLAND CORPORATION BILL
[H.L.].

WITHINGTON URBAN DISTRICT
COUNCIL BILL [H.L.].

Presented, and read 1^a.

ARMY AND NAVY INVESTMENT
TRUST BILL [H.L.].

BARRY RAILWAY (STEAM VESSELS)
BILL [H.L.].

BEXHILL AND ROTHERFIELD RAIL-
WAY BILL [H.L.].

BREWERY AND COMMERCIAL IN-
VESTMENT TRUST, LIMITED, BILL
[H.L.].

CLEETHORPES GAS BILL [H.L.].

COMMERCIAL UNION ASSURANCE
COMPANY BILL [H.L.].

Presented; read 1^a; and referred to
the Examiners.

CORK, BANDON, AND SOUTH COAST
RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

CRYSTAL PALACE COMPANY BILL
[H.L.].

DONEGAL RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

DORKING WATER BILL [H.L.].

DUBLIN, WICKLOW, AND WEXFORD
RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

EXMOUTH AND DISTRICT WATER
BILL [H.L.].

FISHGUARD AND ROSSLARE RAIL-
WAYS AND HARBOURS BILL [H.L.].

FISHGUARD WATER AND GAS BILL
[H.L.].

GLASGOW AND SOUTH WESTERN
RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

GOVERNMENT STOCK AND OTHER
SECURITIES INVESTMENT COMPANY
BILL [H.L.].

GREAT BERKHAMPSTEAD WATER
BILL [H.L.].

GREAT CENTRAL RAILWAY BILL [H.L.]

GREAT SOUTHERN AND WESTERN
AND WATERFORD AND CENTRAL
IRELAND RAILWAY COMPANIES
AMALGAMATION BILL [H.L.].

GREAT SOUTHERN AND WESTERN
AND WATERFORD, LIMERICK, AND
WESTERN RAILWAY COMPANIES
AMALGAMATION BILL [H.L.].

GREAT SOUTHERN AND WESTERN
RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

GUN BARREL PROOF ACT, 1868, AMEND-
MENT BILL [H.L.].

KINGSTON-UPON-THAMES GAS BILL
[H.L.].

LIVERPOOL OVERHEAD RAILWAY
BILL [H.L.].

LONDON, BRIGHTON, AND SOUTH
COAST RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

LONDON HYDRAULIC POWER COM-
PANY BILL [H.L.].

LONDON SEA WATER SUPPLY BILL
[H.L.].

MANCHESTER SHIP CANAL BILL
[H.L.].

MARGATE PIER AND HARBOUR BILL
[H.L.].

Presented; read 1^a; and referred to
the Examiners.

MERSEY RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

MIDLAND GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY OF IRELAND BILL [H.L.].

MUIRKIRK, MAUCHLINE, AND DALLMELLINGTON RAILWAYS (ABANDONMENT) BILL [H.L.].

NEWPORT (MONMOUTHSHIRE) GAS BILL [H.L.].

NEW RUSSIA COMPANY BILL [H.L.].

NORTH-BRITISH RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

NORTH-EASTERN RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

NORTH-EASTERN RAILWAY (STEAM VESSELS) BILL [H.L.].

RHYMNEY IRON COMPANY BILL [H.L.].

RHYMNEY RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

SCOTTISH AMERICAN INVESTMENT COMPANY, LIMITED, BILL [H.L.].

SCOTTISH WIDOWS' FUND AND LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY BILL [H.L.].

SHEFFIELD DISTRICT RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

SOUTH-EASTERN AND LONDON, CHATHAM, AND DOVER RAILWAYS BILL [H.L.].

SOUTH-EASTERN RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

SOUTH STAFFORDSHIRE TRAMWAYS BILL [H.L.].

TAFF VALE RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

UNIVERSAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY BILL [H.L.].

WESTGATE AND BIRCHINGTON WATER BILL [H.L.].

WIRRAL RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

Presented; read 1^a; and referred to the Examiners.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

AGED DESERVING POOR.

Report of the Departmental Committee on the financial aspects of the proposals made by the Select Committee of the

House of Commons of 1899; with appendices.

ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND.

Annual Report for the year 1899.

Presented (by command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

CHELSEA HOSPITAL.

Account of the receipts and expenditure of the Commissioners of Chelsea Hospital in respect of Army Prize and Legacy Funds, etc., for the year ended 31st March, 1899; together with the report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon; laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

PETITION.

VACCINATION ACTS.

Petition for amendment of; of the Guardians of the Poor of the Northwich Union; read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—COMMANDS AT THE FRONT.

LORD BATEMAN: My Lords, before the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War makes his statement this evening as to the military measures Her Majesty's Government propose to take, I am anxious to put a question to him of which I have given him private notice. The question is as follows: Whether General Sir Frederick Carrington is destined for a command in South Africa, and whether Lord Methuen is still in command of Her Majesty's forces on the Modder River. I do not propose to offer any comment with regard to my question, but if the noble Marquess can see his way to make any statement or to give us any information on the subject I am sure it will be received and appreciated very much by this House and in the country, and will tend to relieve a considerable amount of doubt and anxiety.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (The Marquess of LANSDOWNE): My Lords, in answer to the first question of the noble Lord I have to say that Sir F. Carrington has been designated for a

command in South Africa. In answer to the second question I have to say that Lord Roberts is now at Modder River, and is in command of the whole of Her Majesty's forces at that place.

LAND CHARGES BILL [H.L.]

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (The Earl of HALSBURY): This Bill has already passed your Lordships' House. It was to have become law last session, but was unable to get through owing to want of time.

Bill read 2^a, and committed to a Committee of the whole House.

LUNACY BILL [H.L.]

[SECOND READING.]

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE EARL OF HALSBURY: My Lords, this Bill has passed your Lordships' House on two previous occasions; but although on the last occasion I formally moved the Second Reading, the Bill having been already confirmed by your Lordships, I cannot now move it without saying that some of the questions involved in it are of serious public importance. This is one of those Bills which for want of time did not pass last session, but which are, nevertheless, urgently needed. One of its most important provisions relates to what are called Urgency Orders, which were instituted by the Act of 1890. To the provision that no person should be deprived of his liberty without some judicial investigation, an exception was made in cases where circumstances rendered a judicial investigation practically impossible, as in the case, for instance, of a raving lunatic, who could not be brought before a magistrate. It was enacted that under such circumstances an Urgency Order might be issued to meet the case. I am extremely sorry to say that the facilities given by this form of procedure have been abused, and medical men have been found who have certified that such an order ought to be given when, in my opinion, there has been no ground whatever for it. In the

interest of the liberty of the subject, amendment of the law is desirable. Among other provisions, the Bill now before your Lordships provides that any medical man who certifies the necessity of an Urgency Order shall give the circumstances under which, and fully and specifically state the reasons why, an Urgency Order is said to be necessary. I regard that as a very important reform in the administration of the lunacy law, and I trust that in the present session of Parliament time will be found to pass this Bill. I have thought fit, although this Bill has passed your Lordships' House on two previous occasions, to make this statement, because, in my opinion, the Bill is not a mere amending measure but one of great public importance.

Read 2^a, and committed to a Committee of the whole House.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—CONTEMPLATED MILITARY MEASURES.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN: My Lords, I beg to ask my noble friend the Secretary of State for War whether he is now in a position to make a statement as to the military measures Her Majesty's Government propose to take.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: My Lords, I have to thank your Lordships for the consideration you have shown me in allowing me to postpone until this evening what I have to say upon this most important subject. I gather from the observations which have been made in this House upon previous occasions that the points with regard to which your Lordships desire to be informed are these—first, to what extent have we, in sending out of this country large military forces for service in South Africa, denuded the United Kingdom of its proper garrison; next, what steps are we taking, or have we taken, to secure the safety of these islands during the absence of these large forces; and, thirdly, I think your Lordships would like to know what forces are, or will be, at our disposal for the prosecution of those military operations which we all, I am sure, desire to see carried to a decisive and to a satisfactory conclusion. I think I may, perhaps, first state to the House what troops are actually in or under orders for South

Africa. In the two colonies before the war broke out we had a force of about 23,000 men. To those we intended to add, for the purpose of offensive operations against the South African Republics, a field army of, in round figures, 50,000 men—that is, an army corps, a cavalry division, and troops for the lines of communication. We had assumed that that force would have to be concentrated in the Cape Colony and prepared for an advance by a date which I may state as the 23rd of the month of December. We were led to take that date for this reason—that it was the earliest date by which we could look forward to concentrate in the Cape Colony the whole of the supplies and the whole of the land transport necessary for the advance of a considerable army. The 50,000 men did, in point of fact, arrive in South Africa before the appointed date, and as to the transport animals I may say that the whole of the 15,000 mules which were required for the conveyance of the troops were collected in the Cape Colony or in Natal by the middle of the month of December. But, my Lords, before the time came at which we had looked forward to the commencement of the advance important events happened in South Africa. At the beginning of the month of November we became aware that for the original plan of a central operation by way of the Orange Free State there had been substituted other operations for the relief of Ladysmith upon the eastern and of Kimberley upon the western side of the theatre of operations, and there were also subsidiary operations in the Cape Colony. General Clery and Lord Methuen commenced their respective advances on the 18th of the month of November, and before the end of the month Lord Methuen had fought three pitched battles on the line of the railway leading towards Kimberley, followed by a fourth battle in the early days of the month of December. I mention this change in the plan of campaign not with any idea of suggesting that any other dispositions were preferable, but because I wish to impress upon the House how greatly the magnitude and the difficulty of the task was increased by this fundamental alteration. I think it is obvious that, even if all had gone well with the two relieving forces, those operations could not possibly have been carried on by a force of the dimensions which was

considered sufficient for the one great central operation, and, in fact, we all know that things did not go well, and that both the relieving forces encountered checks and obstacles which led to the prolongation of the two relief operations, and retarded for a very long time the commencement of the central advance which had always been regarded as the pivot of the whole campaign. These events led us to recognise at an early stage the necessity of adding largely to the forces in South Africa. All through the autumn and winter a steady stream of troops was poured into the two colonies. During October 28,000 men embarked from this country, during November 26,000, December 24,000, and January 25,000. And, in addition to the troops now in South Africa, there are under orders or on their way at this moment 50,000 further troops. Three divisions had left this country by the middle of November, the fourth division was in South Africa, the fifth division left in the last week of November, the sixth division in the latter part of December, and the seventh division in the beginning of January. These troops were accompanied by those colonial contingents of whose admirable behaviour we have, I am sure, all heard with the liveliest satisfaction. They were followed by a certain number of Militia battalions. There were local forces raised upon the spot in both colonies. At a later stage we sent out that force of Imperial Yeomanry which had been raised with the assistance of the officers of the old Yeomanry—a force the whole 8,000 of which has, I am glad to say, now been raised. We are now sending out more Militia battalions up to a total of thirty battalions altogether, and I rejoice to hear that the colonial contingents are still following in considerable numbers. Taking all these troops together, we shall have before long in South Africa, approximately speaking, no less than 200,000 men, of whom three-fourths, roughly speaking, have been sent out from this country. I am, of course, not suggesting that the whole of this great force is one of which Lord Roberts can dispose or which he could at any moment place in the fighting line. We all know what large deductions have to be made from the grand total of a military force in order to arrive at the actual number of sabres and bayonets whom the general in command can make

use of in the field, but I mention these large withdrawals of troops from this country because I think it is right the House should know the extent of the drain to which our resources at home have been subjected by these operations. In these circumstances I do not think I shall be contradicted when I say that our first duty seemed to us to be to make arrangements for supplying what I might describe as the wear and tear of the South African army, and up to the present time I think we have done that not unsuccessfully; 5,600 men were sent out as drafts in the month of December, and 2,700 in January. It may, perhaps, reassure your Lordships to hear that we anticipate no great difficulty in supplying the necessary drafts of what is probably as important as men—I mean of horses. We have found many new sources of supply, and from these sources we are confident of being able to draw a number of horses sufficient to supply the wants of the Army, even making allowance for the terrible inroads of horse sickness which we know is rife in that part of the world. We must, of course, anticipate very large further demands, and we have therefore to take stock of the resources from which those demands can be met. If I may run briefly through what I may describe as our military assets, I may state that of regular troops serving with the colours—the remaining battalions of infantry, the men at the dépôts, the soldiers who are left behind by the Line battalions as being of not sufficient age or service to go out, the remaining regiments of cavalry, the remaining horse and field artillery—of these we have 98,000 men at home altogether. In addition we have about 12,000 men of the Reserves, of whom we have not yet made use. That gives us in all 110,000 regular soldiers at home at this moment. It may perhaps interest the House to know that that number is almost exactly the same as the number which was serving with the colours this time last year. Then we have the Yeomanry, which, deducting the men whom it has contributed to the Imperial Yeomanry, numbers 7,000. We have of Militia of all arms, deducting those Militia battalions which have gone or are going to South Africa, 77,000 men. And we have Volunteers, deducting the companies which the Volunteers have contributed to the Line battalions serving at the front, 215,000. That gives a grand

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total of 409,000 armed men serving in this country at the present time. I think some of the statements which we sometimes see made with regard to the alleged absolute denudation of this country scarcely, perhaps, take sufficiently into account the large number of men which, in spite of all these demands, are still left to us in the British Islands. My Lords, it is, of course, in a case of this kind not sufficient merely to count heads or to assume that every soldier in the country is available for military purposes at the moment. Our business is to organise and equip what we have got, and to distribute those forces in the most advantageous manner. Now, what are the requirements from these resources which it is our business to meet? I think those requirements are threefold. We have, in the first place, to provide an army for home defence, by which I mean not merely troops stationed at garrisons and defensive positions, but a mobile army, which we would be able to transfer rapidly to any point which may at any moment be threatened. In the next place, we require the necessary garrisons for our forts and for the positions which under our mobilisation schemes have to be defended in case of attack. And, in the third place, we have to be prepared with sufficient reinforcements and with the means of replacing any troops which may be taken for the purpose of these reinforcements from within the limits of the mobile army. Now, my Lords, the first question which arises is—What should be the size of that mobile army? The matter was gone into twelve years ago, and it was then laid down very clearly in the Minute written by the then Secretary of State for War, Mr. Edward Stanhope, that after provision had been made for the defence of India and the colonies it was desirable that we should have a force of three army corps for home defence, two of these army corps being composed of Regulars, and the third partly of Regulars and partly of auxiliary troops, and that, subject to these considerations, two army corps should be available for service abroad. I have no doubt that what was then contemplated was that we should, after establishing our superiority at sea, be able to send in the later stages of a war a moderate-sized army for offensive purposes beyond the limits of these islands. But, my Lords, circumstances

have changed a good deal since Mr. Stanhope's Minute was written. I cannot help thinking that there is something ironical in the present situation, in which we, the greatest maritime Power in the world, find ourselves at war with two little States which do not own a boat's crew between them, and which are consequently invulnerable by our powerful Navy. We are in the position of a strong man fighting with his right arm tied behind his back; but I hope, again, when we talk of the denudation of these islands, that we shall not forget that that right arm is intact, and unimpaired, and stronger than it has ever been in the history of the Empire. This exceptional combination of circumstances has thrown upon the Army exertions of the most arduous kind. We find ourselves in this position. We have to send out, not two army corps at the end of a war in order to drive home a blow struck in the first instance by the fleet, but we have to send out at the very beginning of the war nearly three army corps, with no assistance from the Navy except that assistance—and I gladly acknowledge its value—which the Naval Brigades and Naval Artillery have been enabled to give to us on shore. Our first duty, I think, is to see that we are provided with a field army of the dimensions laid down in 1888—that is, a field army numbering about 130,000 men. That is the more necessary because a field army must be, as it were, the reservoir upon which we draw should it be necessary to send further reinforcements out of this country. In our opinion that army corps should have at least what I may describe as a backbone of Regular troops; and as I am mentioning Regular troops, I may state to the House that it is our intention to add to the permanent strength of the Army twelve new Line battalions of infantry in addition to the three Line battalions which we are now raising under an augmentation of the Army decided on two years ago. That permanent increase of the Army is necessitated by the growing demands of our Imperial and colonial garrisons. We propose to add these new battalions as third and fourth battalions of existing line regiments. I have before stated in this House the reasons for which it seemed to me that the four-battalion organisation had very great conveniences, and I will not repeat them now. In order to form these battalions we shall draw

upon the surplus men of the first and second battalions—the men whom the first and second battalions have left behind—upon the reservists of the regiment, upon ex-soldiers desiring to re-enter the Army and serve on for pension, and, lastly, upon ordinary recruits. I may say, perhaps, with regard to ordinary recruits, that we have every reason to be satisfied with the manner in which recruiting has progressed during the last few months. It is perfectly clear that a war does not tend to make the Army unpopular. I may, perhaps, tell your Lordships that in October we took 4,395 recruits, in November 5,226, in December 3,798, and in January about 6,500 recruits, or a total of about 20,000 recruits in four months—that is, 4,000 more men than in the corresponding four months of last year, which was supposed to be an extremely good recruiting year. I pass from infantry to artillery, and more particularly field artillery. Her Majesty's Government have, ever since they came into power, recognised the very great importance of that branch of the Army. We have already added no less than sixteen batteries to the Field Artillery, but we are convinced that a much larger increase is necessary. The part played by the artillery in the present war shows, I think, how necessary it is that we should be amply provided in this respect. There is also this consideration—that, having to depend for our home Army to a considerable extent, at all events, upon auxiliary forces whose training is necessarily not as perfect as that of the Regular Army, we feel it is absolutely necessary that those auxiliary forces should be, if I may use a colloquial and customary expression, stiffened by the presence of a large force of Regular field artillery. After sending out the artillery of two army corps to South Africa we have the field artillery of one army corps left. Our proposal is to raise horse and field artillery for two more army corps—that is altogether thirty-six batteries of field artillery and seven batteries of horse artillery, or forty-three batteries altogether. When this increase has been effected we shall at any time be able to send our two army corps out of the country with a full complement of artillery, and at the same time to have at home the full horse and field artillery for three army corps. These new batteries will be formed partly by a

small nucleus taken from existing batteries, partly from artillerymen left behind by out-going batteries, partly from artillery reservists, partly from ex-artillerymen desiring to rejoin the Service. We also propose that a certain number of Volunteer artillerymen should be allowed to join the batteries upon a short one year's term of engagement. I may say that the guns for these new batteries have been ordered, and that it is our intention to add to the usual armament of 15-pounder guns a certain number of batteries of howitzers. It is intended that in time of peace these batteries should be retained as *cadres* only, by which I mean that the *materiel* will be always there, but the number of men would in time of emergency have to be specially expanded. I have only one word to say with regard to the cavalry. We require for the force I have indicated fifteen regiments of cavalry. There are in the country eight regiments, and we propose to form four out of the reserve squadrons left by regiments that have gone abroad, and that the remainder of the cavalry force should be furnished by a brigade of Yeomanry specially trained for this purpose. We also propose an increase in the Royal Engineers, and a considerable increase in that most valuable branch of the service, the Army Service Corps, the numbers of which are certainly insufficient at present. I pass from the Regular forces to the Auxiliary forces. I think that one of the lessons of this war has been to show us what a great and valuable reserve power we possess in our Auxiliary forces. We have already drawn largely on the Militia, and I hear from my military advisers nothing but the warmest commendation both as to the manner in which that call has been responded to and as to the excellence of the Militia battalions themselves. We must, I think, insist upon a nucleus of Regular troops for our home Army, but for the bulk of it we must depend on the Auxiliary forces. I am sometimes told that these forces have been too little taken into account in the past. All I can say is that there is not at this moment a battalion of Militia or Volunteers which has not got a place assigned to it in the defensive system of the country. Some of them are told off for garrisons, some to the defence of the capital, some to columns intended for use at particularly vulner-

able points; and nothing is further from the thoughts of the military authorities than to assign to them an unimportant or inglorious part in the duty of defending this country. If we are to depend largely on the Auxiliary forces it seems to me that we cannot take too great pains, on the one hand to increase their numbers, and on the other hand to add to their efficiency. I will take the Militia first. A noble Earl below the gangway in the debate on the Address expressed his conviction that the time had come for embodying the whole of the Militia. We do not differ from him in principle. We have already embodied seventy-three battalions, and we shall embody the remainder as soon as climatic conditions render it possible to put them under canvas. At this moment our barracks are full, and there are objections, which, I must say, seem to me to have some force, to a large use of billeting for this purpose. In the spring we propose to form large camps at which the whole of the Militia will undergo a course of training. We shall pay particular attention to musketry, and we intend that the battalions shall be provided, at the public expense, of course, with the necessary transport. I have of late had my attention a good deal directed to the great variety in the payments which are made to different classes of militiamen and to the corresponding variety in the liabilities under which they serve. We have the ordinary militiaman receiving a bounty of £1, for which he is liable to serve at home; the Militia reservist, who receives another bounty, and is liable to serve out of the United Kingdom with the Line battalion of his own territorial regiment; and you have the special service militiaman created under the Act of 1898, who also receives a bounty of £1 and is liable to be called out for service with any battalion or regiment. It strikes me, in the first place, that these bounties are not conceived on a very generous scale; and, in the next place, the conditions of service are needlessly complicated and puzzling. This matter is not one which can be dealt with in a hurry; and I only mention it because I should like to convey to the House that we have this matter under our consideration, and that we shall endeavour to deal with it successfully. I hope in particular that we may find it possible to do something

to alter the present position of the Militia Reserve, which, though, perhaps, not unpopular with the men serving in it, is, I know, extremely unpopular with Militia officers. As immediate steps, we intend to give to the Militia, when out for training, that messing allowance which is now given to the Line, but which the Militia have not yet been allowed to receive. We also propose to alter the rule under which a militiaman receives a bounty of forty-two days pay, whatever be the length of the period for which he is embodied. It seems to us clear that the bounty should vary according to the tax on the men's time. Then I hope to obtain an increase in the bounty paid to a militiaman when he re-engages, and, in addition to that, I think we must offer inducements to encourage ex-militiamen to rejoin the force, provided, of course, that they have the proper physical qualification. The Militia is now 30,000 below its establishment. We have every hope that, by making the conditions of service more attractive, we shall be able to fill up that void. With regard to the Yeomanry, we shall encourage them to enrol up to their full establishment, or beyond it, if the men are forthcoming. We propose that they shall have this year a month's training under canvas; that they shall be provided with transport; and that the contingent allowance should be increased. As to the future of the force, I think it will occur to many people that the *role* played by mounted infantry, and the manner in which the Imperial Yeomanry, which, as your Lordships know, is a force of mounted infantry, has been developed as an offshoot from the old Yeomanry, suggests that there may be room for improvement in the organisation of the Yeomanry force. But that is a matter which requires delicate handling; and I very gladly assure those noble lords in this House who are connected with the Yeomanry that we shall deal with it in a cautious and tactful spirit, and with every desire to carry the force with us and to respect its time-honoured traditions. I come now to the Volunteers. They have an establishment of 265,000 men, and their present strength is 221,000 or 43,000 below the establishment. I stated to the House the other evening that we intended to encourage all Volunteer battalions to recruit up to a strength of 1,000, and that, where still more men were forthcoming,

we should encourage the formation of second battalions, perhaps of a more moderate size. Then we find that there is, in some Volunteer forces, a great desire that a part of the battalion should be equipped and organised as mounted infantry. To that very laudable wish we shall certainly offer no obstacle. We shall encourage the movement, and shall be prepared to pay special rates of capitulation wherever a Volunteer battalion is able to provide a mounted company. During the present summer there will be camps at which the Volunteers will undergo special training, and we have every hope that the whole force may be trained at such camps between the months of May and August. Musketry, of course, in the case of the Volunteers, deserves special attention, and connected with this question is that question of ranges about which I have been more than once questioned in this House. Your Lordships are aware of the immense difficulties with which that question is surrounded; but I am not without hopes that we may be able to surmount them. I think it possible that, with adequate precautions, some of the numerous ranges which have lately been condemned as unsafe for use with the present rifle might be made sufficiently safe, at any rate, at the shorter ranges; and I hope that we shall be able to carry further an arrangement already in force under which the Government pays a subvention to corps whose means are insufficient to enable them to provide themselves at their own expense with suitable range accommodation. Then there is the Volunteer artillery. There are altogether ninety-eight batteries of Volunteer artillery. Of these some are armed with guns of position and others with field-guns—16-pounders. The whole of these guns are not of a modern type—I am afraid most of them deserve the description obsolete. It is our intention to re-arm the Volunteer artillery with modern guns. To those now using guns of position, we propose to give those semi-mobile 4·7 in. guns, which have done such excellent service in South Africa, and which are apparently regarded as the most efficient guns of that description which we can find. In the hands of the rest we shall put modern field-guns. The Volunteer artillery will, like the rest of the Volunteers, be given an opportunity of undergoing a special training during

the present summer. Before I leave this subject, I may tell the noble Lord on the cross benches (the Earl of Wemyss) that we are quite prepared to encourage a proposal in which I know he takes a keen personal interest—the proposal that Volunteers who have served for a certain number of years in a Volunteer corps should be allowed to enrol themselves as Volunteer reservists, and be given a grant of ammunition and facilities for using ranges. There is only one reservation which I must make as to that. We must be careful, in giving effect to a scheme of this kind, to do nothing which would interfere with the existing Volunteer battalions. We have done what I think is a reasonable thing under the circumstances. We have issued a circular to Volunteer officers asking them to give us the benefit of their advice as to the conditions under which this proposal might be carried out. One word with regard to the Militia and Volunteer officers. We think that they should be given further facilities for attending courses of instruction, and that this should be done under financial conditions which will absolutely safeguard them against any inroad on their own private means. I may also say that I am in hopes of being able to make an arrangement under which there will be appointed to the Headquarters Staff of the Army an officer or officers having special and practical familiarity with the administration of the auxiliary forces, who will be able to guide and inform us as to their peculiar wants and requirements. I trust that by measures of this kind we shall be able to add considerably to the popularity of the Yeomanry, Militia, and Volunteers; but there is another source from which I think we may fairly look for a temporary accession to the military strength of this country. There are amongst us in civil life a very large number of men who have completed the full time of service with the colours and the Reserve. A great many of these men are still in the prime of life. A soldier who enlists at eighteen and completes his twelve years service with the colours and the Reserve, is only thirty when he becomes a civilian. We are under the impression that there must be somewhere in the neighbourhood of 170,000 men between the ages of twenty-five and forty-five upon whom we might draw for a special force for service in this country at the present moment. We pro-

pose to open the door to these men. We propose to ask them to come to us for an engagement of one year, and for home service only. We shall, of course, give them a certain bounty for doing so, and if, as we hope, they come forward in considerable numbers, we shall form special reserve battalions of these men. Of course it is impossible for us to predict the number in which these men may be forthcoming, and the success of the experiment will depend a great deal on the extent to which they are influenced by the great wave of patriotic feeling which is now sweeping over this country. We shall do our best to make their short term of service as attractive and as little onerous to them as possible. They are men who have all learnt their business as soldiers; and in their case, therefore, it will be possible to dispense with those initial stages of the soldier's training which are, I imagine, most irksome to them. We shall commence in the most promising centres; and if, as I hope, we succeed in obtaining a considerable number of men, we shall have in this new reserve force a most valuable body from which to fill up in the home battalions any gaps which may be created by the withdrawal of troops for service in South Africa. It will, of course, occur to your Lordships that for these battalions, and also for the new Line battalions and new batteries of artillery which we intend to raise, we shall want a large number of officers, and I frankly confess to the House that the difficulty of obtaining officers in the proper number and of the proper quality seems to me to be one of the most serious, if not the most serious, with which we have to contend. We expect to draw them partly from the Reserve of Officers, of whom there are, I think, now 1,700, and for the rest we must depend upon promotions in the higher ranks, accompanied, of course, by the admission of a very large number of officers of subaltern rank in the lower. With this object we intend to offer commissions to the Militia and Volunteers, to the Universities, and a small number to the public schools. We also intend to offer commissions to the colonies, from whom we have already received many excellent officers, and I am sure any one who knows, as I know, anything about the Military College at Kingston, Canada, will not doubt that officers taken from that source are worthy to take their place

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by the side of the very best officers of our Army. My Lords, amongst our other proposals now being carried out is one dealing with the question of the stores and munitions of war of all kinds. As to that, I do not think I need say any more than that we have adopted it for our policy, not only to replace the large inroads which have been made upon our stores of all sorts, but also to build up the Reserves upon a much ampler scale than has hitherto been authorised. We have been struck by the inadequacy of our reserves of many kinds of stores, and we are determined that we shall no longer be open to that reproach. I have omitted to mention one other point, which is that we hope to add to the number of men serving in our Line battalions upon the three years engagement. The number at present of three years men is limited, I think, to 100 men in each battalion. We attach great importance to this variation in the period of service, and for two reasons. In the first place, we believe that in taking men on the three years term we tap a different stratum of recruits, men who will not accept liability for a longer period of service. But that is not all. The three years men contribute much more rapidly to the Reserve than the men who stay longer with the colours, and we all know what an invaluable stand-by the Reserve has been to us during these operations. I think I am right in saying that, whereas 100 three years men contribute about 90 men to the Reserve, 100 men who serve seven years only contribute 25. It is, therefore, quite obvious that as a machine for manufacturing Reservists the three years men are much more valuable than men who serve for a longer term. I have given to your Lordships, as I had promised the noble Earl I would, an outline, and only an outline, of our proposals. I may, perhaps, now be allowed to summarise in half-a-dozen words the more important features of those proposals. They involve a very large increase indeed to our artillery—to the Regular artillery, and an addition to the efficiency of the Volunteer artillery. They also involve a considerable addition to the force of mounted men available in the Army. There is, thirdly, the proposal which I sketched just now for the employment of ex-soldiers in short service battalions to be employed at home for one year only. That seems to me what might be described as an

emergency measure—a change of the very greatest value. Fourthly, we have a number of minor steps, all to be taken in the hope that they will increase the popularity and efficiency of the Reserve forces. The details of these latter proposals, I have no doubt, may strike some of your Lordships as trivial, but I do not think they will so strike those who have been at all familiar with the administration of the Militia and Volunteers. We know that it is these small matters that make a great difference to the contentment of the force. My Lords, I may be asked to state before I sit down what addition to the numbers we expect to get as a result of the changes which I have indicated. The question is not an easy one to answer, because it is quite clear that, relying as we do upon offering certain inducements, we can only conjecture the extent to which these inducements will be successful in achieving the desired purpose. But I may say this, that whereas the deficiency in the Auxiliary forces—where they fall below their establishment—is 76,000, we are hopeful that if we cannot make up the whole of that deficiency we shall at least reduce the deficiency by 50,000 men. From the new line battalions, from the new batteries of artillery, from the forces of Engineers and Army Service Corps, from the additional three-years men, and from the additional cavalry, we hope to draw about 30,000 men, and if it should be the case that we succeed in inducing the ex-soldiers of whom I spoke just now to accept our terms in considerable numbers I do not think it is inconceivable that 20,000 might be persuaded to accept service. If these anticipations—and they are mere conjectures—are realised, we may look forward to 100,000 men as being the gross outcome of the proposed changes. Before I sit down may I say one word on two omissions in my statement which I dare say your Lordships have noticed. I said very little about organic changes. Where I have referred to them I have merely indicated the direction in which our thoughts were moving. I do not think that it can be expected of us that in the midst of a war such as that in which we are engaged we should attempt to carry out great organic changes. Your Lordships may also have noticed that throughout these remarks I have not once referred to the words ballot, or conscription, or compulsion.

I have once or twice had occasion to speak to your Lordships on that subject, and I have always said that it seemed to me that the time might come when we should have to resort to compulsion in some form. I have also said that in my belief it would be profoundly distasteful to the great mass of the people of this country, and that we can only resort to it after all other attempts to obtain the necessary number of men had failed. At this moment, when men are coming forward spontaneously in great numbers, when there is an amount of enthusiasm, a general and widespread desire throughout the Empire to bear a part in its defence, I do not think that this is a time for talking about compulsion in any form. What I venture to think is wanted at the present time is not compulsion but encouragement. That encouragement we propose to give in the most ungrudging spirit, and we believe that we shall be met half-way by the patriotism and resolution of the people of this country.

LORD SALTOUN: My Lords, I do not rise to make a speech, but simply to ask for a word of explanation as to the Artillery. I did not understand whether they were to be armed with the present 15-pounders or with more modern quick-firing guns.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: They will be armed with 15-pounders of the latest and most modern type.

LORD WANTAGE: My Lords, I merely rise to express regret that the noble Marquess, in the course of his excellent and lucid explanation, did not give the House more information on the subject of the mobility of our Army, which, in my opinion, can only be increased by increasing the number of mounted infantry. I feel satisfied, whatever may be done, that the Yeomanry will never be persuaded to become mounted infantry. I think if the experts who are now serving in South Africa could tell us what is the lesson most learned in our campaign against these two Republics it would be the advantage the Boers had obtained from being able to move their troops rapidly from one place to another. The noble Marquess alluded to this subject very shortly, but I should have been glad if he had been able to tell us something more definite and resolute with regard to it.

The Marquess of Lansdowne.

The statement which has just been made by the Secretary of State for War is to me, and I believe to every Member in the House, most gratifying. The noble Marquess has described the most extraordinary feat which has been achieved in conveying this large force from England to South Africa without, I believe, the loss of a single life, with hardly any loss of stores, and very few losses of transport, cavalry, and other animals. I think the next most interesting thing he told us was that we had still a large force under command at home which might still be used in South Africa. These are facts which give us the greatest confidence. The next point on which I should be glad to hear the noble Marquess's opinion is whether some system—it has been often advocated in this House and in the other House—might be adopted by which all children in schools which are deriving State aid in teaching should be called upon to learn some form of military teaching from men with a perfect knowledge of the matter. That, I believe, would be one of the most useful steps that could be taken. Difficulties have, I understand, arisen between the War Office and the Education Department which have hitherto prevented such a system being adopted. Only yesterday I saw in the newspapers a statement made by the Rev. Dr. Wood, head master of Harrow, in which he says—

“During the past year the school had done well in most branches of school life. He did not know whether the people of this country were within measurable distance of conscription, but at Harrow they were going to impose on Harrovians a form of conscription by compelling all boys over fifteen henceforth to join the rifle corps.”

I do not call that conscription, but I should be very glad to see it extended throughout our educational establishments. The statement of the noble Marquess was very lucid, but it extended over so much ground that it is not possible to discuss it at present in all its bearings. We can consider it at our leisure and see what may be done to amend and improve it.

VISCOUNT GALWAY: My Lords, I think the time to enter into the whole question of the Yeomanry will be when we have the full report of the officers now commanding in South Africa as to the service of this arm in the field. But for

the time being we have to make ourselves as efficient as possible. I understood—I am not quite sure whether rightly or wrongly—from the statement of the noble Marquess that he proposed that the Yeomanry should go out this year for a month. He also said that a special grant was going to be given for mounted infantry in connection with the Volunteers. It costs the Yeomanry a large amount of money to go out even for fourteen days training, and under canvas it will cost more. If the Yeomanry are to go out for a month, and at the same time recruit to increase their numbers, I would urge upon my noble friend the absolute necessity that the question of Yeomanry horses should be taken into consideration, and some allowance given for this purpose. If we are to increase our numbers we shall have men who can ride and shoot, but who are not in a position to keep horses for themselves, which is necessary at the present time. I am sure we are all anxious to do our best to promote the efficiency of the Auxiliary forces. We know thoroughly the feeling of those with whom we have worked for many years, and it might, I think, tend to the smoother and better working of the scheme sketched out by the noble Marquess if we were enabled to make suggestions when it comes to details. If we do recruit up to our maximum strength I hope it will not be a case of recruiting in a hurry, and throwing the men over in six months or a year. If that is done it will do more to discourage than to encourage them.

LORD BLYTHSWOOD: My Lords, I rise to say a few words with regard to the Volunteer force, and to make a suggestion. It is evident that if you were to call out any large number of Volunteers you would be interfering with a number of trades and businesses, and it has struck me that what we require are service battalions, officered by Regulars, one of which should be provided by each five battalions of Volunteers. Each company might be quartered at some centre, and should have a month's training each year, for which they should be paid. You would then have a service battalion fed by five battalions which would be able to move to any part of the country, and which would be very valuable indeed if the Volunteers were to be called out. As

to the Artillery, I hope that the armaments for the Volunteers, as well as for the Militia, will be of the latest and best pattern, and that the force will be kept efficient in horses and men throughout the year.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN: My Lords, it is impossible to adequately discuss the interesting statement which has been made to-night by the noble Marquess without having some little time to consider and digest it, and as I have no doubt the House would like to discuss it later on I shall certainly postpone any remarks I might like to make. I will only ask the noble Marquess whether he will consider the advisability of laying the facts and figures he has mentioned on the Table as a Parliamentary Paper, and having them printed and circulated. I was delighted to hear that the Volunteer artillery are to be armed with modern instead of obsolete guns, but the noble Marquess made no mention whatever of the Militia artillery. I do not know exactly the nature of the weapon with which they are armed at present, but if there is any intention of supplying them with more modern guns I shall be glad to hear it.

LORD MONKSWELL: My Lords, I have no intention, even if I were able, of entering into a detailed criticism of the proposals of the noble Marquess. I will confine myself to their practicability. I think the weak point in the Marquess's observations was contained in a very pregnant sentence towards the close of his speech. After giving certain results that he hoped to obtain in the way of recruiting, he said all this was mere conjecture. Then it seems to me that the whole scheme of the noble Marquess, as regards practical results, rests on mere conjecture. The noble Marquess said that recruiting for the last few months had been eminently satisfactory. Naturally, it would be eminently satisfactory, for the country is now in a very hot fit, and I hope it may remain in a hot fit, at any rate until the war is ended. But it is common experience that a hot fit is succeeded by a cold fit, and then recruiting may not be so satisfactory. So recently as July last the noble Marquess stated in this House that the recruiting returns for the last few months had been comparatively dis-

appointing. The noble Marquess said in July—

“We are endeavouring to increase the Army by 25,000 men, and of these we had, by the beginning of the year, succeeded in obtaining 12,000; 5,000 of these, it is true, we obtained from the Army Reserve. At this moment we are making little or no progress in bringing about that augmentation of the strength of the Army which we had hoped to effect within three years from the time when it was sanctioned by Parliament.”

It does not seem to me that the noble Marquess has a great deal to go upon when he suggests that we shall have anything like an addition of 100,000 men of all arms as a result of the scheme now laid before the House. It appears to me that the noble Marquess has grappled very insufficiently with this great question of recruiting. I dare say some of his proposals will result in an increase in the number of recruits. But I notice, for instance, he does not say one single word with regard to increasing the inducements to enlist in the direction I have often suggested to him in this House and out of it—namely, in the direction of giving a man, while he is with the colours, such an education and training as will make him more efficient, and not less efficient, to earn a livelihood in the open market when he has completed his term of service. This is no doubt a very big question, but I hope it will receive the serious consideration of the noble Marquess. There is another matter. If we have the large increase of the Army which is anticipated, how is it proposed to accommodate the men? The noble Marquess has stated that the barracks are now full, but he has not suggested any large scheme, although I suppose there is one in the air, for building new ones. Again, the noble Marquess said it would be very difficult to get officers for the Volunteers and the Militia. I doubt myself whether he will not find it still more difficult to fill up the ranks in those forces when the war is brought, as I hope it will be at no distant time, to a successful conclusion, and when the laudably hot fit is succeeded, as no doubt it will be, by a colder fit. I have not made these remarks in any spirit of hostility to the suggestions of the noble Marquess, which were, perhaps, as good as was possible under the circumstances. I merely say that it does seem to me that there are many practical difficulties in the

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way of carrying out a scheme which does not appear to be larger than is necessary for the defence of the country.

EARL BROWLOW: My Lords, I desire to say a word or two with regard to the Volunteers. A great deal has been said about the artillery and increasing the number of Volunteers, but not one word has been uttered as to the transport. I am perfectly aware that it is proposed to try an experiment in this direction, but at the same time that experiment is rather a small one, and, if I may say so, rather a half-hearted one. I trust that in carrying out the proposals he has brought before the House, the noble Marquess will not omit to give his best consideration to the exceedingly important question of transport. I agree with my noble friend Lord Wantage that it is most important that drill and the theory of shooting should be taught in our schools, and the boys might even be allowed to practise shooting with great advantage to themselves and without danger to their neighbours. I do not think, however, that this is a matter in which the War Office can take the initiative, but I hope that when any scheme is laid before them the noble Marquess will see his way to give it his most kindly consideration.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: My Lords, I have not the slightest intention of going into the details of the scheme which the noble Marquess has so clearly explained, but I wish to say a word upon one or two points. Although I entirely recognise the necessity of having recourse to immediate expedients in order to supply the forces that are necessary for the defence of the country at the present time, and to supply any additional reinforcements that may be required during the progress of the war in South Africa, I hope that this will be kept in mind—that, as far as possible, subject of course to these two essential considerations, the arrangements made will be such as will facilitate further changes which hereafter we shall come to consider in regard to the general organisation of our forces. Otherwise, some of the temporary arrangements made, instead of facilitating the further changes that may be necessary, might stand in their way. One other observation is this. Although I have never taken any part in the subject of the military organisation of this country, I have always felt

a strong desire that the Militia force should be made thoroughly efficient, and I do not see why at the present moment, even though we have to make various temporary arrangements, we cannot consider it an opportune time for placing the Militia on a thoroughly permanent and efficient footing. It is a force that stands between the Regular forces and the Volunteers, and it is, to my mind, the force upon which you must eventually depend for the defence of this country in those cases—I am afraid that with the extension of our responsibilities they will happen more often—where you may be obliged to send away a very large part of your Regular forces. You ought to have a thoroughly efficient Militia, both as regards numbers and organisation. I have no desire to enter upon the question of what future changes in our organisation may be found desirable; but at this moment, when the country has a great inclination to support you in any measure for the increase of our military strength, I cannot see any reason why this occasion should not be taken for placing the Militia on that permanent footing of efficiency which I have long desired to see it attain.

EARL NELSON: My Lords, as the noble Lord has drawn our attention to the Militia I am particularly reminded of the fact that I was present in this House, many years ago, when the great Duke of Wellington made a speech in reference to a proposal of the Government of the day to organise and call out the Militia. It was the last speech the Duke of Wellington made in this House, and it was a very short one. He said—

“My Lords, the Militia is a constitutional force. The battle of Waterloo, that battle of giants, was fought by Militiamen.”

Your Lordships will find that speech in *Hansard*. As the noble Duke sat down he said, in my hearing—

“It would have been a very different thing if I had had my old army.”

— is testimony not only to the value of the Militia as a supplement to the Regular forces, but to the advantage of having

ANBY: My Lords, the words of the noble

Marquess the Secretary of State for War in regard to the Militia will be heard with extreme pleasure by that force. For some years the Militia have, if I may use the term, been under a cloud, but they have come through the present crisis with success and with satisfaction to the public. The noble Marquess in his statement said that Volunteer artillerymen were to be allowed, under certain circumstances, to undergo a year's training with the batteries of the Regular artillery about to be raised. I do not think he said anything with regard to the possibility of Militia artillerymen being allowed any privileges in that respect. I would venture to hope that the opportunity which is to be given to the Volunteer artillery in this direction should also be given to the Militia artillery. The Volunteer artillery are, quite rightly, going to be supplied with new guns of the best pattern. I venture to think that the Militia are in even greater want of new guns than the Volunteers, and I trust that the Militia artillery will be included in any scheme of rearmament. The noble Marquess's remarks with regard to the simplification and amplification of the Militia bounty and pay will be received with gratification by that force. The subject is a somewhat complicated one at present. The question of ranges is, perhaps, one of the most important of all the subjects raised to-night, and I hope that care will be taken that there shall be no undue extension of overground ranges; otherwise it will be quite as dangerous to move about country districts as it is at the present moment on the veldt in South Africa. I believe that in many cases a very efficient system of shooting might be introduced by the adoption of underground ranges for Morris tube practice.

LORD TWEEDMOUTH: My Lords, I should like to say a word with regard to the subject of ranges, which has just been raised by the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Granby). One thing that has been made apparent during the proceedings of the last four months is the strength in defence of a mobile force of men who know the country and who are good shots. I do not believe our opponents, the Boers, are anything more than fairly good shots. The difficulty of providing ranges owing to the new rifle has, in my opinion, been greatly

exaggerated. In the first place a man can learn the best part of rifle shooting by shooting at short ranges. In old days, when you had a rifle with a considerable recoil, there was a great deal to be said in favour of making a man shoot with the full charge he would have on service, so as to accustom him to the recoil; but in these days, when the recoil of the rifle has disappeared, any man who is gifted by providence with good sight can very quickly be taught to aim correctly at the target. What is difficult is to teach men how to let off the rifle. It is not a question of aim, but a question of holding the rifle absolutely still while the trigger is pressed. All the necessary knowledge of letting off a rifle can be taught at 100 yards range just as well as at 1,000 yards. If you will insist that no man shall be allowed to shoot at a long range until he can shoot straight at a short range you will have gone a long way towards the solution of safe rifle ranges; because, if a man really can shoot straight, I do not think he is very likely to miss the butt which protects the targets, even at the most dangerous ranges. If you will insist that your tyro in shooting should fire at small targets at short ranges he will quickly become a very efficient shot. So far as I have been able to judge, from what I have read in the newspapers, all the effective rifle fire in the present war has been rifle fire at short range. If our soldiers are made good shots at short ranges I do not think there will be any difficulty in supplying the whole country with ranges.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS: My Lords, I do not propose to enter into a discussion of the proposals of my noble friend. All I wish to say is that this is the greatest opportunity that has occurred in my lifetime for putting our military resources upon a sound foundation. I venture to think that my noble friend has failed to do this. The noble Marquess has given us really the play of "Hamlet" with Hamlet blotted out. He is building garrets and upper storeys, and putting on the chimneys, but he is neglecting to look after the foundation of our military system. What is its foundation? I heard with the greatest satisfaction the remarks which fell from the noble Earl the Leader of the Opposition (the Earl of Kimberley). He told us what the foundation of our military system is—namely, a permanent

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and full Militia. There is only one way of making that Militia full—I appeal to my noble friend and the illustrious Duke near me (the Duke of Cambridge) to bear me out—and that is by enforcing the existing Militia Law which you annually suspend. I feel so strongly that this is the time when the people are prepared to accept anything which will make the nation permanently secure that I propose, on some convenient day next week, to move the following resolution, and I hope to get the noble Earl the Leader of the Opposition to second it—namely:

"That this House, having heard the proposals of the Government for strengthening our military forces and armaments, is of opinion that, inasmuch as our military system rests on the Militia ballot, it is essential, looking to military efficiency and the permanent safety of our country, that the ancient constitutional law of compulsory service for home defence, and home defence only, be at once put in force in such modified form as will effect its purpose without weighing unduly upon the people."

LORD RAGLAN: My Lords, I rise to express the hope that the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War, in raising reserve battalions from ex-soldiers now to be found among the civil population, will endeavour not to do anything which might impair the efficiency of the Militia by tempting men out of its ranks.

A NOBLE LORD: A great deal has been said about mounted infantry. Mounted infantry, so called, would be of hardly any use if the men were not thoroughly well trained and practised in riding. A cavalryman who knows how to ride and groom a horse would be far more useful if he were thoroughly well taught to shoot with the rifle than an infantryman who, as soon as he had fired his rifle, was liable to tumble off his horse. I think this is a matter which should be considered.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: My Lords, I will not anticipate the debate which the noble Earl on the cross benches proposes to raise on the question of the Militia ballot, but I may, perhaps, say half a dozen words in regard to some of the criticisms, and I have certainly no reason to complain of them, which have been made on my statement. Lord Wantage commented on the absence of a

sufficient reference to mounted infantry. I thought I had certainly on two occasions in my speech mentioned our desire to increase that arm of the service; but I repeat that we have under consideration the expediency of treating the Yeomanry I will not say as mounted infantry, but more as mounted infantry than at present. We desire to encourage Volunteer corps to form mounted companies, and at this moment a considerable portion of the infantry of the Line are trained as mounted infantry; and we shall continue to do that to the same extent and, I hope, even to a greater extent than before. The noble Lord also spoke of the desirability of giving some form of military education in our public schools. I must say that suggestion commends itself very much to me, and I am able to say that the Education Department and the War Office are already in correspondence on the subject. Lord Blythwood made a suggestion which I did not quite catch with regard to service battalions, but I have no doubt he will be kind enough to explain that to me privately. He expressed the hope that the guns with which we propose to arm the Volunteer artillery will be of the best type. I gladly give him that assurance. They will consist partly of semi-mobile guns of the 4·7 calibre and partly of modern field guns. My noble friend Lord Dunraven made a suggestion that the facts and figures which I had mentioned might be printed and circulated. I do not quite know which figures he referred to, but it is possible he may be able to find the information he requires in the reports which the public press may be good enough to give of what I have said this evening. Lord Dunraven also made a suggestion that the Militia artillery ought not to be overlooked in any scheme of rearmament. My impression is that the great bulk of the Militia artillery are employed as fortress artillery with the existing armaments at the fortresses, and that there are not many batteries of Militia artillery guns strictly so speaking. A noble Lord on the front bench opposite took me to task on the ground that my figures were conjectural; but if he can indicate any method by which it is possible to present anything but conjectural figures, I should be very much obliged to him. In point of fact, where you rely on voluntary service the figures must be conjectural, and no one

can tell whether the inducements held out will be sufficient or insufficient.

LORD MONKSWEILL: What I suggested was that the inducements were not sufficient.

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: All I can say is that recruiting is going on extremely well. The noble Lord suggested that soldiers while serving with the colours should be put through some course of education to fit them for civil life. That would be very good for the soldier when he left the Army, but I question whether the prospect of spending several hours a week in school is one which would attract a great many recruits to the Army. The Leader of the Opposition expressed a hope that we would not take any emergency steps which would stand in the way of any well-considered reforms which may seem necessary hereafter. We shall endeavour to do nothing which will stand in the way of any schemes for the improvement of the Army which the experience of this war may lead us to take into consideration later in the year. I quite agree with what fell from the noble Earl as to the position which ought to be assigned to the Militia forces in the military system of this country. We fully recognise that, and we shall do everything in our power to fit the Militia to fill their place as adequately as possible. Some mention was made by the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Granby) and by my noble friend Lord Tweedmouth as to the question of ranges. I think there was a great deal of force in what fell from Lord Tweedmouth. I am under the impression that we may have been rather too pedantic in our inspection of ranges; but it must be considered that if some unfortunate person gets hit by a stray bullet the War Office are likely to be taken very severely to task, and it is therefore not unnatural that the inspection should err on the side of strictness. I believe there is a great deal to be said for the view, and particularly with the new rifle, that it may be sufficient to lay more stress on musketry instruction at short ranges, leaving the long-range shooting for the central ranges we are endeavouring to secure and which we shall make accessible to the Auxiliary forces as well as to the Regulars. Lord Raglan expressed the hope that in raising

Reserve battalions from ex-soldiers now to be found among the civil population we should endeavour not to do anything which might impair the efficiency of the Militia. That is a most reasonable suggestion, and I will see that it is borne in mind. Lord Galway asked what our intentions are with regard to the payment of the Yeomanry should they be invited to undergo a longer period of training than usual this year. In that case the contingent allowance will certainly be reconsidered.

VISCOUNT GALWAY: And an extra grant be given to men who bring their own horses?

*THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE: I will take care that that suggestion is fully considered.

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes past Six of the clock, till To-morrow, half-past Ten of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Monday, 12th February, 1900.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [Lords].

MR. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That, in respect of the Bills comprised in the List reported by the Chairman of Ways and Means as intended to originate in the House of Lords, they have certified that the Standing Orders have been complied with in the following cases, viz. :—

Imshenetzky's (Uralite) Patent.
Maryport Harbour.
National Markets and Stores and Workshops.
Walsall Corporation.

ABERDEEN CORPORATION TRAMWAYS.

Petition for Bill; referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders.

BLACKPOOL, ST. ANNE'S, AND LYTHAM TRAMWAYS.

Petition for Bill; referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders.

SOUTH EASTERN METROPOLITAN TRAMWAYS.

Petition for Bill; referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders.

ABERDEEN POLICE AND IMPROVE- MENT BILL.

"To authorise the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of the City and Royal Burgh of Aberdeen to make certain bridge and street improvements, to confer upon them new powers with respect to police matters, streets, and buildings; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

AIRDRIE, COATBRIDGE AND DISTRICT WATER TRUST BILL.

"To constitute and incorporate a water trust for the burghs of Coatbridge and Airdrie and the districts adjacent thereto in the county of Lanark to transfer to and vest in such trust the undertaking of the Airdrie and Coatbridge Water Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

BAKER STREET AND WATERLOO RAILWAY BILL.

"To confer further powers upon the Baker Street and Waterloo Railway Company," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

BEDFORD GAS BILL.

"To confer further powers on the Bedford Gas Light Company," read the first time, and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

BELFAST AND COUNTY DOWN RAILWAY BILL.

"To authorise the Belfast and County Down Railway Company to construct a railway from Newcastle to join the railway of the Great Northern Railway Company (Ireland) at Ballyronney; to run over and use a portion of the railway of that company; to enter into working and other agreements with that company; to confer further powers upon the company with reference to steam vessels, and further powers in connection with their undertaking; and for other purposes," read the first time, and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

BRADFORD CORPORATION BILL.

"To authorise the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens of the city of Bradford, in the county of York, to construct additional tramways in and near the city; to acquire lands for the protection of their water supply; to purchase the undertakings of the Clayton, Allerton, and Thornton Gas Company, the North Bierly Gas Company, the Eccleshill and Bolton Gas Company, and the Airedale Gas Company; to purchase gas from the Drighlington and Gildersome Gas Light Company; to make further provision for the health and good government of the city; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

BRAY AND ENNISKERRY RAILWAY BILL.

"To empower the Bray and Enniskerry Railway Company to make certain extensions of their authorised railway, and to work same by electrical power; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

BRIGHTON CORPORATION BILL.

"To empower the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the county borough of Brighton to construct and work tramways; to erect generating stations; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

BRITISH GAS LIGHT COMPANY (STAFFORDSHIRE POTTERIES) BILL.

"For empowering the British Gas Light Company, Limited, to erect new works and to expend further capital at their Staffordshire Potteries Station," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

BROMPTON AND PICCADILLY CIRCUS RAILWAY BILL.

"To extend the time for the compulsory purchase of lands and for the construction and completion of the Brompton and Piccadilly Circus Railway; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

BUCKINGHAM, TOWCESTER, AND METROPOLITAN JUNCTION RAILWAY BILL.

"For incorporating the Buckingham, Towcester, and Metropolitan Junction

Railway Company; and for empowering them to construct a railway from Verney Junction, in the county of Buckingham, to Towcester, in the county of Northampton; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

CHARING CROSS AND STRAND ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BILL.

"To empower the Charing Cross and Strand Electricity Supply Corporation, Limited, to construct a generating station in the parish of West Ham, and to lay mains connecting their generating stations, and to acquire lands, and to construct a short line of railway; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

CHARING CROSS, EUSTON, AND HAMPSTEAD RAILWAY BILL.

"To extend the powers of the Charing Cross, Euston, and Hampstead Railway Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

CHELSEA WATER BILL.

"To confer further powers upon the Governor and Company of Chelsea Waterworks; to declare valid the creation and issue by them of certain shares and stock and the payment of dividends thereon; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

CHESHIRE LINES COMMITTEE BILL.

"To enable the Cheshire Lines Committee to make a new railway; to acquire additional lands; to stop up certain streets; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

CITY AND SOUTH LONDON RAILWAY BILL.

"To amend the City and South London Railway Act, 1893," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

CITY OF LONDON ELECTRIC LIGHTING BILL.

"To empower the City of London Electric Lighting Company (Limited) to acquire lands and work generating stations; and for other purposes," read

the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

CITY OF LONDON (VARIOUS POWERS) BILL.

"To empower the Corporation of the City of London to acquire and maintain Finsbury Circus Gardens as an open space, and to acquire Spitalfields Market, with power to maintain or sell or lease the same ; to] purchase lands for various purposes, and to adopt and apply the Baths and Washhouses Acts ; to establish a Crematorium at Ilford Cemetery ; to make further and better accommodation for the laying of pipes, wires, and other apparatus in, over, or under streets ; to confer further powers upon the Corporation with respect to the control of streets and structures across streets and the fixing of apparatus for public lighting in streetss ; to make further provisions for the health and good government of the City and of the open spaces therein ; to enable persons elected to Corporate Offices in the City to retire therefrom ; to empower the Corporation to borrow money ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time.

CLONTARF URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL BILL.

"To authorise the Clontarf Urban District Council to construct works for sewage and drainage purposes, to erect a sea wall, to acquire lands, to borrow moneys ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time.

COLONIAL BANK BILL.

"To increase the limit of the note issue of the Colonial Bank ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

COUNTY OF LONDON AND BRUSH PROVINCIAL ELECTRIC LIGHTING BILL.

"To authorise the County of London and Brush Provincial Electric Lighting Company, Limited, to purchase lands and construct generating stations ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

COVENTRY CORPORATION BILL.

"To empower the Corporation of Coventry to make certain street works,

and to confer further powers on them in regard to streets, buildings, and sewers, and the health, local government, and improvement of the city ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time.

CROYDON TRAMWAYS AND IMPROVEMENTS BILL.

"To authorise the Corporation of Croydon to construct additional tramways and to work the tramways in the borough ; to execute certain street improvements ; to make further provision for the government and for the preservation of the health of the inhabitants of the county borough of Croydon ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time.

DUBLIN CORPORATION BILL.

"To extend the City of Dublin ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time.

DURHAM (COUNTY OF) ELECTRIC POWER SUPPLY BILL.

"For incorporating and conferring powers upon the County of Durham Electric Power Supply Company ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time.

EAST LONDON WATER BILL.

"To authorise the East London Waterworks Company to construct additional storage reservoirs and other works ; to take further water from the river Thames in cases of exceptional drought and other emergency ; to raise further money ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

EXETER CORPORATION BILL.

"To extend the city and county of the city of Exeter ; to unite the parishes within the extended city into one parish ; to authorise the reconstruction of the Exe Bridge and the construction of certain street works ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time.

FARNWORTH URRAN DISTRICT COUNCIL BILL.

"To empower the Urban District Council of Farnworth to construct additional tramways and to work tramways, and to make further provision for the good

government of the said district ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time.

GAS LIGHT AND COKE, COMMERCIAL GAS, AND SOUTH METROPOLITAN GAS COMPANIES BILL.

"For making further provision as to testing the illuminating power of gas supplied by the Gas Light and Coke, the South Metropolitan Gas, and the Commercial Gas Companies in the Administrative County of London, and for regulating the supply by those companies of prepayment meters and fittings in connection therewith ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time.

GAS LIGHT AND COKE COMPANY BILL.

"To enable the Gas Light and Coke Company to raise additional moneys and to purchase, take and hold lands ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

GLASTONBURY AND STREET GAS BILL.

"For incorporating and conferring powers on the Glastonbury Street and District Gas Company ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

GLASTONBURY CORPORATION GAS BILL.

"To empower the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Glastonbury to supply gas, and to provide for the transfer of the undertaking of the Glastonbury Gas and Coke Company, Limited, to the Corporation ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time.

GRANTHAM GAS BILL.

"To confer further powers on the Grantham Gas Company ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

GREAT EASTERN RAILWAY BILL.

"To authorise the Great Eastern Railway Company to make further railways, widenings, and works ; to confirm an agreement between the company and the

Hertford County Council, and the Epping Rural District Council and other parties ; and to authorise the company and the said County Council and District Council to construct roads in accordance therewith ; to extend the time for the purchase of lands for and for the completion of part of an authorised railway ; to confer further powers upon the company ; to provide for the transfer to the company of the undertaking of the Northern and Eastern Railway Company ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY BILL.

"To confer further powers upon the Great Northern Railway Company," read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY (IRELAND) BILL.

"To confer further powers upon the Great Northern Railway Company (Ireland)," read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY BILL.

"For conferring further powers upon the Great Western Railway Company in respect of their own undertaking, and upon that company and the London and North Western Railway Company in respect of undertakings in which they are jointly interested, and upon the Great Western and Great Central Railways Joint Committee in respect of their undertaking ; for vesting the undertakings of the Staines and West Drayton and the Birmingham and Henley-in-Arden Railway Companies in the Great Western Railway Company ; for transferring to that company the powers of the Birmingham, North Warwickshire, and Stratford-upon-Avon Railway Company, and extending the time for the construction of certain authorised railways of that company ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

GREAT YARMOUTH PORT AND HAVEN BILL.

"For enlarging the powers of the Commissioners of the Port and Haven of Great Yarmouth ; and for other pur-

poses," read the first time ; to be read a second time.

HALIFAX CORPORATION BILL.

"To extend the boundaries of the county borough of Halifax and to empower the Corporation to construct additional tramways, street widenings, and improvements; to confer further powers with respect to their waterworks undertaking, and in regard to streets, buildings, and drains, and for the health, local government, and improvement of the borough; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

HAMILTON BURGH BILL.

"To amend the Hamilton Burgh Act, 1878, with regard to assessments and to the common good of the burgh; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

HARTLEPOOL GAS AND WATER BILL.

"To consolidate and convert the capital of the Hartlepool Gas and Water Company, and to enable that company to raise additional moneys; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

HASTINGS CORPORATION BILL.

"To confer further powers on the Corporation of the county borough of Hastings with respect to the improvement and good government of the borough, to amend and extend provisions of the local Acts; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

HASTINGS HARBOUR BILL.

"To extend the periods limited for the purchase of lands for and for the completion of the harbour works, to enable the Commissioners to borrow further money; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

HASTINGS TRAMWAYS BILL.

"To incorporate the Hastings Tramways Company, and to empower that Company to make and maintain tramways and other works in the county borough of Hastings; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

HOYLAKE AND WEST KIRBY IMPROVEMENT BILL.

"To confer powers upon the urban district council of Hoylake and West Kirby for the construction of a parade, new streets, pier, and other works, to authorise the inclosure of the Great Meols Commons; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

HUDDERSFIELD CORPORATION TRAMWAYS BILL.

"To enable the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Huddersfield to construct additional tramways in and adjacent to the borough; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

HUNTINGDON CORPORATION BILL.

"To vest in the Corporation of the Borough of Huntingdon certain common lands and baulks and Freemen's rights of pasturage in certain Lammas Lands, to transfer certain rents and monies to the Corporation, to empower the Corporation to form public parks and recreation grounds; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

ILFRACOMBE IMPROVEMENT BILL.

"To authorise the Urban District Council of Ilfracombe, in the county of Devon, to construct additional waterworks for the supply of their district and the parishes of Berrynarbor, Combe Martin, and Morthoe, and to make further and better provision for the improvement, health, local government, and finance of the district; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

JARROW AND HEBBURN ELECTRICITY SUPPLY BILL.

"To enable the Walker and Wallsend Union Gas Company to supply electricity within the borough of Jarrow and Urban District of Hebburn, in the county of Durham; to raise additional capital; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

KINGSCOURT, KEADY, AND ARMAGH RAILWAY BILL.

"To incorporate the Kingscourt, Keady, and Armagh Railway Company, and to empower them to construct rail

ways in the counties of Cavan, Monaghan, and Armagh; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

KNOTT END RAILWAY BILL.

"To empower the Knott End Railway Company to construct an extension of their railway from Pilling to Galgate, and to provide for the acquisition by that company of the undertaking of the Garstang and Knott End Railway Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

LAMBETH WATER BILL.

"To authorise the Company of Proprietors of Lambeth Waterworks to execute further works, to purchase additional lands, to take further water from the River Thames, and to raise further money; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

LANCASHIRE AND YORKSHIRE RAILWAY BILL.

"For conferring further powers on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company with relation to their own undertaking, and upon that company and the London and North Western Railway Company with relation to the Preston and Wyre Railway; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

LANCASHIRE, DERBYSHIRE, AND EAST COAST RAILWAY BILL.

"To confer further powers on the Lancashire, Derbyshire, and East Coast Railway Company," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

LANCASHIRE ELECTRIC POWER BILL.

"For incorporating and conferring powers on the Lancashire Electric Power Company," read the first time; to be read a second time.

LANCASTER CORPORATION BILL.

"To empower the Corporation of Lancaster to acquire the undertaking of the Lancaster and District Tramways Company, Limited; to construct additional tramways; to widen streets, and make a footbridge over the River Lune; to deal with Lancaster Marsh; to commute por-

tions of the Vicar of Lancaster's Tithe and Dues; to make further provisions for the good government of the borough; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

LATIMER ROAD AND ACTON RAILWAY BILL.

"For the abandonment of the Latimer Road and Acton Railway," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

LEE CONSERVANCY BILL.

"To alter the constitution and amend and extend the statutory powers of the Lee Conservancy Board," read the first time; to be read a second time.

LIVERPOOL CORPORATION BILL.

"For authorising the Corporation of the City of Liverpool to execute certain street improvements; for making further provisions for the protection of the public health; for amending various local Acts in force within the city; for authorising the Corporation to raise money by the issue of bills; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

LONDON AND INDIA DOCKS JOINT COMMITTEE BILL.

"To repeal exemptions from rates or charges of certain craft using the docks under the management of the London and India Docks Joint Committee and of goods discharged or received by such craft; and to empower the Joint Committee to levy rates or charges thereon," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

LONDON AND NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY BILL.

"For empowering the London and North Western Railway Company to construct additional dock works at Garston; and for conferring further powers upon that company in relation to their own undertaking, and upon that company and the Great Western Railway Company and the Great Central Railway Company in relation to their Joint Undertakings; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

LONDON AND NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY (WALES) BILL.

"For conferring further powers upon the London and North Western Railway Company for the construction of works and acquisition of lands in Wales; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

LONDON AND SAINT KATHARINE DOCKS AND EAST AND WEST INDIA DOCK COMPANIES BILL.

"For the amalgamation of the undertakings of the London and St. Katharine Docks Company and the East and West India Dock Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

LONDON AND SOUTH WESTERN RAILWAY BILL.

"To confer further powers upon the London and South Western Railway Company, and to authorise them to execute further works, to acquire additional lands, and to raise further money; and to vary in certain respects the provisions of The South Western Railway Act, 1899; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (COMPULSORY PURCHASE OF LAND).

"To confer on the London County Council certain general powers for taking houses, buildings, and lands for purposes of street improvements," read the first time; to be read a second time.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (GENERAL POWERS).

"To enable the London County Council to purchase lands for various purposes; to provide for contributions by the Council and certain Vestries and District Boards of Works towards the acquisition of land for open spaces; to extend the time limited for the purchase of certain lands by the Council; to confer powers on the Vestry of Saint Mary, Battersea, as to the 'Latchmere Allotments' and lands for an electric station; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (IMPROVEMENTS) BILL.

"To empower the London County Council to make an extension of the Thames Embankment and a new street and improvements at Westminster; to widen Mare Street, Hackney; and to make other street improvements and works in the administrative County of London; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (SPITALFIELDS MARKET) BILL.

"To empower the London County Council to acquire Spitalfields Market, in the parish of Christchurch, Spitalfields; and to make various provisions with reference thereto," read the first time; to be read a second time.

LONDON, WALTHAMSTOW, AND EPPING FOREST RAILWAY BILL.

"To authorise the London, Walthamstow, and Epping Forest Railway Company to construct a portion of their authorised railway in tunnel instead of in cutting; to extend the time for the compulsory purchase of lands and for the construction and completion of their authorised railway; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

LONDON WATER (PURCHASE) BILL.

"To empower the London County Council to acquire the undertakings of the London Water Companies; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

LONDON WATER (WELSH SUPPLY) BILL.

"To authorise the construction of reservoirs and works in Wales, and the construction of aqueducts and works for the supply of water to London and neighbourhood; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

LOWESTOFT RAILWAY BILL.

"For incorporating the Lowestoft Railway Company, and authorising them to construct railways in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

MAIDENHEAD GAS BILL.

"To amend the Maidenhead Gas Act, 1876, and to confer further powers upon the Maidenhead Gas Company," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

MANCHESTER AND LIVERPOOL ELECTRIC EXPRESS RAILWAY BILL.

"For incorporating and conferring powers upon the Manchester and Liverpool Electric Express Railway Company," read the first time; to be read a second time.

MARKET WEIGHTON DRAINAGE AND NAVIGATION BILL.

"For incorporating and making better provisions for the meetings and proceedings of the Trustees of the Market Weighton Drainage and Canal in the east riding of the county of York; for better defining the lands subject to taxation by the said trustees, and making other provisions relative thereto; for relieving the said trustees from their obligations to maintain the said canal; for conferring further powers on the said trustees; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

METROPOLITAN DISTRICT RAILWAY BILL.

"For empowering the Metropolitan District Railway Company to erect a station for generating electrical energy and thereby work certain railways to acquire lands to extend the time for the completion of certain railways and compulsory purchase of lands to make certain provisions with respect to the Ealing and South Harrow and Brompton and Piccadilly Railways; to raise further capital; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

METROPOLITAN WATER COMPANIES BILL.

"To confer further powers upon the Local Government Board, and to impose further obligations upon the Metropolitan Water Companies with a view to providing for the future needs of the Metropolis in regard to the supply of water," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

MID-KENT WATER BILL.

"For extending the limits of supply of supply of the Mid-Kent Water Company;

and for conferring further powers on the company for the construction of works, the raising of capital, and otherwise in relation to their undertaking," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

MIDLAND RAILWAY BILL.

"To confer additional powers upon the Midland Railway Company and upon the Midland and North Eastern Railway Companies Committee and upon the Midland and Great Northern Railways Joint Committee for the construction of works and the acquisition of lands; to empower the Midland Railway Company to subscribe towards the undertaking of the Yorkshire Dales Railway Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

MORECAMBE URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL (GAS) BILL.

"To provide for the transfer of the undertaking of the Morecambe Gas and Light Company to the Morecambe Urban District Council, and to confer further powers on the said Council with respect to the supply of gas; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE ELECTRIC SUPPLY BILL.

"To confer further powers upon the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Electric Supply Company, Limited, for the construction of works, and the supply of electrical energy; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

NORTH METROPOLITAN ELECTRIC POWER SUPPLY BILL.

"For incorporating and conferring powers upon the North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

NORTH METROPOLITAN RAILWAY AND CANAL COMPANY BILL.

"To consolidate the debenture stocks of the North Metropolitan Railway and Canal Company; to amend in certain respects the Acts relating to the company; to change the name of the company; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

NORTH WARWICKSHIRE WATER BILL.

"To enable the North Warwickshire Water Company to extend their limits of supply ; to construct additional water-works ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

NOTTINGHAM CORPORATION BILL.

"To empower the Corporation of Nottingham to make certain street improvements ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time.

OLDHAM CORPORATION BILL.

"To empower the Corporation of Oldham to extend and improve their existing Market Hall ; to confer further powers upon the Corporation with regard to sanitary and other matters, and to make better provision for the health, local government, and improvement of the borough ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time.

OSSETT CORPORATION GAS BILL.

"To authorise the sale of the undertaking of the Ossett Gas Company to the Corporation of Ossett ; and to empower the Corporation to supply gas within the borough of Ossett and places adjacent thereto," read the first time ; to be read a second time.

OSSETT GAS BILL.

"To extend the powers of and amend the Act relating to the Ossett Gas Company ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

PONTEFRAC T PARK BILL.

"For regulating the rating of Pontefract Park, in the west riding of the county of York, in respect of poor rates ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time.

READING CORPORATION (TRAMWAYS) BILL.

"To confer powers upon the Corporation of the borough of Reading with respect to the construction and working of tramways in the borough ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time.

REDHILL GAS BILL.

"To confer further powers upon the Redhill Gas Company ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

RICKMANSWORTH AND UXBRIDGE VALLEY WATER BILL.

"For extending the limits of supply of and conferring further powers upon the Rickmansworth and Uxbridge Valley Water Company ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

RUGELEY GAS BILL.

"For incorporating and conferring powers upon the Rugeley Gas Company ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

ST. ALBANS WATER BILL.

"To authorise the St. Albans Waterworks Company to acquire further lands, and to raise further moneys, and to extend their limits of supply ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

ST. DAVID'S RAILWAY (ADDITIONAL POWERS) BILL.

"To authorise the construction of railways in the county of Pembroke ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

SCARBOROUGH CORPORATION BILL.

"To empower the Corporation of Scarborough to make an approach road to the New Marine Drive, to alter the line of the sea wall of the said drive, to widen and improve the Ramsden Valley Bridge, and to construct a street Tramway, to make further and better provision for the improvement, health, and good government of the borough of Scarborough, to alter the constitution of the Scarborough Harbour Commissioners ; and for other purposes," read the first time ; to be read a second time.

SOUTH LANCASHIRE TRAMWAYS BILL.

"To incorporate the South Lancashire Tramways Company ; and to empower that Company to make tramways and

street improvements; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

SOUTH METROPOLITAN GAS BILL.

"To empower the South Metropolitan Gas Company to alter the provisions as to the standard price and illuminating power of the gas supplied by the company; to construct a railway in the parish of Greenwich; and to purchase by agreement so much of the southern portion of the undertaking of the Gas Light and Coke Company as is situate in the county of London south of the Thames; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

SOUTHPORT CORPORATION BILL.

"To enable the Mayor, Alderman, and Burgesses of the Borough of Southport to carry out street improvements and other works; and to make further provisions for the improvement and good government of the said borough; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

SOUTHPORT EXTENSION AND TRAMWAYS BILL.

"To extend the boundaries of the borough of Southport, to authorise the construction of tramways, and to confer further powers on the Corporation with respect to the supply of gas and electricity; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

SOUTHPORT WATER BILL.

"For the granting of further powers to the Southport Waterworks Company," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

SOUTH WALES ELECTRICAL POWER DISTRIBUTION BILL.

"For incorporating and conferring powers on the South Wales Electrical Power Distribution Company," read the first time; to be read a second time.

SPALDING URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL (WATER) BILL.

"To authorise the Urban District Council of Spalding to purchase the undertaking of the Spalding Waterworks Company; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

STOCKPORT CORPORATION TRAMWAYS BILL.

"To empower the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the county borough of Stockport to construct tramways in the borough; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

TAUNTON CORPORATION BILL.

"To make provision in regard to the water undertaking of the Corporation of the borough of Taunton, and to the health, local government, improvement, and finance of the said borough, to empower the said Corporation and the Trustees of the Markets of the borough to erect a town hall, and to make further provision in regard to the said markets, and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

TOTTENHAM URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL BILL.

"To provide for vesting in the Urban District Council of Tottenham, in the county of Middlesex, the Lammas Lands in the district; to confer various powers with respect to Commons, open spaces, and recreation grounds, the supply of electricity, streets, buildings, and other matters of local government; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

TYNESIDE ELECTRIC POWER BILL.

"For incorporation and conferring powers on the Tyneside Electric Power Company," read the first time; to be read a second time.

VALE OF RHEIDOL LIGHT RAILWAY BILL.

"To extend the period for the purchase of land and for the construction of the authorised Railway, and to work the traffic thereon by electrical or other motive power; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

WAKEFIELD CORPORATION MARKET BILL.

"To empower the Mayor, Alderman, and Citizens of the city of Wakefield to purchase the undertaking of the Wakefield Borough Market Company, and to make further provision in regard to the markets and slaughter houses of the said city; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

WANDSWORTH AND PUTNEY GAS BILL.

"To convert the capital of the Wandsworth and Putney Gaslight and Coke Company; to raise additional capital; to construct works; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

WEST BROMWICH CORPORATION BILL.

"To confer powers upon the Corporation of the county borough of West Bromwich with respect to trainways and to their electric lighting and other undertakings; to make further provision for the improvement and good government of the borough; to amend and extend the provisions of the local Acts relating to the borough; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

WEST HAM CORPORATION BILL.

"To confer further powers upon the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the county borough of West Ham; and to make further provision for the good government of that borough; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

WETHERBY DISTRICT WATER BILL.

"To enable the Wetherby District Water Company to extend their limits of supply; construct additional waterworks; and for other purposes," read the first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

WIDNES AND RUNCORN BRIDGE BILL.

"To authorise the construction of a bridge across the River Mersey and Manchester Ship Canal between Widnes and Runcorn, and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

WOLVERHAMPTON, ESSINGTON, AND CANNOCK CHASE JUNCTION RAILWAY BILL.

"For making a railway in the county of Staffordshire from Wolverhampton to Essington and Cannock Chase; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

WOLVERHAMPTON GAS BILL.

"For conferring further powers on the Wolverhampton Gas Company," read the

first time; and referred to the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills.

WOODBIDGE DISTRICT WATER BILL.

"For incorporating the Woodbridge District Water Company and empowering them to construct works and supply water; and for other purposes," read the first time; to be read a second time.

ROCHDALE CORPORATION.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Royds, Mr. Kenyon, and Mr. Platt-Higgins.

MANCHESTER CITY RAILWAY BILL.

Order [9th February] that the Manchester City Railway Bill be brought in, read, and discharged.

Ordered, that the Petition for the Bill be withdrawn.—(*Dr. Farquharson.*)

PRIVATE BILL PETITIONS (STANDING ORDERS NOT COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Reports from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, That in the case of the Petitions for the following Bills, the Standing Orders have not been complied with, viz. :—

Aberdeen Corporation Tramways Bill.
Blackpool, St. Anne's, and Lytham Tramways Bill.

South Eastern Metropolitan Tramways Bill.

Ordered, That the Reports be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders.

PETITIONS.**INEBRIATES ACTS, 1879 AND 1899.**

Petition from Manchester and Salford, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES' SERVANTS' SUPERANNUATION.

Petitions for alteration of Law, from Crick; St. Saviour's, London; and Merthyr Tydfil; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL.

Petitions in favour, from Dulwich; and Peckham; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS TO CHILDREN BILL.

Petitions in favour, from Manchester ; and Eccles ; to lie upon the Table.

TOWN COUNCILS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petitions in favour, from Hawick ; Forfar ; and Newton Stewart ; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

CHELSEA HOSPITAL.

Account presented, — for the year ended 31st March, 1899, with the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon [by Act] ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 42.]

CIVIL SERVICES (SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1899-1900).

Estimate presented,—of the Further Sums required to be voted for the Service of the year ending 31st March, 1900 [by Command] ; Referred to the Committee of Supply, and to be printed. [No. 43.]

NATIONAL GALLERY (REPORT).

Copy ordered, “ of Report of the Director of the National Gallery for the year 1899, with Appendices.” — (*Mr. Hanbury.*)

Copy presented accordingly ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 44.]

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE (IRELAND).

Copy ordered, “ of Accounts of Receipts and Payments of the Accountant General of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland in respect of the funds of Suitors in the said Court, including therein funds to the credit of Lunacy Accounts, in the year to the 30th day of September, 1899 ; together with a Statement of the Liabilities and Assets, and Particulars of Securities in Court on the 30th day of September, 1899.” — (*Mr. Hanbury.*)

Copy presented accordingly ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 45.]

NATIONAL TELEPHONE COMPANY.

Copy ordered, “ of Deeds Poll, dated 7th day of February, 1898, and 15th day

of February, 1899, executed by Her Majesty's Postmaster General, specifying exchange areas of the National Telephone Company (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 128, of Session 1898).” — (*Mr. Hanbury.*)

Copy presented accordingly ; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 46.]

EDUCATION AND SCIENCE AND ART DEPARTMENTS.

Return ordered, “ of the Minutes of the Lord President of the Council relating to the re-organisation of the Education and Science and Art Departments.” — (*Colonel Wyndham Murray.*)

NEW WRIT.

For Plymouth, in the room of Sir Edward Clarke, knight (Manor of Northstead). — (*Sir William Walrond.*)

QUESTIONS.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—GENERAL BUTLER—CONDUCT OF THE WAR.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion) : I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, whether General Butler warned the Government in the course of last summer that if matters were pushed to an extremity with the Transvaal it would be necessary to abandon northern Natal, and to place a strong force on the Tugela, which would be the most northerly line of practicable defence ; and if they also knew that General Butler had advocated the mobilisation of two Army Corps to cope with the Boers ; and, whether General Buller reported after the battle of Colenso that it was impossible to relieve Ladysmith ; and, whether the Committee of Defence ordered him to make a second attempt, and also sent out Lords Roberts and Kitchener without consulting the Commander in Chief. I beg also to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether General Buller after arriving at the Cape altered his plan of campaign, owing to Sir Alfred Milner having, with his approval, pledged the Government to defend Natal with the whole force of the Empire.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (MR. A. J. BALFOUR, Manchester, E.) : I will reply to both questions to-

gether. The answer to the first paragraph is in the negative. I do not propose to continue by question and answer the controversy about General Butler, nor do I propose to reply to the second and third paragraphs of the question, which belong to a class of questions which, in the public interest, can only be dealt with at the close of the war. I may repeat the general assurance already given that the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in South Africa has been throughout free to carry out such operations as he thought proper.

PRISONERS OF WAR.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury why the Boer prisoners in Capetown are imprisoned on board a ship; whether they can be removed to some station on shore where they would have more opportunity of exercise; and what facilities are given them for seeing friends, obtaining books and writing materials, and supplies of food.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: On January 23 Lord Roberts telegraphed that the Boer prisoners of war were to be removed to Simonstown. This arrangement has no doubt been carried out, but we have no official information on the point. While on board ship regulations were drawn up and approved by the naval authorities, allowing the prisoners to receive friends and presents. It may be assumed that corresponding regulations are in force now that the prisoners are on land.

ARTILLERY STRENGTH.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury what was the total number of guns of horse and field artillery in British hands in South Africa on 8th January last.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I understand that on the day referred to by the right hon. Gentleman there were 24 guns belonging to the batteries of horse artillery and 162 guns belonging to batteries of field artillery in South Africa—total, 186.

MAGERSFONTEIN ENGAGEMENT—CONDUCT OF HIGHLAND BRIGADE.

MR. HEDDERWICK (Wick Burghs): I beg to ask the First Lord of the

Treasury whether, upon the close of the war in South Africa, a military inquiry into the circumstances of the loss of the Highland Brigade at Magersfontein will be held as a matter of course; and, if not, whether he will promise that a full inquiry will be instituted by the Government.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think it would be very premature to lay upon the Table either the scope or the limitation of such inquiry or inquiries as it may be found necessary to institute after the close of the war into the military transactions in South Africa.

OLD-AGE PENSIONS—RELIEF OF SUFFERERS BY THE WAR.

SIR JOHN COLOMB (Gt. Yarmouth): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he can give any assurance that Her Majesty's Government recognise the paramount claims of seamen, soldiers, and marines to consideration in any legislation in connection with old-age pensions or compensation for injuries, and are fully alive to the evils of the existing system, which leaves the provision of adequate relief of helpless sufferers by war to public subscriptions, the amount of which so largely depends upon the popularity of a war.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am unwilling to give any final or definitive reply to my hon. and gallant friend, but he will perhaps bear in mind that the funds which have been subscribed from time to time by the public have up to the present time been amply sufficient, and much more than sufficient, to deal with the widows and children of soldiers engaged in South Africa, and there is in addition under our existing system compensation to invalids.

TRANSPORT OF MULES.

SIR EDWARD GOURLEY (Sunderland): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty if he will state to the House the names of the transports engaged for the conveyance of mules to South Africa, also the names of the contracting companies, and rates per head per mule, the number of animals shipped on board each vessel, and the number landed alive from each at the ports of destination; whether any of the vessels were allowed to convey the mules without regulation side ports; is it intended to

claim damages from the contractors for the non-delivery of all the animals shipped; and whether the major portion of the contracts were given to a shipping firm in Liverpool, the chairman of which, being a Member of Parliament, was given precedence as such in interviewing the officials at the Admiralty, whilst the representatives of other firms had to wait their turn for admission.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. GOSCHEN, St. George's, Hanover Square): In answer to the first question I have to say that substantially the information in the first question of the hon. Member will be given in the return of transports which is now being prepared, except as regards the rates per head, which will not be published while ships continue to be chartered. There is no objection to mules being carried between decks without side lights if proper artificial ventilation is provided. The hon. Member must know that it is not the custom to hold the shipowner responsible for the non-delivery of animals shipped in the ordinary course of trade. They might die quite irrespective of the character of the ship. In some cases a proportion of the payment due has been dependent upon the number actually delivered. As regards the last question, if it is intended to suggest that any favour was shown, I must emphatically state that it is incorrect. No favour was shown to the gentleman in question, nor was the major portion of the contracts assigned to him.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): Is it the fact that a member of the Government is one of the directors of this contracting company?

***MR. SPEAKER**: The hon. Member must give notice of his question.

SOLDIERS' ESTATES AND THE DEATH DUTIES.

GENERAL RUSSELL (Cheltenham): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether the Government are prepared favourably to consider the proposal to remit the death duties in the case of officers or men who have been killed in action or died of wounds received in action in the service of their country.

***THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER** (Sir M. HICKS BEACH, Bristol, W.): I think we must all sympathise

with the feeling that has prompted the question of my hon. and gallant friend, and I should be glad if I could contrive some means of meeting his wishes in the case of widows who are left with comparatively limited means. But there are a good many difficulties in the way, and I doubt if his suggestion would be the most equitable mode of dealing with the matter. I will consider it.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): Will the right hon. Gentleman consider whether the same method could not be adopted with regard to these persons as was adopted with regard to the late Emperor of Russia?

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.): Is it not the fact that the right hon. Gentleman supported this question when it was before the House in 1894?

***SIR M. HICKS BEACH**: No, Sir; it is not precisely the same question.

MR. BARTLEY: Very nearly.

IRELAND AND THE WAR EXPENDITURE.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, in any arrangement for fresh taxation to meet the expenses of the war, the Irish people will be exempted from such taxation, in view of the strong feeling prevailing in Ireland against the military operations in South Africa.

SIR M. HICKS BEACH: The suggestion of the hon. Member practically amounts to this—that those persons who may object to a policy which has been sanctioned by Parliament should be exempted from the taxation necessary to carry that policy into effect. I think such a proposition need only be stated in order to show that it could not be assented to.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, C.): Is it not a fact that the persons objecting—to whom my hon. friend refers—are the people of Ireland?

SIR M. HICKS BEACH: There may be some people in Ireland who object, as I know there are also in England.

CONTRABAND OF WAR—RIGHT OF SEARCH—THE "BUNDESRATH" AND THE "HERZOG."

MR. HEDDERWICK: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign

Affairs whether he will communicate to the House the terms in which the Government expressed regret to Germany for the exercise of the maritime right of search exercised in the case of the "Bundesrath" and "Herzog," or will lay upon the Table of the House a copy of any communications that may have passed between the two Governments on the subject.

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): Papers on the subject will shortly be laid.

BOER AND BRITISH ARMAMENTS.

GENERAL RUSSELL: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether his attention has been called to the statement telegraphed from Durban that a document was issued at Pretoria for the private information of the members of the Volksraad, to the effect that the Boer Government placed large orders for guns with Messrs. Krupp and an Austrian firm so early as 1894; whether any guns have yet been constructed at the British Government factories of such rapidity of fire and extended range as those stated to have been supplied by Messrs. Creusot to the Boers, and now used by them; whether there are now with the Army in South Africa any Vickers-Maxim guns firing a shell; and whether there is any reason to believe the statement that the Boers now possess between 220 and 230 heavy guns and field pieces in place of the 110 with which they have been credited.

*THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE WAR OFFICE (Mr. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS, Birmingham, S., for Mr. WYNDHAM): The document referred to in Paragraph 1 has not reached the War Office, but it is known to be the case that orders for armament were placed by the Boers in Europe as early as 1894. In regard to Paragraph 2 there is every reason to believe that our guns are equal to any guns of similar nature possessed by the enemy. It does not seem expedient to answer the further portion of the hon. Member's question.

GENERAL RUSSELL: Are our guns provided with disappearing mounts?

[No answer was given.]

PUBLICATION OF CASUALTY LISTS.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND (Clare, E.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War if the War Office will publish at least once a week a full and revised list up to date of the casualties in South Africa.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS (for Mr. WYNDHAM): The Secretary of State is prepared to give a weekly abstract showing the number of casualties to date (either as a total or by actions) and the deaths from wounds and disease.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: Will that be done?

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: Yes.

FENIANS AT MAFEKING.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Kilkenny): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether he has seen extracts from letters alleged to have been written by Colonel Baden-Powell, in one of which a passage occurs in which he is alleged to have stated that he had forty Fenian prisoners, including the late stationmaster at Mafeking; was this information communicated to the War Office; what was the offence for which they were made prisoners; whether he can say on what evidence Colonel Baden-Powell stated that his prisoners were Fenians; and whether he still has those prisoners, and is the late stationmaster of Mafeking amongst them.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS (for Mr. WYNDHAM): No, Sir. There is no information whatever in the War Office on this subject.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN: Will inquiries be made as to the truth of these statements? It seems an extraordinary thing that the newspapers should get them.

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

THE IRISH BRIGADE WITH THE BOERS—ALLEGED MURDER OF A WOUNDED PRISONER.

MR. MANDEVILLE (Tipperary, S.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether a private soldier of Colonel Blake's Irish Brigade (in the service of the Transvaal Republic), having been taken prisoner of war, was killed at

Ladysmith by one of the British garrison there, who, finding him wounded, disarmed, and under arrest, stabbed him to death with a bayonet; and in view of the fact that several thousands of British soldiers are now in safe custody as prisoners of war in Transvaal territory, what steps, if any, will the War Office take towards investigating this alleged offence, and punishing its author.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS (for Mr. WYNDHAM): No information has been received of any such occurrence. If the hon. Member will give me the name of the person or newspaper responsible for the statement, with the date, I will make inquiry, if those particulars do not of themselves enable me to give him an answer.

PAY OF CONSULTING SURGEONS WITH THE TROOPS.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War if he can state the scale of remuneration agreed to be given to the consulting surgeons sent to the seat of war.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS (for Mr. WYNDHAM): The payment in each case is at the rate of £5,000 a year, with free passage to South Africa and back.

VOLUNTEER OFFICERS WITH THE REGULARS.

GENERAL RUSSELL: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether, in view of the large number of casualties among regimental officers now serving at the front, there is any prospect of a relaxation, in favour of specially recommended and highly qualified officers, of the rule which forbids the employment of Volunteer officers to be attached to Regulars, unless the battalion to which they belong has supplied its full quota of Volunteers for the front.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS (for Mr. WYNDHAM): In special cases the Secretary of State would be prepared to consider the attaching of highly qualified Volunteer officers to units in South Africa in want of officers. It would as a rule, however, only be possible to employ them as subalterns.

CHARGE TO SOLDIERS FOR LOST EQUIPMENT.

MR. SINCLAIR (Forfarshire): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for VOL. LXXVIII. [FOURTH SERIES.]

War whether private soldiers have to pay for the loss of any part of their equipment in the field, and the loss of a water bottle entails a charge of 3s. 5d. on the loser, even if it may have been lost through no fault of his own; and whether, having regard to the extreme difficulties of the campaign in South Africa, this rule can either be cancelled or relaxed.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: No charge is made for such articles lost or destroyed on active service.

CLOTHING FOR THE TROOPS.

GENERAL RUSSELL: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether the attention of the Government has been called to the extreme cold which prevails, more especially at night, on the high plateaus of South Africa during the winter months commencing about April; and whether steps will be taken to insure large reserves of warm clothing being accumulated for issue to the troops when they are likely to require it.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: Yes, Sir. Considerable reserves of warm clothing have already been sent out, and more will be sent out as supplies come in from the trade.

PRECAUTIONS AGAINST ENTERIC FEVER.

GENERAL RUSSELL: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether, in view of the prevalence of enteric fever among our troops now serving in South Africa, flannel belts are issued to the men as a part of their necessary equipment, as is the case in India.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: Two flannel or worsted belts are issued to every man going to South Africa, and a reserve supply has also been sent out.

COMPENSATION TO RESERVISTS PREMATURELY CALLED UP.

COLONEL DALBIAC (Camberwell, N.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War will he explain how it happened that large numbers of Reservists were called up whose services were not required and for whom there was no barrack accommodation; and whether, considering that these men were com-

pelled to proceed on furlough and idle their time at home, when they need not have been called up till required; and consequently might have continued their ordinary occupations, they will be granted some compensation, or at least their railway fares on returning to their homes and rejoining.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: Certain artificers in Section D of the Reserve were urgently required; but as the law now stands Section D cannot be called up until after the whole of Sections A, B, and C have been called up. As not very many men remained in those sections they were called up; but as they were not wanted immediately they were granted furlough if they desired it, and allowed to return to their occupations, the rules as to wearing uniform being at the same time relaxed. As such men are granted travelling expenses and the pay of their rank with 9d. a day for rations and messing instead of Reserve pay, they gain considerably by the transaction.

SUPERANNUATION AND COMPENSATION ALLOWANCES.

MR. GALLOWAY (Manchester, S.W.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether allotment pay to the wife of a soldier on active service is paid monthly in advance; whether, in the event of the man being killed in action or dying from disease, the War Office reclaim the proportion of the amount overpaid from the date of his death; and whether in some cases demands have been made by the War Office authorities for payment in cash of the amount claimed instead of the amount being debited to the man's non-effective account.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: Allotment pay to a soldier's wife is paid monthly in advance, and if the soldier dies during the month the pay for the days after his death is not reclaimed otherwise than as a charge against his non-effective account; if an individual paymaster has acted as stated in the question he has made a mistake; if the hon. Member will give me the particulars of any case that has come under his notice, I shall be happy to make inquiries.

SEPARATION ALLOWANCES.

COLONEL DALBIAC: I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office

whether arrangements can be made for the more punctual and regular payments of separation allowance to the wives of Reservists, as many of these women, whose documents were present and in order, have been reduced to great straits through being kept out of their money for six or seven weeks.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: The pressure on the Army Pay Department has been very great; and it is possible that in dealing with the large number of separation allowances, which necessarily depend on information given by the soldier through his commanding officer, delay may occasionally have occurred. The information given by the soldier is often incomplete, and information is sometimes refused altogether. The women are also constantly changing their addresses. I have no reason to believe that there has been any general unpunctuality. If a special case is given to me, I shall be happy to inquire into it.

VICTORIA HOSPITAL, NETLEY.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether it has been brought to his notice that owing to the insufficient number of non-commissioned officers and men engaged in hospital duties at the Royal Victoria Hospital, Netley, these non-commissioned officers and men are frequently on duty for thirty-six hours at a time, and also that no regular night duty men, kept for night duty only, are employed there; and whether he will take the necessary steps to remedy this state of affairs.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS (for Mr. WYNDHAM): The establishment of the Royal Army Medical Corps at Netley has been so depleted by the demands from South Africa that the men have not of late had the usual number of nights in bed; but additional men have been ordered from Aldershot, and a reinforcement is shortly expected from the Volunteer Medical Staff Corps, which will allow the men their proper rest. It is not customary to have a separate night duty. The staff office is ample, and further assistance has been declined from the lady superintendent.

BROTHERHOOD DEPRESSION RANGE FINDER.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War if he will state the result of the experiments at Gibraltar during the manœuvres in 1899 of the Brotherhood depression range finder.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS (for Mr. WYNDHAM): Nothing is known at the War Office of any trial of the Brotherhood depression range finder at Gibraltar. No allusion was made to any such matter in the report of the general officer commanding on the manœuvres there in 1899.

RIFLE RANGES.

COLONEL WYNDHAM MURRAY (Bath): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War, in view of the fact that since the issue of the Lee-Metford rifle 572 rifle ranges have been closed between 1890 and 1899 in Great Britain and Ireland, as against only 208 new ranges opened, will he state what number of ranges have been opened, and at what places since the date of the last return in 1899; and, as it is more than ever necessary at the present time and in future that constant practice throughout the country should take place, whether some of those ranges which were closed could be reopened for short range practice in places where there is no range accommodation.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS (for Mr. WYNDHAM): In reply to the first part of the question the number is nineteen. If my hon. and gallant friend wishes, I will give him a list of these ranges. Efforts will be made in the direction indicated by the hon. Member in the second paragraph of his question, but the majority of the old ranges which have been closed were really unsafe under any circumstances, and the growth of buildings in the vicinity renders it doubtful whether much can be done in the case of the rest.

WAR OFFICE INQUIRY COMMITTEE, 1898.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office when he expects to be able to communicate to the House the recommendations of the War Office

Inquiry Committee of which he was appointed Chairman in 1898; and what are the reasons for delaying the reforms in the War Department.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: The question of the hon. Member assumes that the recommendations of the Committee will be communicated to the House, but the Secretary of State has given no decision on the matter. In consequence of great pressure of work in the War Office, of which the members of the Committee have their full share, it has been impossible to hold meetings for the consideration of the chairman's draft report. No important change in the distribution of work that might be decided upon could in any case be carried out at the present time without disadvantage to the public service.

ROYAL ENGINEER DEPARTMENT.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office whether his attention has been called to the high charges for masonry and carpentering work undertaken by the Royal Engineer Department as compared with buildings erected by contract in the open market; and whether the Secretary of State would be prepared to appoint a departmental committee to inquire into the system of control and administration in the department of the Inspector General of Fortifications.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: If the hon. Member will furnish any fact or figures tending to support the statement contained in the first paragraph of his question the Secretary of State will willingly cause inquiry to be made upon the subject, but a general assertion such as the hon. Member put forward serves no useful purpose and cannot be accepted. I may inform the hon. Member, however, that the system under which building work is now executed for the War Office is already undergoing review.

CASE OF GEORGE SMITH, OF DEVONPORT.

MR. KEARLEY (Devonport): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War what is the reason of the delay in paying compensation to George Smith, lately a plumber under the War Department, Devonport, who sustained severe injuries on the 28th April, 1899, whilst

following his employment, by falling from the Raglan Barracks Clock Tower; and whether he is aware that the hurt pay he received for several months following the accident has now been discontinued.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: George Smith received full hurt pay until the 25th October. He has now been awarded a gratuity by the Treasury of £84 15s. 5d.

TRANSPORTS—3RD BATTALION ROYAL WEST KENT REGIMENT.

CAPTAIN NORTON: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether it has been brought to his notice that the 3rd Battalion Royal West Kent Regiment was recently conveyed to Malta in a vessel which was in many respects unsatisfactory; and whether he will make inquiries as to the statement that the captain, a German, was only prevented from wrecking the vessel by the timely action of the first mate, and that the captain afterwards attempted to commit suicide; also as to the statement that the provisions were scanty, and the prices of provisions at the canteen belonging to the ship exorbitant.

MR. GOSCHEN: A report has been received that the captain of the "Golconda," the vessel in question, was incapacitated from continuing in command of the ship owing to an accident and the after effects of an attack of influenza, and that thereupon the command devolved upon the first officer. The captain subsequently committed suicide on the arrival of the ship at Malta. The captain had been twenty-two years in the service of the British India Company. No complaint has been made by the officer commanding the troops as to the quantity or prices of the provisions.

VOLUNTEER COMMISSIONS.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War what steps have been taken by the Commander-in-Chief to put a stop to the sale, by an agency in the City of London, of honorary colonelcies in Volunteer regiments; and whether it is the intention of the Secretary of State to advise the cancellation of the commissions of gentlemen who have obtained such honorary rank by improper payments which could not

be regarded as coming under the category of regimental subscriptions.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS (for Mr. WYNDHAM): Every case of an officer recommended for an honorary colonelcy in the Auxiliary Forces is carefully investigated, and recently the Secretary of State refused to appoint a gentleman whose name had been put forward for the honorary colonelcy of a Volunteer battalion. Other measures are not at present considered necessary.

RUSSELL "SHOOTING DIRECTOR."

SIR J. FERGUSSON (Manchester, N.E.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether an invention by Mr. T. G. Russell of a shooting director, applicable to either rifles or ordnance, was ordered by the Commander-in-Chief in 1889 to be examined and tried at Aldershot; whether such examination and trial took place, and whether the inventor was allowed to be present; and will he lay upon the Table the report of the examining committee.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS (for Mr. WYNDHAM): The invention referred to was tried by a committee at Aldershot in 1890. The committee did not recommend its adoption into the service, and the General Officer Commanding at Aldershot concurred. The inventor was not allowed to be present at the trials; but was permitted to go to Aldershot for the purpose of explaining his apparatus to the officers who would conduct them. Such reports are confidential, and cannot be produced.

SIR J. FERGUSSON: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether an invention by Mr. T. G. Russell of a shooting director, applicable to either rifles or ordnance, was ordered by the Admiralty to be tested, and was tested at Whale Island and at sea in 1898; whether, in consequence of the success of the first trials, 300 rifle appliances were ordered by the Admiralty; whether further and complete trials were subsequently made with both skilled shot and young sailors; whether heavy gun trials of the invention were carried out at Spithead with success in the presence of the inventor, and also on board the flag ship of the Channel Squadron in his absence; were further trials ever carried

out at Spithead in the absence of the inventor; and whether he will lay upon the Table reports upon these several trials.

MR. GOSCHEN: I will take my right hon. friend's questions seriatim. The invention in question was tested as stated. Three hundred rifle appliances were ordered because it was considered that a more extended trial was desirable. Further trials were subsequently made with skilled shots and young seamen. Trials of this invention were carried out at Spithead in the presence of the inventor, but were not sufficiently successful to justify the adoption of this invention for heavy guns. The inventor has informed the Admiralty that some trials of this invention were carried out in the Channel Squadron, presumably in his absence, but no report of these trials was made by the vice-admiral in command. Some further trials were carried out at Spithead in the absence of the inventor. The officer conducting the trials found it necessary to stop the attendance of the inventor at these trials on account of his constant interference with the men firing. It is not customary nor in accordance with the interests of the public service to lay upon the Table confidential reports of this nature.

THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR AT PARIS.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether the Government have ordered the temporary withdrawal of the British Ambassador from Paris in consequence of the alleged offensive tone of the French press regarding the war in Africa.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The answer is in the negative.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman who is in charge of the British Embassy in Paris?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I know nothing about that, but I suppose the next in command.

THE TREASURY—SUGGESTED SELECT COMMITTEE.

*MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether Her Majesty's Government will consent to the appointment of a Select

Committee of this House to consider the constitution and functions of the Treasury Department, and to inquire how far the exercise of its power in governing every Department of the Government is for the public benefit, and to what extent its claim to a voice in all decisions of administrative authority and policy leads to delay.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I hardly think that so fundamental an inquiry as that suggested by my hon. friend could with advantage be undertaken at the present time.

RUSSIAN CONCESSIONS IN NORTHERN PERSIA.

MR. DRAGE (Derby): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he can conveniently state to the House whether any exclusive concessions have been granted to Russian subjects in Northern Persia for the construction of railways, or for any other commercial object; and whether any attempt has been made by Her Majesty's Government to obtain the demarcation of an English sphere of interest in Southern Persia.

*MR. GIBSON BOWLES: May I also ask my right hon. friend whether these railways are not only not confined to Northern Persia, but extend to Bunder Abbas, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, and close to Baluchistan.

*MR. BRODRICK: I think my answer to the question on the Paper will cover the supplementary question. The only concessions granted to Russian subjects in Northern Persia of which Her Majesty's Government are aware are:—A concession for the construction of a road from Enzell to Kasvin. A concession for working copper and other mineral deposits in the mountainous districts of Azerhjan, known as the Karadagh Range. Her Majesty's Government are fully alive to the desirability of maintaining British interests in Persia, but the Persian Government has not hitherto deemed it advisable to recognise spheres of interest of any foreign Powers in that country.

OSMAN DIGNA.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he will state the nature of the treatment accorded to Osman

Digna at present, and how it is intended to treat him in future.

*MR. BRODRICK: We have no information as to the nature of the treatment accorded to Osman Digna beyond the statement which was communicated to the Egyptian press and reproduced in the papers here. This was to the effect that Osman Digna would be taken to Rosetta, and there interned with the other Dervish prisoners.

INSUBORDINATION AMONG EGYPTIAN TROOPS.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the reports of insubordination on the part of certain regiments of Egyptian troops are well founded; and whether he has any statement to make on the subject.

*MR. BRODRICK: It is understood that two black battalions at Omdurman showed some signs of insubordination. The matter is being dealt with by the Sirdar, and the latest reports of the situation are satisfactory.

THE HYDROGRAPHICAL CON- FERENCE.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he is now in a position to give the House some information in regard to the deliberations of the Hydrographical Conference, which assembled last summer for the purpose of considering, amongst other matters, questions affecting the fishing industry.

*MR. BRODRICK: Communications have recently passed on this subject, but Her Majesty's Government are not yet in a position to make any announcement.

INCOME TAX RETURNS.

MR. DALZIEL (Kirkcaldy Burghs): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he will kindly explain how it is that a servant of a limited company is not allowed for income tax purposes to return his income on the basis of an average of the preceding three years, but must pay on the current year, although the company itself may return a three years average and also servants of private firms.

SIR M. HICKS BEACH: It is the practice to allow clerks, travellers, ware-

housemen and other subordinate employes of public companies the benefit of the three years average for income tax purposes. On the other hand, directors, secretaries, managers, and other persons holding a distinctive office are charged—as required by law—on their actual salaries, fees, or other emoluments for the year then current. The system of average was devised to meet the case of businesses in which profits are precarious. Incomes derived from fixed and regular salaries, such as are paid to the chief officers of limited companies, do not fall within that category. But it has been thought that it may be extended to the case of subordinates whose employment is more precarious and probably largely dependent on the volume of business.

LAND SALES BY MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derby, Ilkeston): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board, if he can state the area and value of land sold by municipal corporations under instruments confirmed by the Board during last year, and also the total area of the lands sold and the total amount realised by such sales in the last five years.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (MR. CHAPLIN, Lincolnshire, Sleaford): During 1899 the Local Government Board approved of the sale by municipal corporations of about 59 acres of land. A small portion of the land was to be sold at a perpetual ground rent of £165, and the reserve price for the remainder amounted to £21,132. The total area of land authorised by the Board to be sold during the last five years is 486 acres. Of this part was to be sold at a perpetual ground rent of £471, and the reserve price of the remainder amounted to £258,000. The Board are not in possession of information showing the extent to which these lands have been actually sold.

OLD AGE PENSIONS.

SIR JAMES RANKIN (Herefordshire, Leominster): I beg to ask the President of the Local Government Board whether any information has been collected by the Local Government Board as to the probable number of persons who are living in the United Kingdom, and who

fulfil the conditions for receiving an old-age pension laid down by the Select Committee upon the question of provision for the aged poor, presided over by the President of the Local Government Board, and which presented its report last summer; and if so, whether he could give such information to the House; and whether the Government have any intention of proposing any legislation on the subject of the aged poor this session.

MR. CHAPLIN: Yes, Sir. Information of the character referred to has been collected by a committee which was appointed for that purpose before the close of last session. Their report has been presented and it was laid on the Table last week. It is not the intention of the Government to propose legislation upon the subject of their inquiry during this session.

PRECAUTIONS AGAINST FIRE ON WAR SHIPS.

MR. BOND (Nottingham, E.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether the attention of the Admiralty has been drawn to the danger arising in time of war from the use of wood fittings and fixtures in iron warships, as demonstrated by occurrences in the recent war between Spain and America; and whether any, and what steps have been taken to obviate such danger in the case of vessels already built or in process of construction.

MR. GOSCHEN: I need scarcely say that my most earnest attention has been given to this matter, and the attention of successive Boards of Admiralty has been constantly directed to reducing the danger of fire on board men-of-war in action, not only as a result of recent experience but for many years previously. It has been the endeavour to reduce the wooden fittings in ships to the narrowest limits compatible with comfort and habitability. Risks of fire are not only dealt with by minimising the use of wood, but much attention has been given to the greater efficiency of the fire service. Metal substitutes for wooden fittings have been tried where found suitable, and in ships now under construction non-inflammable wood is being largely used. As regards the older ships it will be our endeavour to minimise the danger of fire in these ships as far as possible when they are undergoing repair.

ROYAL NAVAL RESERVE PENSIONERS.

SIR CHARLES DILKE: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade how many boys have now been enrolled as probationers in the Royal Naval Reserve, under Section 6 of the Mercantile Marine Fund Act.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. RITCHIE, Croydon): Two hundred and fifty-three.

MERCHANT SHIPPING—CREW ACCOMMODATION.

MR. HAVELOCK WILSON (Middlesbrough): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he can state the number of places occupied or exclusively used by firemen and trimmers on board the Royal Mail Steamship "Campania," owned by the Cunard Company, the "Teutonic," owned by the White Star Line, the steamship "Australian," owned by the Allan Line, the "Dunvegan Castle," owned by Messrs. Currie and Company, the "Australian," owned by the Peninsular and Oriental Company, and the "Norman," owned by the Union Steam Shipping Company, respectively; and whether he can state, with respect to each of these ships, the cubical measurement and the superficial measurement of such places measured on the deck or ceiling; the height of such places measured from deck to floor; how many tiers of bunks are in each place; and how many firemen and trimmers are accommodated in such apartments.

MR. RITCHIE: The Board of Trade are not yet in possession of the intricate and complicated particulars necessary to enable me to reply in detail to the hon. Member's questions. If it were, it would be quite impossible to inflict on the House so long an answer as would be necessary. Inquiries are being made, and the result shall be communicated to him.

REORGANISATION OF THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT.

MR. GORDON (Elgin and Nairn): I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education whether the Departmental Committee, which was originally appointed for the re-organisation of the Education Department and the Science and Art Department, and whose reference has since been enlarged to cover

the organisation of the Board of Education, has yet presented any report on any, or on all, of the matters now included in its reference; and whether he will now communicate such report or reports to the House.

THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL ON EDUCATION (Sir J. GORST, Cambridge University): The Committee have made already two interim reports. The final report is shortly expected. When that report is received, if the hon. Member will ask the question again, I will let him know if it can be laid on the Table.

CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD (Essex, Epping): I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education whether any, and, if any, what steps have been taken to frame a constitution for the Consultative Committee under Section 4 of the Board of Education Act; and whether he can say when the draft of the Order proposing to appoint this Committee will be laid upon the Table of the House, in accordance with Section 5 of the Act.

SIR J. GORST: The preparation of the Order in Council appointing a Consultative Committee under Section 4 of the Board of Education Act is now under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government. I cannot at present answer the question in the second paragraph.

SIR W. HART DYKE (Kent, Dartford): May I ask how far the Department is independent of Parliament in a matter concerning an Act passed last session to come into force on the 1st April next?

*MR. SPEAKER: Notice must be given of that question.

EDUCATION GRANTS.

SIR ALBERT ROLLIT (Islington, S.): I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education, does the Education Department see its way to extend to commercial subjects the educational grants which are at present made to science and art subjects.

SIR J. GORST: The grant at present made by Parliament is restricted to Science and Art by the terms of the

Vote. The Government would not move the House of Commons to alter this appropriation until the whole of their plans for higher Education has been submitted to and approved by Parliament.

THE WALLACE COLLECTION.

MR. BARTLEY: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury when it is proposed to open the Wallace Collection to the public.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. HANBURY, Preston): The Trustees have informed the Treasury that they hope to be in a position to open the Gallery by the beginning of May.

WILL INDEXES AT SOMERSET HOUSE.

COLONEL WELBY (Taunton): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he is aware that the index to early wills in Somerset House is in years or small groups of years and in antiquated handwritings very difficult for ordinary consulters to read; and whether he can see his way to causing a more general index, by reigns or centuries, to be made in modern handwriting or print, showing the place of residence and county of each testator.

MR. HANBURY: The indexes between 1383 and 1852 are by years: the indexes between 1852 and 1857 form a single group, and the indexes from 1858 to the present time are again by years. Between 1383 and (say) 1630 the indexes are frequently very difficult to decipher. From 1630 to 1852 they are in the engrossing hand and somewhat difficult for the ordinary reader to decipher. From 1853 to the present time they are satisfactory. Of course such an index as my hon. and gallant friend suggests could be made; but it could not be done by the present staff of the Registry and it would involve a very considerable expenditure.

IRELAND—JUDICIAL APPOINTMENTS.

MR. DALY (Monaghan, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, whether seeing that recently gentlemen differing politically from the Government have been promoted to be judges in England and Scotland, he can state when the same rule will be adopted by the Government

in Ireland as that adopted by the Government in England and Scotland in this matter.

THE ATTORNEY - GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.): The Irish Judges are not appointed by the Irish Government, but by Her Majesty on the recommendation of the Prime Minister. The question should, therefore, be addressed to the First Lord of the Treasury.

BELFAST POLICE CELLS.

MR. DALY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that in October last a man named James Thompson died in the police cells at Belfast; and that it transpired at the inquest that the cells were crawling with vermin and alive with rats, and were equally dangerous to the police as to prisoners; and whether he can state if any efforts have been made by the Corporation to remedy this state of things.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR): I am informed there is no foundation whatever for the statements contained in the first paragraph. The man James Thompson, to whom the question presumably refers, died more than three years ago, namely, in October, 1896. He was brought to the police office charged with drunkenness, and was at once removed to the Union Hospital, where he died the next day from hemorrhage of the brain. The police cells are undergoing reconstruction, and are now almost completed. When finished they will be second to none in the United Kingdom.

MONAGHAN AND THE PEACE PRESERVATION ACT.

MR. DALY: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that the Monaghan County Council passed a resolution requesting the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to revoke the proclamation under the Peace Preservation Act from the baronies of Farnie and Cremorne, as well as the parish of Ematris in that county; and whether he will grant the prayer of the County Council in this matter when it is remembered that the county court judge at Monaghan has been presented with white gloves five times, and at

Castleblaney eight times, during the past five years, owing to the crimeless state of the county, and that during the time mentioned the county Monaghan was the only county in Ulster without any cases to be tried at the winter assizes.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR): The resolution referred to in the first paragraph has been received. It is the fact that no criminal cases have been tried by the county court judge at Monaghan and Castleblaney Quarter Sessions during the past five years. There have been, however, five cases tried at winter assizes from the county during the same period. The resolution appears to assume that the general condition of the county is evidenced by the number of cases for trial before a Court of Criminal Jurisdiction. Unfortunately this is not so, as many outrages of a serious character have been committed in the county for which no persons have been made amenable. The County Council have been informed that the Government do not consider it desirable to revoke the proclamation in question.

PROCLAIMED MEETING IN ROSCOMMON.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Cavan, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state the grounds upon which a public meeting called to establish a branch of the United Irish League at Rooskey, county Roscommon, was suppressed; who it was that swore the informations upon which Mr. Browne, R.M., acted; who was the person whom it was alleged the meeting was called to boycott; what were the expenses of the special police force drafted in to suppress the meeting; and whether the district will be called upon to pay these expenses.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR): The proclamation which was issued prohibiting the holding of the meeting at Rooskey on the 21st January was based upon an information sworn by the district inspector of constabulary. This information was to the effect that he had reasonable grounds for believing, and did believe, that the meeting would lead to boycotting and intimidation and to a breach of the peace, and would be an unlawful assembly. I cannot for obvious reasons give the name of the person

against whom the meeting was believed to have been directed. The expenses of the police force employed in enforcing the proclamation amounted to £31 3s., of which amount a sum of £4 18s. 2d. will be recoverable from the County Roscommon.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: Did the sub-inspector give any names in his information?

MR. ATKINSON: I cannot answer that question.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): Why are not other meetings of the United Irish League suppressed as well as this one?

[No answer was given.]

SANITARY WORKS IN IRELAND.

MR. J. P. FARRELL: I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state what steps have been taken to arrange the areas of charge for special sanitary works under the Local Government Act; whether he is aware that in consequence of the passage of that Act local districts have already had urban charges levied on the general county rate as a union at large charge, thereby creating dissatisfaction amongst the rural population; and that waterworks and other sanitary works intended solely for the benefit of urban districts have been made leviable on union districts; and whether it is proposed by Order in Council or by legislation to remedy this grievance.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR): The law in regard to areas of charge for special sanitary expenses has not been changed by the Local Government (Ireland) Act, and the Local Government Board have taken no steps in the matter since the issue of their Orders of 15th May and 17th July last, which, having been validated by the Public Works Loans Act of last year, were supposed to have redressed the more important of the grievances then complained of. It is not a fact that waterworks and other charges for urban districts have been levied over unions, but small public health charges for portions of rural districts have been charged over the entire rural districts of which these portions form part. Any further alteration in the areas of charge thus fixed would probably be *ultra vires*,

but the cases of one or two localities which were not included in the Amending Order of July last have since been the subject of representations to the Local Government Board, and it is under consideration whether it may not be advisable in the course of the present session to give the Board, by legislation, power to deal with such cases.

LISTOWEL MAILS.

MR. FLAVIN: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, whether he is aware that great public inconvenience has been caused for several years by the late arrival of Her Majesty's mails at Limerick, Rathkeale, Newcastle, and Listowel, and all the intervening stations and surrounding district, between Limerick Junction and Tralee, and that when the train connection at Limerick Junction fails (which is frequently three times a week) the arrival of the mails at Listowel and other important towns is eight hours late, and the answer in reply is also delayed seventeen hours; and whether, seeing that numerous complaints have been made from time to time by public bodies and commercial houses, owing to the inconvenience caused and loss sustained by the late arrival of the mails, some remedy can be applied to prevent a continuation of this grievance.

MR. HANBURY: The train connection referred to has failed fifteen times during the last five months, but during that period there has been only one week, that immediately preceding Christmas Day, in which three failures have occurred. There has only been one failure of junction within the last six weeks, and now that the outgoing American mails are no longer forwarded on Wednesdays by the ordinary night mail service to Ireland, one of the causes of delay has been removed. A return of the amount of correspondence delayed by these failures was taken some time ago, and as it appeared that the number of letters was very small, the Postmaster General did not feel justified in incurring the expense which would have been necessary to provide a remedy, but a fresh return is now being taken with the view of ascertaining whether the circumstances have altered. An answer shall be sent to the hon. Member as soon as possible.

MR. FLAVIN: Will the Postmaster General subsidise the local cycle company in order to ensure the more rapid delivery of Her Majesty's mails?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

GALWAY MAILS.

MR. PINKERTON (Galway): I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, if he is aware that in the County of Galway, in a thickly populated district comprising the townlands of Carrabrown, Ballindooley, Kiloughter, Coursefield, Ballyguerane, and Angliham, there is no post office, daily or weekly delivery of letters, and that the people of those townlands are obliged to go to Galway, a distance of four miles, to post or receive letters; and if he will take steps to have this state of matters rectified.

MR. HANBURY: Inquiry is being made with the view of affording a delivery of letters in the district referred to, and the question of establishing a post office in the locality will be considered at the same time. A reply will be communicated to the hon. Member as soon as possible.

TOBACCO GROWING IN IRELAND.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Agricultural Department for Ireland, if he can state the results of experiments recently made in Ireland as to growing tobacco; and whether his Department intends to take steps to encourage this industry in Ireland for the future.

*THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT FOR IRELAND (Mr. PLUNKETT, Dublin Co., S.): The experiments in tobacco growing referred to in the question have been conducted during the past two seasons by the Donaghpatrick Co-operative Agricultural Society, County Meath, one of the societies established by the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society. They go to show that tobacco will grow luxuriantly in Ireland. The variety grown was English Virginian. The tobacco was manufactured by Messrs. Goodbody, of Tullamore, 35lb. of leaf producing 33lb. of plug and flake tobacco. No flavour was added during the manufacturing process, and the result

was a fairly good sample of strong, coarse tobacco, containing an abnormal percentage of moisture and also of nicotine. This Irish sample is nearly twice as strong as the strongest tobacco sold, and therefore presumably for some purposes twice as good. The cost of manufacture was 4d. per pound, and the Excise duty 2s. 8d. At the lowest estimate the tobacco sells wholesale at 4s. per pound, yielding a gross profit of £132 per acre, from which must be deducted rent, labour, and other expenses of production. The Donaghpatrick Society proposes to continue its tobacco growing experiments this year, only with a finer quality, and it is also intended to carry out similar experiments on the experimental farms of other societies in different parts of Ireland. It will be the duty of the Department of Agriculture to watch these proceedings closely, and give whatever expert advice and assistance that may be necessary.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, if these experiments are satisfactory, he will take steps to remove the prohibition which now exists to the growing of tobacco in Ireland; whether he will direct the attention of his Department to comment on this matter in the present issue of the *Irish Tobacco Trade Journal*, and whether he will place some of this tobacco in the smoking room of the House.

[No answer was given.]

CONGESTED DISTRICTS IN IRELAND.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Agricultural Department for Ireland whether he is aware that the public bodies in county Clare have passed resolutions in favour of having the entire county included in the scheduled districts under the Congested Districts Board; and whether there is any intention of complying with this desire.

*MR. PLUNKETT: It is the fact that resolutions have been adopted by local bodies, of the nature mentioned in the first paragraph of the question. Legislation would be necessary, however, to give effect to these resolutions, and I cannot give any undertaking that the Government will introduce such legislation.

RE-AFFORESTATION IN IRELAND.

MR. FFRENCH (Wexford, S.): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he has been informed that a resolution was passed by the Wexford County Council condemning the wholesale destruction of woods in Ireland; and whether he would consider the question of introducing a Bill for the re-afforesting of that country.

*MR. PLUNKETT: With the permission of my right hon. friend I will reply to this question. The resolution referred to has been received, and, as regards the suggested introduction of a Bill for the purpose of re-afforestation, I may remind the hon. Member that by the Agriculture and Technical Instruction Act of last year the duty is imposed upon the new department of considering the question of forestry with a view to its improvement and development.

IRISH UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

The following question appeared on the paper:—

MR. JOHN REDMOND: To ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether, in view of the admitted importance and urgency of the question of university education in Ireland, he will afford facilities at an early date for its discussion.

On Mr. REDMOND being called on to put it, he said: Inasmuch as one of my hon. friends has to-day obtained the first place in the ballot for the discussion of this subject, I will not put the question.

SCOTLAND—SCHOOL BOARD FRANCHISE.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he is aware that many thousands of ratepayers in Scotland who are entitled to vote for the parliamentary representative and the county and parish council have no vote for school board elections by reason of their rentals being less than £4; and will he consider the advisability of introducing legislation this session which will place the school board electorate on a satisfactory footing.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The facts stated in the first paragraph are correct, but I cannot hold out any hope of

legislation on the subject being introduced this session.

MR. WEIR: Will the right hon. Gentleman support the Bill I have brought in, as for several years past?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I must wait until I have had time to study it.

MARINE INSURANCE BILL.

MR. WARR (Liverpool, East Toxteth): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether it is the intention of the Government to introduce the Marine Insurance Bill during the present session.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The answer to this question is in the affirmative.

NEW MEMBER SWORN.

George Denison Faber, esquire, for the Borough of York.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE (FINANCIAL BUSINESS).

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not think the House will, under the somewhat exceptional conditions of the session, object to the motion which I now have the honour to move, as this session is differentiated from previous sessions in one or two very important factors which I will briefly recall to the House. It is absolutely necessary that without delay the War Office should obtain further powers to spend money, and that will be done under the Estimate which will be proposed by the Under Secretary for War. It is further necessary that the Exchequer shall have power to make payments, and that will be done under the Appropriation Bill which will immediately follow my hon. friend's statement. It will also be necessary before the 31st March that the Treasury should have further powers to obtain money by borrowing or otherwise. The power to take Tuesday for the discussion of financial business, the House will see, is, therefore, proposed in the interest rather of the House than of the Government. The financial business, which will enable us to carry on the necessary operations in South Africa and comply with the law, must be got through by a certain definite date, and if the discussion is to be as complete and adequate as the

House would probably desire, it is necessary the Government should obtain such an amount of time as will give that latitude to discussion which they would wish to possess. We take no power, it will be seen, to deal with any legislative proposal, and there will consequently be no temptation to abuse the powers for which we are now asking. I need not reiterate that we are prepared to make an exception to the motion in the case of Tuesday, the 20th instant, which we trust will be entirely allocated to the discussion of the question of the inquiry respecting the Jameson raid. May I, in conclusion, express a hope that the House will grant us these powers and privileges without lengthened debate, so that, with the shortest possible delay, my hon. friend may be able to lay his statement before the House.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That, until the end of the financial year, Financial Business do have precedence on Tuesday whenever set down by the Government, and that the provisions of Standing Order 56 be extended to that day."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (*Stirling Burghs*): I am of opinion that the House is hardly in a humour at present to offer much impediment to Government business, especially of the important kind to which the right hon. Gentleman has referred. At the same time I must say I look in vain for a precedent such as we might have expected the right hon. Gentleman to lay down for the proposals he now makes. There are seven weeks between the present time and the end of March. There are seven of these Tuesdays over which he hangs this sword, and I may further point out that this year is particularly favourable to the Government in this respect, that Easter comes in April, so that there is no deduction to be made from the time on account of holidays. On that ground I should have thought it was quite superfluous to make a motion of this sort which threatens, in an unpleasant way, the rights and privileges of private Members.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It is in their own interest.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Each Member does not think that it is in his own interest to have his privileges

curtailed. As to what the right hon. Gentleman has said of the necessity or probability of extensive discussion of the Army and other Estimates, I have no doubt there may be a desire fully to discuss them, but, so far as the great schemes of Army extension and organisation go, I should imagine it would be much more suitable that they should be postponed for further consideration at a time when the atmosphere—I mean the moral atmosphere—is somewhat cooler, and when we are away from the influence of existing circumstances. However, as I said when I first rose, I do not think there is any disposition to put any obstacle in the way of the Government managing their business as they choose in this respect, and, therefore, I make no demur to the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman.

*MR. D. A. THOMAS (*Merthyr Tydvil*): I had intended to move, before I received the assurance of the right hon. Gentleman, an Amendment to except Tuesday, the 20th inst., from the operation of this resolution. I think even now it would be more in accordance with precedent if an Amendment of that kind were embodied. [AN HON. MEMBER: No, no!] Well, I say "Yes," and I know what I am talking about. I may remind the House that when the right hon. Gentleman's Government took the time of private Members in 1898, he specially excepted two Wednesdays. Still, after the assurance of the right hon. Gentleman that he is not only going to except Tuesday, the 20th inst., but also to allocate the entire day to the discussion set down for that occasion, I do not propose to move any Amendment.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (*Donegal, S.*): I can well understand my right hon. friend the Leader of the Opposition getting up in a spirit of enormous generosity and acceding practically to the Government proposal. But we on these benches are private Members. This is a private Members' affair, and should not be a matter of arrangement between the two front benches. When the First Lord of the Treasury comes down with motions of this kind, he usually produces a half-sheet of paper, on which are set forth precedents by which he wishes to justify his proposal. We are told that such and

such a thing occurred in such and such a year. Now, I have had an extended Parliamentary experience, and I never recollect a motion of this kind having been made so early in the session. It is a systematic attack on the rights of private Members. We on these benches may claim to be unselfish in our opposition to this proposal, for we have no motions down for the Tuesdays which are affected by it. I do ask the right hon. Gentleman or one of his colleagues to give us a precedent for a motion of this kind. It is a shameless raid on the rights and interests of private Members, and if such things are to be allowed, we shall soon have left to us no rights and no interests.

MR. JAMES LOWTHER (Kent, Thanet) said that whilst under the special circumstances he did not desire to throw any difficulties in the way of the Government, it was only right that he should explain that the suggestion he made a few days previously to the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury had been misunderstood. He had made the suggestion that when the Government found it necessary to take time which otherwise would be at the disposal of private Members of the House, the Government should accede an equivalent to the private Members at some later period in the session, when the exigencies of public business permitted it. It was a precedent which had been followed by Mr. Gladstone, who, when he asked private Members to give him one night, undertook to place private Members' business on the Paper on a Government night in the order in which it came. That was the suggestion which he made.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.) opposed the motion that financial business should have precedence on Tuesdays. The motion, in his opinion, simply meant that seven Tuesdays would be taken away from private Members. The tendency of Parliamentary procedure of this kind was to render the private Members more and more a negligible quantity. The danger he foresaw was that under the pressure of urgency the House would be asked to pledge itself not only to the amount of money and men required by the Government to prosecute the war, but to additions to the Navy and war material also. It appeared to him that private Members

Mr. Swift MacNeill.

of the House had no business in the House but to be whipped up to go into one lobby or another and vote aye or no as the case might be. As for any legislation of a social character, they appeared to have no place whatever, yet it was well known the most useful legislation of that character had been initiated by private Members in the past. So far as he was concerned, so long as he had had a seat in the House he always had protested, and always should protest, against the giving of private Members' time to the Government of the day.

MR. JOHN REDMOND (Waterford) disclaimed being one of those who took an exalted view of the question of private Members' time. He had repeatedly in the past voted in favour of the Government absorbing the time of private Members, because, in his opinion, the only chance of any practical legislation was through the Government. If the programme was generally approved the House ought to give its time to carrying it out. When he had voted for the Government on similar occasions in the past, it had always been when there was legislation proposed of which he approved. The official Leader of the Opposition had said that he did not oppose the present motion, and in saying that he had spoken for the chief portion, no doubt, of the Opposition. The right hon. Gentleman had said that no one was in the humour to put difficulties in the way of the Government; but speaking for a considerable number of the hon. Gentlemen who sat and thought with him, he (Mr. Redmond) might say they were in no humour to give any facilities to the Government to obtain a further fifteen millions of money, to bring to a successful conclusion a war which they regarded as an unjust and an abominable war.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carmarvonshire, Eifion): I think there ought to be an assurance such as has been asked for by the hon. Member for Thanet, and also the assurance that the right hon. Gentleman will apply all the Government time to Government business as well; otherwise it will be open to the Government to apply the whole of their own time to other purposes, while the time of private Members is used for the financial business of the Government. This motion is not reasonable in my opinion, because it will

enable the Government, if they choose, much pressed—I think we ought to to seize certain nights when matters receive some assurance that if this House which they do not like to be discussed grants this facility it will be used for the are going to be debated, and having purpose of carrying on financial business regard to the way in which the Govern- which could not otherwise be carried on ment has studiously avoided all questions in time.

as to whether General Buller warned The House divided:—Ayes, 294 ; Noes, them—a question which will be very 40. (Division List No. 11.)

AYES.

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| <p>Acland-Hood, Capt. Sir Alex. F. Aird, John Allan, William (Gateshead) Allhusen, Augustus Henry E. Archdale, Edward Mervyn Arnold, Alfred Arnold-Forster, Hugh O. Asquith, Rt. Hon. Herbert H. Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John Austin, Sir John (Yorkshire) Bailey, James (Waltham) Baillie, J. E. B. (Inverness) Bainbridge, Emerson Baird, John George Alexander Baker, Sir John Balcarres, Lord Baldwin, Alfred Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r) Banbury, Frederick George Barnes, Frederic Gorell Barry, Rt. Hon. A. H. Smith- (Hunts) Bartley, George C. T. Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir M. H. (Bristol) Beach, Rt. Hon. W. W. B. (Hants.) Beckett, Ernest William Bethell, Commander Bhownaggee, Sir M. M. Biddulph, Michael Blakiston-Houston, John Blundell, Colonel Henry Bond, Edward Bonser, Henry Cosmo Orme Bowles, Capt. H. F. (Middlesex) Bowles, T. Gibson (King's Lynn) Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John Brookfield, A. Montagu Brown, Alexander H. Bryce, Rt. Hon. James Builard, Sir Harry Butcher, John George Buxton, Sydney Charles Caldwell, James Cameron, Sir Chas. (Glasgow) Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H. Causton, Richard Knight Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.) Cavendish, V. C. W. (Derbysh.) Ceel, Lord Hugh (Greenwich) Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. (Birm.) Chamberlain, J. A. (Worc'r) Channing, Francis Alston Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry Charrington, Spencer Chelsea, Viscount Coghill, Douglas Harry Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse Columb, Sir John Charles R. Cook, Fred Lucas (Lambeth) Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow) Cornwallis, Pienness Stanley W. Courtney, Rt. Hon. Leonard H.</p> | <p>Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge Cripps, Charles Alfred Cross, Alexander (Glasgow) Cross, H. Shepherd (Bolton) Cubitt, Hon. Henry Currie, Sir Donald Curzon, Viscount Dalkeith, Earl of Dalrymple, Sir Charles Davies, Sir H. D. (Chatham) Davies, M. Vaughan- (Cardigan) Dewar, Arthur Dickson-Poynder, Sir John P. Dilke, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. Dixon Dorington, Sir John Edward Doughty, George Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers- Douglas-Pennant, Hon. E. S. Drage, Geoffrey Duncombe, Hon. Hubert V. Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton Elliot, Hn. A. Ralph Douglas Evans, Sir F. H. (South'ton) Faber, George Denison Farquharson, Dr. Robert Fenwick, Charles Fergusson, Rt. Hon. Sir J. (Manch'r) Field, Admiral (Eastbourne) Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne Fisher, William Haves Fison, Frederick William Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond Flannery, Sir Fortescue Fletcher, Sir Henry Flower, Ernest Foster, Sir Walter (Derby Co.) Fry, Lewis Galloway, William Johnson Garfit, William Gedge, Sydney Gibbs, Hn. A. G. H. (C. of Lon.) Gilliat, John Saunders Gladstone, Rt. Hon. Herbert J. Goddard, Daniel Ford Gold, Charles Goldsworthy, Major-General Gordon, Hon. John Edward Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir J. Eldon Goschen, Rt. Hon. G. J. (St. George's) Goulding, Edward Alfred Gourley, Sir Edward Temperley Graham, Henry Robert Gray, Ernest (West Ham) Green, W. D. (Wednesbury) Greville, Hon. Ronald Grey, Sir Edward (Berwick) Griffith, Ellis J. Haldane, Richard Burdon Halsey, Thomas Frederick</p> | <p>Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord George Hanbury, Rt. Hon. Robert Wm. Hanson, Sir Reginald Hardy, Laurence Hare, Thomas Leigh Haslett, Sir James Horner Hayne, Rt. Hon. Chas. Seale- Hazel, Walter Helder, Augustus Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Chas. H. Hermion-Hodge, R. Trotter Hickman, Sir Alfred Hill, Rt. Hon. A. S. (Staffs.) Hill, Sir Edw. Stock (Bristol) Hoare, Sir Samuel (Norwich) Hobhouse, Henry Horniman, Frederick John Houston, R. P. Howard, Joseph Howell, William Tudor Hutton, John (Yorks, N. R.) Jeffreys, Arthur Frederick Jessel, Captain Herbert M. Johnston, William (Belfast) Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea) Jones, Wm. (Carnarvonshire) Kay-Shuttleworth, Rt. Hon. Sir U. Kearley, Hudson E. Kenyon-Slaney, Col. William Kimber, Henry Kinloch, Sir John Geo. Smyth Knowles, Lees Lafone, Alfred Laurie, Lieut.-General Lawrence, Sir E. Durning- (Corn) Lawrence, W. F. (Liverpool) Lawson, John Grant (Yorks.) Lecky, Rt. Hon. William E. H. Leese, Sir Jos. F. (Accrington) Leigh-Bennett, Henry Currie Leighton, Stanley Leng, Sir John Lewis, John Herbert Lockwood, Lt.-Col. A. R. Lopes, Henry Yarde Buller Lorne, Marquess of Lowe, Francis William Lowther, Rt. Hon. James (Kent) Loyd, Archie Kirkman Lucas-Shadwell, William Lyell, Sir Leonard Macartney, W. G. Ellison Macdonald, John Cumming Maclean, James Mackenzie McCrack, George McEwan, William Maddison, Fred. Malcolm, Ian Maple, Sir John Blundell Marks, Henry Hananel Martin, Richard Biddulph</p> |
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Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
Mendl, Sigismund Ferdinand
Middlemore, J. Throgmorton
Milner, Sir Fred. George
Milward, Colonel Victor
Monckton, Edward Philip
Monk, Charles James
Montagu, Sir S. (Whitechapel)
Moon, Edward Robert Percy
More, R. Jasper (Shropshire)
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Morley, Rt. Hon. J. (Montrose)
Morton, Arthur H. A. (Deptford)
Moulton, John Fletcher
Muntz, Philip A.
Murray, Rt. Hn. A. G. (Bute)
Murray, Charles J. (Coventry)
Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
Myers, William Henry
Newdigate, Francis Alexander
Nicholson, William Graham
Nicol, Donald Ninian
Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Neill, Hon. Robert Torrens
Orr-Ewing, Charles Lindsay
Palmer, George Wm. (Reading)
Pallaton, James Mellor
Pease, Herbert P. (Darlington)
Perks, Robert William
Pierpoint, Robert
Pilkington, Sir G. A. (Lanes, SW)
Platt-Higgins, Frederick
Plunkett, Rt. Hon. H. C.
Powell, Sir Francis Sharp
Pretzman, Ernest George
Price, Robert John
Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
Purvis, Robert

Quilter, Sir Cuthbert
Rasch, Major Frederic Carne
Reid, Sir R. Threshie
Rentoul, James Alexander
Richardson, J. (Durham, S. E.)
Richardson, Sir Thos. (Hartlep'l)
Rickett, J. Compton
Ridley, Rt. Hn. Sir Matthew W.
Ritchie, Rt. Hn. Chas. Thomson
Roberts, John H. (Denbighs.)
Robertson, Edmund (Dundee)
Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
Robinson, Brooke
Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye
Round, James
Russell, Gen. F. S. (Cheltenham)
Ryder, John Herbert Dudley
Samuel, Harry S. (Limehouse)
Sandys, Lieut. Col. Thos. Myles
Sassoon, Sir Edward Albert
Saunderson, Rt. Hn. Col. Ed. J.
Soble, Sir Andrew Richard
Seeley, Charles Hilton
Sharpe, William Edward T.
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Shaw-Stewart, M. H. (Renfrew)
Sinclair, Capt. John (Forfarsh'e)
Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
Smith, Abel H. (Christchurch)
Smith, James Parker (Lanarks.)
Smith, Samuel (Flint)
Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)
Spencer, Ernest
Stanley, Edward Jas. (Somerset)
Stephens, Henry Charles
Stevenson, Francis S.
Stirling-Maxwell, Sir John M.
Strachey, Edward

Strait, Hon. Charles Hedley
Talbot, Rt. Hn. J. G. (Oxford Uni.)
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
Thomas, Alfred (Glamorgan, E.)
Thomas, David Alfred (Merth'r)
Thorburn, Sir Walter
Thornton, Percy M.
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tritton, Charles Ernest
Ure, Alexander
Verney, Hon. Richard Greville
Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
Wallace, Robert
Ward, Hon. R. A. (Crewe)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Warr, Augustus Frederick
Wason, Eugene
Webster, Sir Richard E.
Weir, James Galloway
Welby, Lieut.-Col. A. C. E.
Whitmore, Chas. Algernon
Williams, John Carvell (Notts.)
Williams, Joseph P. (Birm.)
Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
Wilson, Charles Henry (Hull)
Wilson, Frederick W. (Norfolk)
Wilson, John (Govan)
Wodehouse, Ht. Hn. E. R. (Bath)
Woods, Samuel
Wortley, Rt. Hn. C. B. Stuart-
Wylie, Alexander
Wyndham, George
Wyvill, Marmaduke D'Arcy
Yoxall, James Henry
TELLERS FOR THE AYES—
Sir William Walrand and
Mr. Anstruther.

NOES.

Abraham, Wm. (Cork, N. E.)
Austin, M. (Limerick, W.)
Blake, Edward
Carvill, Patrick G. Hamilton
Clark, Dr. G. B.
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Crilly, Daniel
Daly, James
Doogan, P. C.
Engledew, Charles John
Farrell, James P. (Cavan, W.)
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher
Fox, Dr. Joseph Francis

Hammond, John (Carlow)
Hayden, John Patrick
Healy, Maurice (Cork)
Jordan, Jeremiah
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cum'land)
Lough, Thomas
MacDonnell, Dr. M. A. (Q'n's C.)
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
McCartan, Michael
McGhee, Richard
Mandeville, J. Francis
Murnaghan, George
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Connor, Arthur (Donegal)
O'Connor, Jas. (Wicklow, W.)

O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
Pinkerton, John
Power, Patrick Joseph
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Sullivan, Donal (Westmeath)
Sullivan, T. D. (Donegal, W.)
Tanner, Charles Kearns
Tully, Jasper

TELLERS FOR THE NOES—
Sir Thomas Esmonde and
Captain Donelan.

Ordered, That, until the end of the financial year, financial business do have precedence on Tuesday whenever set down by the Government, and that the provisions of Standing Order 56 be extended to that day.

NEW BILLS.

RAILWAYS (PREVENTION OF ACCIDENTS).

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Mr. RITCHIE, Croydon): I

desire to introduce the Railway Employment (Prevention of Accidents) Bill, which is a measure for the better prevention of accidents to persons employed on railways. I do not intend to take up the time of the House, who, I am sure, are desirous of hearing my hon. friend the Under Secretary of State for War, and I hardly think any explanation of this measure is necessary. This Bill has been framed to carry out the recommendations of the Royal Commission that certain operations of railway service should be declared "dangerous trades," and in pre-

senting this Bill to Parliament at the earliest possible moment I believe we are performing an imperative duty.

Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Ritchie and Mr. Solicitor General.

RAILWAYS (PREVENTION OF ACCIDENTS) BILL.

"For the better prevention of accidents on railways," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Thursday, and to be printed. [Bill 78.]

COMPANIES ACTS AMENDMENT.

MR. RITCHIE: I desire also to introduce a Bill to amend the Companies Acts. The House will remember that this measure was considered by the House of Lords, and the result of that consideration was that a Bill was framed by a Committee of the House of Lords dealing with a very large number of the points to which public attention has been drawn.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Upon a point of order, I wish to know if a Bill of this kind can be introduced under the ten minutes rule?

*MR. SPEAKER: It is entirely at the discretion of the Government what Bills they should introduce. The Standing Order imposes the responsibility upon them and not upon me.

MR. RITCHIE: The Government thought it desirable to introduce this Bill as it came from the Lords with only a small verbal amendment.

Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Attorney General, and Mr. Solicitor General.

COMPANIES BILL.

"To amend the Companies Acts," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Thursday, and to be printed. [Bill 79.]

SUPPLY.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

[Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) in the Chair.]

ARMY (SUPPLEMENTARY) ESTIMATES, (1899-1900).

NUMBER OF LAND FORCES.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. WYNDHAM, Dover): For

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the second time in the course of this financial year it is my duty to submit a Supplementary Estimate to this Committee for Army services. Hon. Members will recollect that in October last we voted 35,000 men and £10,000,000 in addition to something less than 185,000 men and something more than £20,600,000, which were voted on the normal annual Estimates of the year. That Supplementary Estimate in October last was based upon our expectation of the sum which would fall due for payment in connection with the war in South Africa before March 31. I feel, Sir, that I ought to apologise to this Committee for mentioning so elementary a matter, but my excuse is this, that although we are all more or less experts here and familiar with the methods by which authority is given for raising supplies, there are others outside this House who cannot be expected to know all the details of our financial system, but who take a very intelligible interest not only in the conduct but also in the cost of this war. I was travelling the other day in the train, and I happened to be the unwilling eavesdropper during a very animated debate, in which vigorous charges were preferred against the Government, especially in respect of what right hon. Gentlemen opposite call the Government's want of judgment and foresight, and the most prodigious indictment of all was that my right hon. friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer laboured last October under the delusion that this war could be successfully concluded for the sum of £10,000,000. I wish to protect my right hon. friend against any similar misapprehension with regard to this Supplementary Estimate. I may perhaps say that, if the force originally estimated at 75,000 men and some colonial troops had proved sufficient, that estimate would have been a close one. But all that is ancient history. We have had to double and more than double this force, and therefore it is I have to come down for the third time in one financial year to the Committee and ask for more men and more money. This Estimate covers two broad purposes. The men and the money needed for the prosecution of this war account for by far the greater part of the Estimate which I am now submitting, but they do not, as I shall show, account for the whole of it. I do not propose, in my opening statement in introducing this Estimate, to

dwell upon the subject of the prosecution of the war, although I hope I shall be ready in reply to give upon that subject any further information which any hon. Member may desire. But I dealt with that subject at some length not many days ago, and I believe I shall fulfil the somewhat general expectation if I proceed at once to other services of a different character—namely, those which are necessary, in the opinion of the Government, for placing home defence upon a satisfactory basis. The amount asked for in this Estimate in respect of those services I may say affords no clue, in our opinion, to their importance, and certainly no clue to their magnitude. We are engaged in an over-sea expedition of unparalleled magnitude, and that has had two consequences. In the first place, in spite of its magnitude, it has failed to achieve its object, and we have to ask for further sums for the prosecution of the war. But in the second place, because of its magnitude it has reduced the resources available for home defence to a level altogether inadequate. On that ground we have to come to this Committee and ask hon. Members to remedy that defect. Now we are making this appeal, but let me assure hon. Members that we make it in no spirit of panic. This risk, against which military defence provides one half of the insurance, and only one half, is not, I believe, nearer, not much nearer, to-day than it was a year ago. But it is perceptibly greater. In exact proportion to the reduction of our military home defences, that risk is greater, and that is quite enough for the Government. It is sufficient to justify their demand, and it is sufficient, I believe, to justify our confidence that this Committee and the country will respond, will even seek to outstrip the Government in their alacrity to respond to such an appeal. Sir, I ought to say that our confidence in the power and splendid efficiency of the Fleet was never greater, or more legitimate than it is now. But, whatever that confidence may be, and however reasonably entertained, neither this nor any other Government could be content to see the military resources for home defence fall much below the level to which we have been accustomed, or to brook a moment's delay in taking the steps which are necessary to reduce the risk of which I have spoken to the limits which we can

contemplate with serenity. I have mentioned the Fleet, and at the outset I propose only to mention, to touch upon, and then leave the regular Army. I do that for one reason, because, even during the short time that I have represented the War Office, we have heard the Regular Army discussed again and again. As I pointed out last October, controversy has raged round every detail of it—about its numbers, the composition of its units, the Reserve, the short-service system, the machinery by which it provides drafts to relieve the Army abroad, and at the same time mobilises for home defence. All that has been discussed, and the discussions have been most interesting. But they have had this result: that, so far as I know, the Votes on our Estimates for the Militia, Yeomanry, and Volunteers have not been discussed for two or three years. These most important forces, these great sources, as we think, of actual strength, and, perhaps, greater sources of potential strength, have been altogether obscured and withdrawn from the consideration of the House of Commons. Now, the first question which I think should be submitted to this Committee at this time is how we can turn the Auxiliary forces of this country to the best account. This subject has exercised a great deal of public attention recently. Writers of repute, and in some cases of authority, have urged on the Government recourse to some measure of modified compulsion. The Government do not propose to take that step. It is the view of the Government that these writers have overlooked or altogether under-estimated the vast volume of voluntary effort which has been offered in face of emergency by the Yeomanry, by Volunteer corps, and even by civilians, not only in this country, but in every part of Her Majesty's dominions. We therefore think it inexpedient even to consider any recourse to compulsion until some further attempt has been made to develop and organise these Auxiliary forces in time of peace. Our task—and I put this as plainly as I can to the Committee—is not to throw the whole British Army and Auxiliary forces into the melting pot, with the War Office into the bargain. Nothing could be more foolish at such a moment. Our task is to meet a great emergency by expedients. It does not follow that all these expedients must be temporary. Our opinion is that, wherever possible, these expedients

Mr. Wyndham.

should form integral parts of a permanent scheme, and that, wherever that is not possible—and in many cases it must necessarily be impossible—they should, at any rate, provide for us instructive experiments from which we may advance towards permanency such a scheme as would provide for the normal requirements of the Empire in times of peace, and yet be capable of expansion in time of war to the limits demanded by a period of Imperial danger. We hold that there is some consolation for our present difficulties in the great response of patriotism which they have evoked. We hold that this is a unique opportunity, and we believe that unless we turn it to the best account it will not remain unique, and we think that unless we profit by the present occasion similar difficulties, perhaps in an aggravated form, may trouble us in the future. It is said we can only learn by experience. That is our intention. A wise man makes a little experience go a long way. We have had enough experience, and we think we have had enough in the last few months to justify us in making proposals of some magnitude to the Committee and the nation. What is the position? We have sent to South Africa a very large proportion of all the men who have been trained in the Regular Army. I am not going into the point as to the units which have been sent or as to the breaches that have been made in the organisation. I refer to the number and no more; but not all the trained men have been sent. In all on February 1 we had still in this country 109,000 Regular troops. Still we are left largely dependent on the Auxiliary forces. Now, first, I should like to consider the Auxiliary forces in respect of numbers, in respect of their units, regiments, battalions, batteries, and the duties at present allocated to those units under the existing scheme of defence. Lastly, I should like to submit to the Committee the opportunities we intend to give the Auxiliary forces in order that their numbers may expand, and that they may be in a position not only to fulfil their present duties more efficiently, but to take up other duties of a more onerous and exacting character. First, as to the mere numbers. On February 1 there were in this country Militiamen 97,500, Yeomanry 9,000, Volunteers 222,000, or in all 328,000 men. These figures are based on this

calculation. I have only taken into account men who in the Militia and Yeomanry were present at training last year, and in the Volunteers men who were efficient, and then made the necessary additions and deductions. But I must point out that recruiting for the Auxiliary forces during the last month or so has reached a level which it never reached before. It has reached such a level as altogether to make good and exceed the drain to which these forces have been subjected, owing to those numbers who have with so much patriotism and gallantry crossed the sea to fight for their country. The Militia has gained by recruits last month 3,000 men. I ought just to point out that that is an underestimate; 4,729 recruits have joined the Militia, but, as hon. members who take an interest in these matters are well aware, a great number of men joining the Militia engage almost immediately afterwards in the Army. Everyone will, I think, allow that I have made a very liberal and ample reduction when I put the net gain at 3,000. The Yeomanry have received in the last month 2,000 recruits. Of course it is true that the Yeomanry are sending 8,000 men to South Africa. But all these men were not Yeomen on the establishment. We calculate that about 2,500 of them were yeomen and the rest were civilians who have been brought into that force and trained with great expedition—thanks to the fact that in the Yeomanry we have an admirable machine which, thanks to the energy of the Yeomanry officers, has been admirably worked in order to provide the country at this moment with a considerable force of mounted infantry. The Volunteers have gained by recruiting last month 5,000 men, so that the total gain in numbers of the Auxiliary forces in a month has been 10,000. That is under existing conditions, and with existing facilities I should like the Committee to consider the establishment of these Auxiliary forces, because the number which I gave of 328,000 is very far below the number of their establishment. I will not weary the Committee, if you are satisfied with the details which I am giving, by troubling you with too many figures. But I would take the full establishment of the Militia, the Yeomanry, and the Volunteers which stood last year at 405,107. Well, if you deduct the efficient strength of these forces on 1st February you will find that there is a margin

between those who are available at this moment and the establishment of 76,707. Do not the Committee hold, as we hold, that if under existing conditions the inflow of recruits is as voluminous as I have said, if we alter, if we improve the conditions, if we give further facilities to volunteer, we may count confidently on pulling up at least 50,000 of the 76,000 men? Perhaps I ought not to trouble the Committee with my personal view, but that is that we can easily reach the limits of the establishment. I will say no more on the question of mere numbers. We have got 328,000, but we aim at getting a full establishment of 405,000. Now I ask the Committee to consider one of the things which has never been discussed in this House, owing to the fact that we have not had time to consider the resources existing in the Auxiliary troops, and that is the units of these forces and their allocation under the existing scheme of defence for certain very necessary services. I do not wish to give these in any great detail, but in the Militia there are 32 companies of garrison artillery. Well, if we apprehend invasion, there is a place allocated in a given garrison to every one of these companies. In the Militia there are 124 battalions of infantry. If we apprehended invasion under the existing scheme of defence 96 of these battalions would be required for garrisons, leaving a margin unallotted of 28 battalions. Well, but we have already drawn very considerably upon the Militia; they have volunteered with such patriotism that we have been able to send out, or are about to send, from this country 36 battalions, 30 of which are serving or are about to enter on active service in South Africa. So that leaves us eight battalions of Militia to the bad for the purpose of garrisoning our sea-ports, arsenals, and commercial harbours. The Yeomanry I need not touch in this respect. The Yeomanry under the present scheme of defence was to act largely as a body of irregular horse worrying the flanks of an enemy. Now as to the Volunteers. The Volunteer artillery are organised in corps, but those under our scheme would be expanded into a greater number of units for the purpose of garrisoning important points of the country. I need not give the details of that. A great number of these artillery units are needed for garrisons, and a good number—namely, 88—are allocated to

positions around the great range of chalk hills surrounding this city, the heart of the Empire. So that under the existing scheme there are only ten artillery units of Volunteers which are unallotted and which we can deal with. In the same way of infantry—there are 214 battalions, of which 75 are allocated to garrisons and 135 battalions are allocated to holding this great base around London and some of the advanced posts on the approaches to this great city. So that under the scheme as it did stand there were only four battalions of Volunteer infantry for which no specific purpose has been indicated or laid down. Now, that being so, we are left to the bad, so to speak, on both Militia and Volunteers together—that is to say, we have made good the Volunteers which have gone to South Africa, but we have not made good the battalions of Militia. Taking the two together, we have less battalion units in the country of the Auxiliary forces by some five than have been given definite posts for the defence of the country. Yes, but if we add 50,000 to the Auxiliary forces in the present year, if, as I anticipate myself, we bring them up to their establishment and add something like 75,000 men, it is clear that you will have a very large margin over and above those units which have been contemplated of from 50,000 to 70,000 Auxiliary troops, which you can divert to other purposes, perhaps of a more onerous and important character. There is another consideration I submit to the Committee. In estimating the garrisons necessary we have considered that about 30 per cent. more of the Auxiliary force would be needed than we should need if we were able to fill these garrisons and to take up these positions with Regulars for passive defence only. If the Committee bear in mind the number of battalions of Militia and Volunteers to whom were allotted the duties of passive defence at 30 per cent., and if they will believe, as we think they may believe, that if we give greater opportunities, greater encouragement, and greater help, the Auxiliary Forces of the country can very well undertake the duties of passive defence without having any percentage allowed in their favour as against Regular troops—if the Committee believe that, why, then, of the Militia you will get in hand thirty battalions and of Volunteers seventy battalions, for if you take that

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30 per cent. there were something like ninety battalions of Militia allocated for these purposes, and something like 210 Volunteer battalions, and you will find if we make the Militia and Volunteer forces of the country efficient for holding garrisons and defensive positions, their existing numbers would give us a margin of 100 battalions. We shall leave that margin or the greater part of it for other purposes, to which I will refer later on, but first I will ask the Committee, for it is a very important point, not to minimise the importance of these duties to which I have referred, these duties of passive defence. Recollect that for all our garrisons we depend solely upon the Auxiliary Forces of this country, that in the event of apprehended invasion we should not have one Regular soldier to put into an arsenal, dockyard, or commercial port, however great the interests involved, for the protection of such places from momentary raids. You cannot exaggerate the importance of those duties, and with the Fleet away we must contemplate the possibility of such raids. The Fleet possibly would be away; its first duty would be to be away. [AN HON. MEMBER: Why?] The Fleet would be off the enemy's coasts or facing an enemy's fleet at sea. Although I know there is a school of politicians in this House—I will not venture to call them the “blue water” school—who believe that under such circumstances we should be all perfectly happy, I beg leave to tell hon. Members that we should be very much happier if we had 120,000 men or more as an additional guarantee against small raids, movable columns to prevent raids of the smallest character and to prevent small expeditions from landing and interfering with our naval signal stations. Such duties are of the utmost importance; they serve the purpose of protecting the vital parts in our corporate being, just as the muscles of the chest and the ribs protect the heart and lungs; and you cannot do without them, whatever be your means of defence. Well, we intend, if we can, to increase the efficiency of the Auxiliary forces in order that they may undertake these duties, and with the utmost confidence that they will discharge them with perfect efficiency. We hope also to expand the numbers of the Auxiliary forces so that they may be qualified to undertake even other duties. If that be so, it is clear that we must encourage enlist-

ment and give greater facilities for training. Now, I do not know that I need go into the details of the proposals very minutely; but I will take the Militia. As at present advised, we do not contemplate taking any step which would profoundly alter the character of that force. I read only to-day a very interesting article by the right hon. Baronet the Member for Wigtonshire, which may possibly contain the germs of some future reorganisation of the Militia. That is quite possible, but we do not propose now, in a time of emergency, to take any steps which might destroy the characteristics of the force which endear it to those who belong to it, and which might break its traditions and injure it as a recruiting machine; but we do propose to put the pay of a militiaman on a par with the pay of a soldier in the regular forces, and we propose to embody the whole of the Militia during the spring and summer, and to put them all under canvas, except those who may be allocated to some barracks about which there are special facilities for training. That being so, it naturally follows that we should pay the Militiaman for his work more than we have paid hitherto. We should not ask a man to soldier for four, five, or six months for the same remuneration we gave him when he soldiered for only one month. Then, we will do our very best to give facilities for practising at targets; we shall provide the Militia of this country with completely organised military transport, and Militia officers will have special opportunities for training. The Militia force is a very large force, and if we do that we believe we shall awake a great response. It is a constitutional force, and, above all, the county force, and if the county gentlemen of England will only help us and work with us in putting the Militia where it can be and where it ought to be put, we are sanguine enough to suppose that the Militia will be pulled up to its establishment in the course of a year. Then I come to the Volunteers. I noticed some derisive laughter a few moments ago when I said that a number of the artillery batteries of the Volunteers were located for defensive positions on the chalk hills about London, and of course hon. Members know very well that the Volunteer artillery is armed with the old muzzle-loading gun. There are, however, a great many men in this House, and in this they

are at one with a great proportion of public opinion in this country, who have long desired that the Volunteers should be armed with the most modern weapon. That is what the Government propose to do. Then, in ordinary times it is a rule, and a very sound and reasonable rule, that no new Volunteer force should be raised, or any considerable addition made to the Volunteer force, unless notice of it is given in November, in order that the proposal may be considered, with a fair amount of time, for the next year's Estimate. We abrogate that condition, and we say that any Volunteer corps, any Volunteer battalion, may from this day forward enlist up to 1,000, and that where they are already in excess of that number, or reach it soon and feel that they can easily go beyond it, then they may divide into two battalions and proceed to fill those two battalions.

[An HON. MEMBER: Is it the same for the artillery?] The hon. Member asks whether artillery corps will be allowed to fill up their establishment—yes, certainly. We shall naturally give a higher capitation grant to the Volunteers, but we shall, and I think with reason, exact a higher standard of efficiency from them. We cannot compel the Volunteers—we do not wish to compel them—all that we say is that we are ready to give them all that they need in order to make themselves into an efficient force. We are prepared to invite them to train under canvas for one month in the course of the spring and the summer—the whole force—in such a way as to suit the convenience of different regiments. Some regiments are recruited from men who are busy at one kind of work, others are recruited from men who are busy at another kind of work, and I do not think it lies with us to say more than that the Volunteers will have in the course of the spring and the summer the opportunity of training for one month under canvas. Then, we shall do all that we can to give them facilities for musketry; we shall make more ranges for them, and afford them every opportunity for practising at those ranges. We shall give them transport. [An HON. MEMBER: Hired?] Hired transport—not in all cases permanent transport, but hired. It was good enough at any rate for the requirements of the Regulars during the manœuvres two years ago. [An HON. MEMBER: Bad enough.] As hon. Members are well aware, with the Volunteers you must pro-

ceed more or less on the lines with which we are all familiar—namely, you give the capitation sum for an article which meets certain requirements, and if you give £1 a day for a waggon which, in your opinion, is suitable to the object in view, I do not think that involves an illiberal policy. Then we shall also encourage Volunteer regiments to form in each battalion a company of mounted infantry, where that can be done without clashing, so to speak, with the recruiting area of the Yeomanry regiment. Since these forces are voluntary, and we are glad that they are voluntary, we cannot say, "You shall train for so many months, and if you do not we shall not continue our assistance." All we can do is to hold up a standard which we think a suitable one, and we think that Volunteer artillery should train for some three months if they are to be prepared for a period of emergency, and we think that Volunteer infantry should train for one month under canvas, if they wish to put themselves upon a level with Regular troops for the defence of this country, or to approach it. I do not know whether I have made that part of our policy clear, if I have I will pass on. I think it is enough to have stated broadly that we do not want to wreck a national movement for the sake of water bottles and transport. I think it most improbable that the artillery Volunteers can give anything like that time for training; all that I do say is that if any particular corps wish to train for three months we will not place any obstacles in their way. ["Oh."] Hon. Members say "Oh," but surely the most impolitic thing in the world for us to do would be to dictate to the Volunteers, who are citizens engaged in private business, holding in many cases positions of trust, and who are kind enough to offer a great deal of their time. What would be more discouraging than to tell them "That is not enough, and you will be useless unless you give more time"?

MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.) : How much?

MR. WYNDHAM : I think on this occasion, when I am bringing in, after all, only a Supplementary Estimate, which, if accepted, will no doubt commit us to the broad features of some such scheme, but will not commit us to the details—and

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upon the details we invite suggestion and criticism—it would be inexpedient to discuss questions of detail, and pounds, shillings, and pence, when introducing for the first time a broad scheme of public policy. The response the Volunteers may make will not be in itself the measure of the encouragement which we are prepared to give them. Assume that the Militia and the Volunteers come forward in their hundreds of thousands, we shall be prepared to let them camp; we have at this moment in this country sufficient tents for 600,000 men. Then there is one other similar point upon which I think I ought, perhaps, to touch for one moment. My noble friend Lord Wemyss has urged upon us that we should encourage those who have served in Volunteer forces, and who have left them, to keep up their rifle practice, or, at any rate, to have their names registered so that we should know where to go if we wanted to put every man upon the field of battle. Well, that is a scheme which we are quite prepared to consider in a favourable spirit, but we think that we ought to consider it in consultation with the commanding officers of existing corps. I come now to the Yeomanry. We propose to follow the same broad policy in regard to the Yeomanry. We invite, we encourage the Yeomanry to fill up their numbers to the establishment. We invite every Yeomanry regiment to come out for a month under canvas, and, of course, as in the case of the Militia, we shall increase their rate of pay, their present rate of pay resulting already in a pecuniary burden, and being altogether inadequate to any such term of service as that which we now propose. Further than that I doubt that we shall go. We would wish to consider, again in consultation with officers in any Yeomanry regiments, whether the time has not come for modifying somewhat the tactics in which that force is at present exercised. It is the opinion of those who have the greatest qualification for advising us that this country does not lend itself in any large measure to what are called tactics by cavalry, and certainly it is very hard to drill Yeomanry. However patriotic they may be, and however much of their time they may be ready to give, it is not only hard but impossible to train Yeomanry to take part in charges as a cavalry brigade, and therefore, although it may not be necessary to call them mounted

infantry, undoubtedly, I think, in the future, in regard to the Yeomanry of this country, all will agree with us that the time has come for devoting more attention to the occupation and the shifting of positions. But we do not want to rush them, we do not want to take any steps which might modify the characteristics and the traditions of the force. We see that what it has been, and is to-day, is probably because its traditions have been respected; we know that from the Yeomanry we have raised 8,000 mounted infantry for South Africa; we know that we can raise more, and we hope great things from a force which has exhibited so much versatility and so much zeal. Coming to the general question of the further duties of a more onerous character which are necessary to any effective defence, however great the national patriotism may be, passive defence, of course, is not enough. I have likened passive defence to the muscles and bones of the chest which protect the vital organs, but, however good that protection may be, it is not enough to endure blows; you must be ready to parry and plant them, and for that you need a fist to hit back with. Now that fist with soldiers is a mobile army, and such a force must be capable, if I may quote the words of a military critic who wrote an article the other day in *The Times* hostile to the War Office—must be ready to take what is called the swift defensive; it must be highly organised, and capable of rapid and precise direction over long distances, and for that it needs, by the universal experiences of all armies, and the consensus of military authorities in all countries, a certain proportion between the several arms of the Service. It needs, also, a staff for commanding the three arms in those proportions, and for the carrying on of a corporate life from day to day in a general movement, and it needs certain other services on which I need not, perhaps, dwell, such as Royal Engineers and Army Service Corps, and so on. Now, I believe that I excite a certain amount—I will not say of disappointment in this House, but of dissatisfaction—when in these debates I talk about army corps. It is very difficult for anyone who represents the War Office to speak about army corps without setting almost the whole of the Committee against him, and I will explain the reason. The reason is this—that one-half of the Members of this

House do not know what an army corps is, and do not want to know; they are content if the sum is done in numbers of men, of guns, and forces, and so on. But the other half knows so extremely well what an army corps is, that they altogether repudiate the War Office definition of it. Let me once for all say what I mean when I speak of an army corps. I mean such a distribution of infantry battalions, cavalry regiments, and artillery batteries, Royal Engineers, and Army Service Corps as will give us that proportion upon which all military critics are agreed. I do not claim that they will be commanded, as in Germany, by the same generals and the same staff in times of peace as in times of war. I know that it is difficult to reach that ideal, but I think we may approach more closely to it than we have done. But so far as we have got, I mean what I say, and claim no more. For this mobile force, which is necessary as a complement for defence, we propose to aim at three army corps and three cavalry brigades. That has been our aim for the defence of this country ever since 1888, and I think we have shown that practically, under the definition which I have given, we have recently reached that standard, because we have sent out more than two army corps, and have in this country the other half of the third. By far the most serious aspect of what has taken place in South Africa is not that we have sent into that country 128,000 Regular soldiers, but that we have sent what I may call the permanent plant of two army corps—the guns, the trained artillery, the engineers, and the Army Service Corps. That being so, we are deficient to that extent. Our proposal is—and this is a permanent proposal—to raise at once the artillery, the Army Service Corps, and the engineers for two more army corps. That is to say, we propose to raise at once thirty-six batteries of field artillery, and seven batteries of horse artillery. In fact, we have for some time past been taking every step in our power to accomplish that object. Now I hope the Committee understand this. I do not want to mislead them. Our scheme is this—that there shall always be in this country at full war strength those permanent parts of an army corps which are difficult to improvise. Therefore, when the army corps are sent abroad there will be three here. When you get the two

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army corps back from the war, then we propose to hold up the fourth and fifth—not to maintain them at war strength, but to maintain them as training establishments. Now I come to the men. How can we get them? I hardly feel justified in troubling you with the details. We can take a nucleus of trained men from each of the batteries now in this country: we can take details left from the batteries which have gone to South Africa; we can take the artillery Reservists, of whom there are 3,337 in this country. We do not mean to poach heavily upon garrison artillery. There are in this country a number of men who have served twelve years with the colours and in the Reserve. We propose to invite them back into the batteries, and in order to raise these forty-three batteries—a large programme—we propose to invite all those who have any training or aptitude for such work. Any volunteer, artilleryman, or engineer who feels disposed to assist his country, we invite him to enlist for one year into these field batteries. I now come to the cavalry. There would be three brigades—nine cavalry regiments; and six others will be needed for corps and divisional work. That is, fifteen in all. There are left in this country five cavalry regiments, and we are bringing them up to war strength. Then we have three regiments of Household Cavalry, each one of which has sent a squadron to South Africa to form a composite regiment. We propose to extend each one of these three regiments up to war strength. That gives us eight. Each one of the twelve cavalry regiments in South Africa has left behind it a reserve squadron, and we mean to turn each of these into a service squadron. That will give us the equivalent of four regiments. We hope—at any rate, we shall invite the Yeomanry, in addition to their training as units, to give us, as they have done for South Africa, a troop apiece. If that is done, we can form a whole brigade of mounted infantry from the Yeomanry of this country. That gives us the equivalent of fifteen regiments—the proportion of mounted and unmounted men which, according to military opinion, should be aimed at. We should need for these three army corps seventy-five battalions of infantry—twenty-five in each. We have—or shall have in a few days, when certain battalions return from colonial stations—seventeen bat-

talions of Regulars in this country. We have voted now for three years three more battalions on the annual Estimates, and we are raising them very rapidly. We propose—and this again is a permanent, and not an emergency proposal—to raise twelve more battalions of infantry, and add them to the establishment of the British Army. That figure has been arrived at very carefully in order that the Army may supply the reliefs and drafts for colonial stations, for India, and South Africa without being subject to a strain which would shatter it altogether. Those fifteen battalions, together with the seventeen, will give us thirty-two battalions of regular infantry. We think that we see our way to raising them. We shall take a larger proportion of men on a three years engagement; we shall allow men who have served in those regiments to come back, as in the case of artillery, although they have done their twelve years with the colours and in the Reserves. In that case we shall allow them to serve on for a pension. I cannot leave out of account the fact that recruiting is now at the flood tide. I remember telling the House when I introduced the Estimates last March that the first four weeks of recruiting last year was a record. In that period we got for the regular Army 4,227 recruits, but in the first four weeks of this year we have got 6,103, an increase of 1,876 on what had hitherto been the record year ever since the Franco-German War. We have another emergency proposal upon which I ought to say a word. There are in this country a great number of men who have received a military training—men who have done their three or seven years with the colours and their nine or five years in the Reserve. For those men there is an existing provision. They are allowed to remain in the Reserve for a period of four years, but that section of the Reserve, E, has been for the most part closed against all except men with some special qualification—artificers and so forth. The door has been opened only a little way when some particular corps has found its reserves sinking to a low level. We propose now to throw the door wide open, and to let men who would have gone into the Reserve come back and serve in the Regular Army for a period of one year. We believe—giving them some inducement for their surrender of positions in civil life—that it will be

possible to raise a certain number of reserve emergency battalions for this year only. The number of such men is very large. It has been estimated by actuaries that the number is considerably over 200,000, so that there must be a great many men against whom no moral or physical disability could be raised. I deprecate too close an inquiry now into the selection of the battalions which will be wanted to make up our seventy-five battalions. It is clear that from thirty to forty battalions will still be wanted to be drilled into this moving, mobile force of three army corps. This problem is a very complicated one. It is complicated by the fact that we have no barrack room, by the fact that the Militia battalions which have hitherto been embodied have been embodied because their Regular battalions have been sent to South Africa, and also by the fact of the varying strength of the Militia battalions. What I would ask the Committee to believe is that the War Office staff started to grapple with this difficult problem; they are now striving to find out how they can select the seventy-five battalions, and I think they should be left a free hand, without being obliged now to mention this or that battalion and so possibly give rise to subsequent disappointment. It may be that here and there it will be right and proper to send a particular Militia battalion to a particular barrack, and that that barrack will not give sufficient accommodation for such a battalion. Such cases have, indeed, happened already; and in such cases we have been obliged to allow a certain number of the men to go on leave. But if it happens in future, in such cases, since we consider it important to get to work at once, we shall have to resort to measures of expediency, and perhaps billet the men or hire some extra accommodation for them. That, however, will only be done on a small scale, where a particular battalion does not fit a particular barrack. We have been urged to embody immediately the whole of the Militia. We do not think that would be a very wise course. It could only be done by one of two means—either by hutting an enormous number of men, in which case the huts could not be ready until the men could be provided for in tents, or we should have to billet the whole of the Militia of the country; and we believe that would

be the very worst preparation for a force upon which we shall depend so largely during the coming year. Hon. Members will see that we shall need to find by some means a great number of officers for the Army. We wish to avoid one course which we should consider erroneous under the present circumstances. We do not wish to fleece the Militia and Volunteers in order to find officers for the Regular Army; but we do believe that the offer of a small number of commissions in the Regular Army to the officers of the Militia and Volunteers will increase instead of diminish the number of officers in these Auxiliary forces. We propose to offer one Army commission to each battalion of Militia, and it is confidently hoped that at least three young gentlemen will enter a battalion under the belief that each will be the fortunate one to secure the appointment.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB (Great Yarmouth): Does that mean in time of peace? One commission annually?

MR. WYNDHAM: No, I am not talking of times of peace, but now. I am not talking of a permanent scheme, though it will probably be made permanent. We shall need 253 artillery officers, and 622 officers of the Line; but for the bulk of these officers we propose to offer commissions to our colonists; to all the Universities—not Oxford, Cambridge, and Trinity College alone—but Durham, Victoria, Edinburgh, and in fact all the Universities of the United Kingdom, and a certain small number to the public schools. Then we have the reserve of officers. Some 300 of these have already volunteered for service, and 100 are already employed. We shall look to this reserve of officers to come forward; and we shall look to those who are not in the reserve, but have had five or seven years training in the Regular Army, to show that if the country requires their assistance now they are ready to offer their services. I am afraid the Committee will consider I am explaining this point at too great a length, but it is a very important point. We are deeply sensible of the fact that we are making very large demands upon the temper and patriotism of the country. We are practically asking every man who has had any military training to offer the advantage of that training to us during

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this year; and we are practically asking a great many people who have the time to acquire military training to devote that time during the course of this year. If we do that, what shall we have to show in return? I have stated that we have 109,000 Regulars in the country. The increase which I have suggested will at least add 30,000 Regular troops to the Army—I think the number will be higher, but put it as low as 30,000. I stated at the outset that we have 328,500 of Auxiliary forces in this country. If there is the response which I anticipate I put the expansion at 50,000 at the lowest. I believe myself that it will be very much higher. But on those figures we ought soon to have in this country 517,500 men trained to arms or to a great extent undergoing training in the course of the next few months. Personally, I believe the figures will approach more nearly to 600,000 than to 500,000. It must be remembered that this is not an army which is going to march about; but it is a force which has had opportunities of acquiring training, and which will, therefore, be available in the event of any such force being required.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling Burghs): Are these increases temporary or permanent?

MR. WYNDHAM: The Regular troops are very largely permanent, or a great part of them—the fifteen battalions of infantry and the forty-three batteries of artillery. It is temporary as regards the artillery, because, as we get our artillery back from South Africa, we shall fold up the artillery of the two army corps. But I cannot disguise from the Leader of the Opposition that the fifteen battalions of infantry are in our mind permanent additions to the Regular Army. The demands which we make of course depend on the view which this Committee takes of our proposals. We cannot very well issue this invitation, and it cannot be accepted, unless the Committee adopts the broad features of this scheme. It may, and probably will, find something to criticise in points of detail. That we expect and welcome. But I think we may anticipate that it will not be criticised on the ground that on the whole it is too large. I think this Committee will feel that as to the scope of it, at

any rate, we are all in substantial agreement—at any rate the majority of this House, and the majority of the people. Times have changed. It cannot be urged against us now, as it was urged some time ago by a clever writer, Mr. Bagehot, against a great statesman, that we object to war merely because it is war, or to expenditure because it is expenditure. No; war, as that writer went on to say, is often necessary. Finance is not an end; money is but a means. He went on to say that it may be one of our duties to see to the military defence of England; and, if so, we must not sit down and count the cost. If so, this is not the age for arithmetic; it is also for statesmen to sacrifice cherished hopes. I do not quote that as an invitation or an incitement to the Committee. I quote it as a prophecy of the temper of the nation to-day. It may be that the sacrifice will be required. But I am convinced that we shall all remember that, thanks to like sacrifices made by our fathers, we have been able to turn our energies to the arts of peace. In memory of our fathers, and for the sake of our children, we shall not shrink when the call is made on ourselves. I should not like to close on a note which might be thought alarming. I said at the outset that this risk, which may become a fact, is not near. I say it again. I may therefore be asked why we should rush forward to anticipate it. For answer I borrow an old phrase—that it is too late to look for instruments when the work calls for execution. Let us begin the search now. We need not seek far afield. The weapons lie apt to our hand in the patriotic fervour of our country. We have but to take them up and set an edge upon them; then, if the call comes, we shall be ready to answer.

Motion made, and Question proposed,
 “That a further number of Land Forces, not exceeding 120,000, all ranks, be maintained for the Service of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland at Home and Abroad, during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1900.”
 —(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The hon. Gentleman has exposed to us, and not at too great a length, a great scheme for strengthening the Army, and directed especially to the home defensive forces of this country. We have listened

to the hon. Gentleman with that delight which we always experience when he speaks, and he has in most particulars explained with great power of luminous exposition. The first observation I would make is, that we, being here in Committee of Supply for the purpose of voting money for the service of the country, the element of cost has been from the first to the last totally disregarded. We have not heard a single figure from the hon. Gentleman as to what those great changes and increases in the Army are likely to amount to in money. He has not even told us how much of the money required is due to the war now in progress, and how much to future preparation.

MR. WYNDHAM: £420,000 for future preparation.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Of course, having heard this elaborate scheme of the Government, as explained by the hon. Gentleman, the Committee cannot be expected to pronounce an opinion upon it suddenly. I believe the frame of mind of nine-tenths of those who hear me is that, for the purpose of the present war and for the sake of re-enforcing our Army in South Africa and making good any gaps in our home defence which the despatch of reinforcements may cause—for these purposes we are ready to agree to almost anything the hon. Member asks for. It is not upon any point connected with the conduct or necessity of the present war that much criticism or anxiety will be shown by us. We shall not look too closely at his proposals, whatever ideas we may have of our own as to the particular course which should be taken. But what the Committee is entitled to regard, I will not say with jealousy, but with the extremest caution, is proposals which go into the future. We should not, I think, in a moment, not, as the hon. Member very properly said, of panic—because there is no panic in the body of the people—but in a moment of anxiety and alarm, in a troubled air, at all events, commit ourselves to any great scheme for the development or increase or extension or reconstruction or alteration of our armed forces, but we should remember that that is a matter requiring the most serious and careful investigation and consideration, for which we are justified in asking

the Government to give us full time to consider and examine it. I confess that I was greatly relieved when I heard the hon. Member disclaim any intention to apply compulsion in this matter. I have seen letters in the press about conscription, as if conscription was a possibility in this country, as if it were a possibility on either of two grounds—first, because the duties imposed in time of peace upon our Army for garrisoning distant places are duties which never have been, and never could be, imposed upon a conscript army; and, secondly, because the very idea of conscription is foreign to the disposition and temper of our people, and would have the immediate effect, as schemes of conscription have had before, of destroying all that natural fervour to which the hon. Gentleman referred, which leads our people in so magnificent a way to offer their services to their country without any compulsion being applied. I am not in a position to discuss or criticise the detailed provisions which the hon. Gentleman explained to us. I followed the hon. Gentleman as well as I could, and I am sure no one could have explained the proposals with greater facility and clearness and persuasiveness than he, but still we require to see these things in print and to think over them before we can pronounce a definite opinion upon them. There are, however, one or two broad lines upon which I entirely agree with him. The Government propose to develop and to lean largely on the Auxiliary forces. Although I am not one who would admit that successive Administrations have treated the Auxiliary forces with the neglect, or almost the contempt, which is sometimes attributed to them, it cannot be denied that more could be done than has hitherto been done. We have expected from them a far greater amount of proficiency than we were entitled to expect, especially the Volunteers. Therefore, when I heard the hon. Gentleman propose that there should be a change in that respect, and that the Militia should be put on the footing of the Line of the Army, that they should be embodied for a month, that they should have greater opportunities of target practice, that the officers should have means of instruction, and when I heard that the Volunteers should have the best weapons, that they also should be better trained, and have more opportunities, and should

be treated generously in every respect to make themselves efficient, I entirely agreed with him. The only question is whether, if you put too much upon those forces, they will respond to your demands. Take the class of men who join your Volunteers or Militia. Are they the class of men who can go away for a month every year or for a longer period? Such are the considerations which must govern the position, and not what we, sitting at our desks, think is the best thing to do. We have to consider the degree in which they will be tasteful or distasteful to men of this character, and that can only be found out by experience. I approve of the idea, and although it may not be carried out to the full extent which the hon. Member hopes for, still it can be carried to a very great length. Another point upon which, I think, most of those who have considered these matters closely will agree, is that it is most desirable to increase considerably both our artillery and our cavalry. I am fully aware of the effect upon the infantry of the narrow limits of battalions: but, after all, these are matters upon which we must reserve our opinion. These are matters which can be discussed quite as naturally and properly upon the Estimates for next year as upon those for this exceptional year. I should like to look upon this exceptional Estimate, though it does run into hundreds of thousands of pounds, as a War Estimate simply, and to leave the question of future increases and rearrangements for discussion upon the ordinary Estimates of the year. But I am bound to say that if we find that this gives a large increase to the fighting strength of the country we shall have to ask ourselves two questions—Is this increased fighting strength necessary, and what is it that requires this increase of force? We fall back upon the old dictum—that your policy determines your armaments, which is as true now as when it was originally uttered. If it is only that the experience of this war, the first great war we have had since the Crimean War, has shown certain defects—which I have no doubt it has—certain deficiencies, certain points in organisation which require to be modified, certain deficiencies, especially in *matériel*, then by all means fill up the deficiencies and correct the defects; but if this large addition to the forces of the country means an alteration in the policy of this

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman.

country, an alteration in the character of this country, an alteration in the character of the British Empire so that it becomes a military empire, this kingdom a military kingdom, not only we, but a large body of men in the country, not confined to one side of politics, would object to the proposal.

We should be pardoned, I am sure, if we looked with the extremest jealousy upon any proposal which might tend in that direction, because we should regard it as one of the greatest calamities that could befall our country to take a step in that direction. There is one other thing I should like to point out to the Committee, the analogy which is being drawn between this and the Crimean War. I see it often stated that we are in the same position that we were in during the Crimean War. I remember the Crimean War well. There is no analogy whatever between the two cases. In the Crimean War everything broke down—the transport and medical services broke down, the commissariat did not exist, every service connected with the Army failed, and the efficient strength of the Army itself almost vanished during those dreadful months of the first winter in the Crimea. What do we find now?

We see an army of 180,000 men sent, not to the Crimea, but to the other side of the world, without hitch or difficulty, an army well found, well fed, well armed, well hospitalised, if I may coin the word; we hear no complaints of the manner in which that army has been provided with all that is required for it. There is no comparison between the two cases. All that can be said of the present army is that it is not large enough for the task it is called upon to perform. But let me point out that that may be a fault of the task quite as much as of the army, and therefore I ask that whatever we do we shall not, in our realisation of the facts now before us in South Africa, in our discovery of the difficulties we have to meet there, rush into some great project of future military development, which, I believe, would be the very worst thing that could happen to our country. I am glad of the moderation which I discern in the proposals of the hon. Member; he has not taken the advice which has been so freely given him in the public prints. So far as I can judge at present, I by no means find fault with his proposals as going too far, but on looking into them and when we hear from him, as I hope we shall,

some estimate of future numbers and cost, we shall be better able to judge whether the scheme of the Government tends in the direction to which I have referred, and which, I believe, the whole feeling and sentiment of the country will oppose in the strongest manner possible.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): Agreeing as I do with what has fallen from the Leader of the Opposition—namely, that we ought to distinguish between the general reorganisation of the Army and the prosecution of the present war—I must dissent from the encomiums passed on the War Office. Having said that, I shall say no more on that point; we shall discuss it later. War is a bad time for reorganising the War Office, and we should avoid as far as we can this session general propositions for Army reform and reorganisation. I cannot refrain from expressing considerable disappointment with the tone of a large portion of the statement of the hon. Gentleman who introduced this motion. There was in that statement far too much about fixed defences, home Army, home defences, and invasion, and far too little contemplation of the real military problems of the country which he has to face; and although at the conclusion he did something to remove the impression he had made, the earlier part of his speech does give support to the heresy that this country could, in regard to invasion, or home defence, rely on something other than its Fleet. The Fleet of this country must be its main protection, and it is rather from the point of view of the effect produced upon foreign nations by the existence of weak parts in our armour that we should consider this question. These proposals produce enormous numbers of men rather than an army in the correct sense of the term. At the end of his speech the hon. Member mentioned figures amounting to 600,000 men, but I confess that I should have listened to him with more pleasure if I had seen greater evidence of a determination to form a more mobile force. There are many points upon which a number of questions are necessary for the elucidation of the statement which the Under Secretary of State for War has just made. After his introductory remarks he alluded to home defences, and the proposals to turn the Auxiliary forces to

the best account. He also spoke of the measures which would be necessary for the prosecution of the war. As I understand this vote which is now before us, it is very largely concerned with the prosecution of the war. By far the largest figures in this Vote are for the prosecution of the war, and yet not one word of explanation was given to the House as to how these figures are arrived at, or, what is more important, what are the further steps which the Government still feel it necessary to take. The situation in regard to the war has somewhat changed since the hon. Member addressed the House on Monday last, and the hopes expressed of the probability of an early termination of the war have not turned out to be so well founded as many of us hoped at that time. Therefore, I think the country will be somewhat anxious to know what are the further steps which the Government are taking with regard to the prosecution of the war itself. To my mind the statement made by the hon. Member plays too much into the hands of those who believe in fixed or passive defence, rather than those who believe in building up a strong striking force. As regards the future, all the hon. Gentleman's suggestions must be considered, by those who have taken an interest in these subjects, from the point of view of how far they suggest to the House the line upon which future organisation is likely to proceed. The hon. Member very rightly told us that he did not presume to tie our hands in the future. He also said that the suggestions he did make must be considered by the Committee, so far as they projected into the future, inasmuch as certain proposed changes which were now indicated by him would last for all time. One of those changes was a change in the direction of further elasticity of the conditions of service in the Army. He stated that the three years service system was to be increased, but he did not say to what extent. He did not state—and it is a most curious omission—whether the three years men were to have what a great many Members asked for at the time when this system was first initiated here, namely, the same pay as the other men. At that time the Leader of the House protested fiercely against the opinion that you must pay them the same as the other men, and he said that all the men would want to serve three years only if that were

the case. But you can easily limit their numbers if you wish to, and there are many ways in which a limitation of numbers can be effected—for example, by the adoption of a higher physical standard. At the present moment the numbers are strictly limited to some battalions, and in those battalions to 150 men. Now I should like to know in what degree is that three years service to be increased, and are they to have the same pay, because to-day the Government have announced that the Militia are to have the same pay as the Line—including the extra 3d. Do you intend to pay the three years men serving in the Regular Army only the rate of pay retained for them two years ago, or do you mean to raise their pay so as to give a fair chance to this three years system? It is not a mere question of the pay of these particular men. Those members of the Committee who have listened to our discussions know that the elasticity of the conditions of service lies at the base of this whole question of recruiting. You are only taking power by this proposal to raise a little over 30,000 additional men for the Army as permanent men, including an increase of twelve battalions in infantry of the line. The main increase as regards numbers, apart from this, is an increase of forty-three batteries of artillery. With regard to this increase we are told that they are to be rolled up when the Army comes back from South Africa; therefore, we cannot tell what the numbers of the actual increase will be, because we do not know how many men are to be rolled up. So that the numbers are not at all clearly explained to the House. We know it has been put at about 30,000 men. All those who have carefully studied the reports of the Inspector General of Recruiting know exactly what the difficulties are in times of peace. It is very easy in time of war to add so many battalions to the Army and increase the military strength of the establishment, but the difficulty of obtaining them in time of peace remains. This lies at the very base of the whole of your permanent proposals, and should be considered by the Committee. But we cannot settle that question in any way now. We cannot decide it this session, but we can ask the Government to give the fullest details in this matter. The hon. Member, in his speech, has told us of the increase in the three years men, but he has not

told us anything about that very vital matter of their pay which lies at the base of a fair treatment of the system, and we cannot, therefore, judge to what extent the Government are proposing, as regards the future, this elasticity of service to which many of us attach so much importance. With regard to the next matter to which the hon. Member alluded in his speech—for I think it will be most convenient for me to follow the order which he maintained in his speech, so I will now come to the next point upon which he laid stress—he spoke of how we were to turn our Auxiliary forces here to the best account, and the first suggestion he made was the very frank adoption of the main criticism which hon. Members of this House who have taken an interest in this subject have urged against the Government for years—namely, the total inadequacy of the artillery force at home for the large number of men. He proposes to convert a large number of obsolete batteries into batteries armed with modern guns. I see the First Lord of the Admiralty in his place, and no doubt he is painfully conscious of the difficulties in the way of manufacturing guns for the Navy. May I ask this question: Have the Government considered how the guns are to be rapidly obtained which this new departure will require? Have they considered whether the manufacturing power of this country is sufficient, or are they prepared to give guarantees to manufacturers to secure them that permanence of orders which is necessary in their business? Is the manufacturing power of the Government sufficient to produce these guns, or are the resources of the Government sufficient to manufacture these guns without diminishing the rate of supply of new guns to the Navy? This matter of the guns for the Navy is one of the very highest importance. The Members of this House who take an interest in this question of our defences are painfully aware that one point in which our Navy is weak is the difficulty of manufacturing the most modern guns. As regards these most modern guns, there is a difference of opinion as to whether or not we are sufficiently supplied, but we are undoubtedly hopelessly behind foreign nations as regards the number of modern guns in our batteries and among our guns used for the purposes of drill. The Government are being pressed to supply these

deficiencies, and there is no doubt they will be supplied. But are we quite certain that in making this attempt the supply of guns to the Fleet will not suffer in rapidity in consequence? The next point which the hon. Member raised was the question of the future of the Yeomanry, and his suggestion was that the intention of the Government was to convert this force more into mounted infantry rather than cavalry. For years past the critics in this House have spoken upon the Yeomanry vote, and it has been opposed by military Members of this House on the ground that the Yeomanry were being trained as a cavalry force, and that the conditions of their service were such that the Yeomanry could never possibly be an efficient cavalry force, and should be made a mounted infantry force. We have seen during the operations in this war in South Africa how necessary that has been, for we are now trying to turn the British Yeomanry, who have been trained as cavalry, into mounted infantry. That is a tardy acceptance of what many hon. Members have been urging upon the Government for years, and now the War Office have very tardily come round to the views which have been expressed for years in this House. I come to the hon. Member's proposal with regard to the new battalions. Here we come upon the political rather than upon purely military ground. Why an increase of twelve battalions to the regular Army? Why have any increase at all? Why not a larger increase? Not one word has been vouchsafed to the Committee upon this subject. Does it mean that a survey has been made now, at the present period of the war, of what will be the necessities of South Africa after the war is over?

MR. WYNDHAM: That has been taken into account, but we do not propose to increase the Army to a number which would enable it to discharge that duty without strain for all time, because we imagine that duty will be a diminishing strain.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: We were told the same story by the former Under Secretary for War; in fact, he used the same word. Many hon. Members of this House are not in favour of a revolutionary change of system: they are rather in

favour of patching up the system, and they pointed to the linked battalion system to which they said you are not giving a fair chance, because the number of your battalions abroad is greater than the number at home. The Government have tardily come up to the requirements put before them, and they have stated that it is their intention to increase the Army up to the limit of the permanent strain. They did not absolutely meet the full figure because they thought that the strain was temporary and would be a diminishing strain. If the House is to retain the existing military system; if it is to retain the linked-battalion system, then we must have a battalion at home for each battalion abroad, otherwise the whole of the recruiting system breaks down. How do the Government meet this? They make no proposal for it, but they do make a proposition to increase the Regular Army by twelve battalions of infantry, and that means six battalions abroad and six at home. That means that you are to have six additional battalions abroad for all the new strain which is likely to arise in the future. If you are postponing a settlement of this problem until after the war is over it is another matter, but if you are pretending to face it now do not tell us that six battalions, or even less, will be the garrison which South Africa will require. The Government tell us that this will be a diminishing strain, but they do not meet the full demand which the linked-battalion system involves. We hear the old story of the diminishing strain, but all I can say is that six battalions for South Africa is too little to put before this House, and is not adequate to the circumstances of the case. The hon. Member, in answer to a question I asked him, said the Government had in view the case of India, but throughout the whole of his address the word India was not mentioned once. There was not the faintest reference to the fact that they had largely denuded India of a garrison which was thought necessary by every military authority in this country and in India. I put a question the other day as to the extent to which the Indian garrison had been reduced, and the facts are fully known to the House. The time has come—and it is more important because the garrison has not been too large—when it is necessary to replace the troops which you have

taken away. Otherwise you will be unable to meet the demand for a permanent reduction of the garrison in India. Surely you do not believe that that garrison has been much too large for the purpose. While you are speaking of the contribution of the colonies, it must be remembered that the expenses in India are on an enormously higher scale than those of the colonies. The colonies have contributed generously at all times, but their contributions have been voluntary. It must be remembered that India has been made to contribute whether she wished to or not, and she has contributed upon an enormously higher scale. The first act of the present Government was to reduce the contribution from the rich colony of the Straits Settlements to the Imperial defence of Singapore. The contribution of India is enormous, for she contributes upon a gigantic scale, and this contribution has been kept up at the present rate ever since the increase when the late Lord Randolph Churchill was Secretary of State for India. Do you defend that, and do you believe it is only an adequate garrison now? If so, how can you come to this House and explain what you are going to do while this war continues without saying one word as to the replacing of the troops brought from India which are now shut up in Ladysmith? Besides this, you have also drawn troops from India within the very last month. Surely the Government ought to recognise that it is one of their first duties to remedy the amazing disproportion in our Army at home of cavalry and artillery to other arms. The official statement of the hon. Member led us back again to the words with which he began. He led us back in his last words to the 600,000 men that we should have in this country, but he did not say one word which pointed to the rapid organisation in this country of a mobile force. Have we contemplated the possibility of our getting into war in what the hon. Member rather proudly and rightly called the present position of the British Fleet? Surely it is not an invasion of England that we stand in fear of. Surely our need would much more likely be for a mobile force and an army which can strike a blow. There are also demands in South Africa which may still be made upon us for a mobile force. The whole speech of the hon. Member was devoted

Sir Charles Dilke.

to the piling up in this country of what we have here already, that is of hundreds of thousands of men. It is not a paper army, because the men exist, but it is an army which is not an army in the proper sense of the word, because it is insufficiently supplied with all the necessities for a great military force. It has at present no cavalry or artillery, although this deficiency in artillery is to be supplied. That deficiency is one which cannot be overlooked, and I admit the Government are doing the best they can. The last fifteen batteries of artillery which have gone out to South Africa have gone out in a condition which is not creditable to our military authorities. The batteries which are being made up now in advance of the decision of the House in this country are woefully deficient, for the Militia and garrison artillery have been put into those batteries, and they are not even supplied with officers capable of really training the men, for they are largely made up of men drawn from the garrison artillery. I admit freely that the Government cannot do better than what they are doing in this particular way, but it certainly proves the justice of the criticism which has been laid before the House and against the Government that it is impossible to improvise artillery in time of war, and that in this country, in spite of the enormous military expenditure upon land forces, the War Office has never faced the real preparation of army corps.

*MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): Once again the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for War has made to the Committee a very lucid statement. I have watched the hon. Gentleman's career with great satisfaction, and I have often wondered why Her Majesty's Government left him out so long in order to take on other Under Secretaries coming from a party not its own. I confess that I have listened to this statement with some surprise. I came down to hear what measures the Government were going to take in reference to the Army in South Africa. I had expected to hear that they were immediately preparing another 50,000 men to go out, and perhaps that they were going to call together the remnants of the Militia so as to find material for another force. I formed that opinion because the majority of the

items in this Vote — amounting to £10,000,000 out of £13,000,000—are concerned with matters which can only have to do with the Army in South Africa. The whole of the speech of the hon. Gentleman himself, however, was devoted to home defence, and to listen to him one would imagine that there was no war going on in South Africa. I should have thought that the first subject with which his speech would have been concerned was first of all South Africa; then that of India, which has been alluded to by the right hon. Baronet opposite; and last of all home defence, which presses least. The defence of India is extremely important at this moment, because it is impossible to forget that we have there a Viceroy who has announced in the House of Commons that his policy is to join the Russian frontier, and that Russia having brought her troops to the waters of the Oxus we should take ours there also. In addition to that, you have recently sent out to the Presidency of Bombay a new Governor without any administrative capacity. [AN HON. MEMBER: Oh, oh!] I beg pardon, I mean experience — whatever, and who distinguished himself by rising in this House to propose an increase in the salary of the President of the Board of Trade. The hon. Gentleman raised the question of invasion. I do not know that it is greater now than it ever was, though I am not sure that it is not a little nearer. But let us clear our minds upon this question of invasion. You cannot defend this country by soldiers; you can only defend it by sailors, and if your fleet and sailors are sufficient you have no reason whatever to fear an invasion of this country. The hon. Gentleman in the course of his speech suggested the proper use to which to put the fleet. That is to keep off the coasts of the enemy, and to take care they do not get out, or, if they do, to destroy them. If that be done I cannot see how anyone can consider an invasion of this country possible. I will not follow the hon. Gentleman through his very luminous and interesting statement. I am not a military man, and I have not yet gained an adequate idea of what the effect of his proposals would be. I have only risen to express the hope that he will supplement his statement by telling the Committee what the Government immediately intend to do to reinforce the

Army in South Africa. That is the most important point. There are two other points I would wish to mention. One is with regard to the new force about to be raised. I do hope the hon. Gentleman will give us some assurance that less time will be spent in drill and more in shooting. To my mind we have gone wrong ever since the time of Frederick the Great. We have worshipped the false god drill, and have forgotten the ancient tradition of our country, which was to win battles by shooting straight, a tradition by the aid of which we destroyed the best chivalry of France at Crécy, and on other fields. Even in the Yeomanry there seems to be little trouble taken to secure accurate shooting, without which I believe no modern army will be able to do its work. I therefore trust that we shall have some assurance on this point. Then there is the matter of home defence which ought to be looked into. Do the Government intend to overhaul the forts, to provide garrisons for them, and above all to overhaul their stock of ammunition? This I believe, is a point which requires very keen and special attention. I confess I am still without the knowledge which I came down to the House hoping I should obtain, namely, the knowledge that Her Majesty's Government have realised the enormous importance of keeping up the supply of men in South Africa, and that they were about to take immediate steps to raise another force. We have not heard that to-day, and I trust that during the course of the evening we may hear what after all is the real purpose of the statement of the hon. Gentleman.

*MR. CHANNING (Northamptonshire, E.): The hon. and gallant Gentleman who has just sat down appeared to think that the Under Secretary for War should not have called attention to the question of home defence. I think, on the contrary, that the Under Secretary was welcomed by the House when he directed attention to what is perhaps the most serious issue which the Committee can consider at present. Undoubtedly there has been a feeling, not of alarm, but of serious anxiety at the depletion of our means of home defence in case of any European complication arising. In this discussion I will not attempt to enter into the South African question or the conduct of the war. The ques-

Mr. Gibson Bowles.

tions which the statement of the Under Secretary has raised are questions of vital importance, which can be discussed without introducing political considerations, which perhaps are best left alone at present. I listened with great satisfaction to all the hon. Gentleman said with regard to the Auxiliary forces, until he came almost to the end of his statement; but I must say that the attention which I have given to the subject leads me to believe that the Government would act more wisely if, instead of suggesting a very large and permanent increase of the Regular Army and organising all the subsidiary parts of an army corps, they had adopted the policy of going further in the re-organisation and relative combination of the Auxiliary forces. They would then be doing something to meet the desires of the country, and would perhaps ultimately provide better machinery for national defence than by permanently organising three additional army corps. The hon. Gentleman said that the Volunteers are to be armed with modern weapons; and that guns of modern and effective type are to be provided for their use in this country. I also heard with great satisfaction that each battalion of Volunteers should be encouraged to form a company of mounted infantry. When we have gone so far as that, would it not be a more practical course to go a step further and meet the wishes which I know are at present entertained by some of the most intelligent Volunteer officers. Instead of merely continuing the present system of Volunteer battalions, which are practically isolated, and therefore of no really effective use in actual operations, instead of turning, as is proposed, most of the Yeomanry into equally isolated squadrons of mounted infantry, would it not be possible to combine together and to train so that they may act together all the several branches and arms of these auxiliary forces; so that they might form, in some sense, Volunteer Army Corps, which might be ready for actual use? I venture very respectfully to submit that suggestion to the Committee. I would support in the heartiest way the expressions which fell, very wisely it seems to me, from the Leader of the Opposition when he entered a caveat against any large and tremendous scheme for the re-organisation of the military system of this country. So far as I have been able to

follow the figures of the Under Secretary, his proposals practically foreshadow the doubling of the Regular Army of this country.

MR. WYNDHAM dissented.

*MR. CHANNING: I am very glad the hon. Gentleman shakes his head. At any rate, I should deprecate, and would be prepared to oppose, any large increase of the permanent army of the country. In carrying out this scheme it would be wise to deal with the Volunteer force as a whole, to bring its several branches together, so that they may be used as an army corps in defence of the country, and not be treated as in the past as isolated units, which can only have a relatively small value.

MR. BIDDULPH (Herefordshire, Ross): I should like to say one word with regard to the question of the Yeomanry. If the Yeomanry are to be made of any use they must be put on a different footing than they are at present. The expenses of the uniforms, which in some cases are enormous, will have to be reduced, and also the expenses connected with training. There are some officers in the Yeomanry who think when they go for a few days training that they may go to any expense, not only for mess but also in gambling. I hope the commanding officers will be told by the War Office that they must restrict the young men in the Yeomanry from gambling and other excesses, which prevent other young men of moderate means from joining these corps. I quite agree that something should be done to make the Yeomanry a more serviceable and reasonable corps, but until the expenses are reduced I am afraid that nothing can be done. The experiment of trying to improve the Yeomanry is well worth adopting, but until you reduce the expenditure and introduce a more businesslike footing I myself despair of seeing any great use being made of it.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): I desire to criticise the statement of the Under Secretary, but only very briefly and in the most friendly spirit. As a Radical, I must say it is a great satisfaction to me to find that the hon. Gentle-

man was able to develop a scheme which in the opinion of the military authorities would be sufficient both for the defence of this country and for the Empire at large without having recourse to conscription, which I am certain would not, in the long run, have as good results as the voluntary system. It seems to me, looking at the scheme broadly, that if it is carried out on the lines proposed the expense is almost bound to be, in the long run, something enormous. Having no figures or facts at my disposal—only the bare outlines of the scheme—I am unable to criticise it in any detail. With reference to the question of recruiting, I frankly admit that the scheme has tapped every possible source, but I do not know whether in the future, especially if the garrisoning of South Africa is taken into consideration, it will be possible to maintain recruiting at a sufficiently high standing. I regard the suggestion to extend the number of three years men as very valuable. I believe if they can be largely increased it will place us in a very much stronger position than we occupy at the present moment. I am bound to admit that the hon. Gentleman scarcely touched on the question of India. Those of us who have been in that country know that every available unit there must be an absolutely mobile force, and that troops not up to the highest standard are practically valueless. I do not think the hon. Gentleman foreshadowed how a sufficient garrison was to be kept in India. It cannot be denied that after this war some troops will be required in South Africa, and that you will have to return to India the troops you have withdrawn from that country. As regards the mobile force in this country, so far as I can judge, there would be some difficulty in making it sufficiently mobile, because the hon. Gentleman did not foreshadow that the army corps which he proposed to constitute in this country should be a real army corps; that is to say an army corps kept in a state of readiness with a permanent staff and with artillery and cavalry accustomed to work together. As the hon. Gentleman pointed out, as far as the defence of this country is concerned, we must absolutely rely on the Navy, and the mobile force kept in the country will be required for quite another purpose. It will be required for the only purpose in which such a force would be of use to us,

namely, to be thrown in a moment into the most vulnerable part of our enemy's territory. Therefore, if it is not of a mobile character it is of no use. As regards the Yeomanry, the proposal to convert them into mounted infantry is certainly a move in the right direction, as their value as cavalry is practically nil. The move is most valuable. The hon. Gentleman furthermore suggested the utilising of ex-soldiers in this country. I am confident that that will not only produce a very valuable force, but will have a marked effect on recruiting, and will tend to popularise the Army throughout the length and breadth of the land. The future of South Africa is also a question which will have to be faced. May I point out that there was one flaw, if I may so speak, in the statement of the hon. Gentleman? He referred to our tapping the colonies for officers, but he made no reference to our making use of those valuable recruiting grounds as regards men. I am disposed to think that in Canada, Australia, and elsewhere there are valuable recruiting grounds untapped, and in the present patriotic state in which the inhabitants of the entire Empire are, I think use might be made of them. I am glad that there is no great alteration proposed as regards our Army system as a whole at the present juncture. This is not the time for it. When this war is brought to a successful issue, as I believe it will be brought in a comparatively short space of time, we may then consider the reorganisation of the Army—whether we should not have a long service force for India and the colonies, with a mobile force at home, and with the remainder of our defensive land forces consisting of short service men, the Reserve, and a standing force of sufficient cavalry and artillery. That is a question which I hope will be brought to a successful issue by the present Government.

*SIR J. FERGUSSON (Manchester, N.E.): I do not desire to indulge in any speculations regarding the army of the future. We have quite enough to think of at present, and the proper time to discuss that will be when the war is over. As regards the troops we have drawn from India in this great emergency, we are all agreed that they shall be returned. India supplied a force which could not be got from any other place at a particular

juncture. It arrived, in the words of one of Her Majesty's Ministers, "in the nick of time." Had we not got that force from India the chances are that the Boers would have been able to come down to Durban. The heroic garrison of Ladysmith checked the invasion of Natal, and has earned the undying gratitude of the country. It is a very serious matter that this country, in which so many valuable interests are at stake, and which ought to be so strongly protected, has at the present moment only a small regular force within its shores. There are unlimited resources to draw upon for service abroad and at home, and I do not think that many yet realise the full extent of the patriotism which is being displayed just now. The number of men who are ready to give their lives for their country at the present moment is practically unlimited. To-day I took part on a Committee to organise an additional branch of the Yeomanry corps, to be entirely composed of first-rate rifle men. The men who presented themselves as candidates for officers' commissions were not only thoroughly trained, with long experience in the Auxiliary forces, but they had left flourishing businesses. While we have such a fund to draw upon we know that this country will not be found wanting in a time of emergency. It is not a question whether the country will be found wanting, but whether it will be found organised. Without organisation the most patriotic nation may be helpless in presence of an organised enemy, and some will doubt whether the organisation now proposed is really adequate for the occasion. There is so much of invitation, hope, and conjecture in the scheme that it is hardly of the solid and reliable character which the country expected in the present emergency. No doubt the Government are making a call on the Committee which will be very freely responded to. One or two hon. Members have referred to conscription as an expedient which could not be entertained. Conscription is no doubt foreign to our British ideas; it has never been resorted to even in times of greatest necessity. But is it conscription that the nation at large should be called upon to defend itself? Would it be contended that the Swiss system is conscription? I have known it and admired it for a great number of years. The Swiss are the

Captain Norton.

freest nation in Europe; they are self governed, and they have organised themselves into a nation in arms. If their territory were threatened they would be found to be a nation in arms, just as the Boers are. A small book was recently issued by the Intelligence Department concerning the Swiss Army. All the Swiss are required to join in the defence of their country; they are thoroughly organised and put in line as if against any European army. Perhaps that is the conscription which hon. Members say would be foreign to our ideas; but the Swiss are required to be members of their defence force for twenty-five years, and how much of their time do hon. Members think each Swiss must put in during these twenty-five years? He only gives 135 days to the service of his country. Well, surely that is hardly conscription, and that is a state of things which deserves discussion here. Moreover, every Swiss boy learns his drill at school as an essential part of his school course, and that has had excellent effect on the physique of the youth of the country. Again, they learn rifle-shooting at the Tirs National. That is not a compulsory service, but the emulation is so great that every Swiss lad joins the Tir National. The only considerable tax on his time is in the first year's service, when he has to put in forty-five days drill. If we adopted a system something like that we should have an army of a domestic character which would really be equal to the defence of the country. The Swiss force embraces both artillery and cavalry, and the gunners and drivers are thoroughly trained. Every Canton takes an interest in the annual army manoeuvres, and foreign military attachés think them so important and so well deserving of study that they go to see them. I think that, as in 1858, the Government have lost a great opportunity in not proposing a scheme of a general local militia. In the interesting statement of my hon. friend there were two points which did not appear to me wholly satisfactory. In the first place, he stated the number by which the Auxiliary forces fell short of the establishment to be 76,000, and that he expected to make up 50,000 by recruiting; and then he proceeded to suggest that that would be a substantial addition to the defence of the country. But this is problematical. Another point on

which a good deal is wanting is in the instruction department. At the present moment we are a good deal short in trained officers in this country. My hon. friend said that there are 106,000 men of the Regular Army in this country at the present time; but most of them are either unfit for active service by reason of infirmity or of being too young to put in the field. These are for the most part added to the Militia, which has already too few officers. That is a most unsatisfactory state of things, and must lead to a want of discipline. I am surprised that more use has not been made of Reserve officers. I may point out that it would be extremely desirable if a system were introduced by which officers could be speedily trained to supply the manifest wants of the country both in the Regulars and in the Auxiliary forces. Many men would make good officers who are too old to be put among cadets, and not old enough to be entirely superannuated. The Staff College is at present shut up. It should be opened specially, and retired, or Reserve officers employed in training the young officers both of the Regular and Auxiliary forces. I believe the Militia ought to be, and will be, the backbone of the defence of the country. We have neglected it for a good many years, and treated it as the milk-cow of the army, and now we have to fall back upon it to fill the places of the regiments in the field. My hon. friend says that the Auxiliary forces are to be put on a better footing, and that the Militia are to be better treated and better paid. I remember when the men in the Militia were of a different class than now. They were men of settled occupation, who came out to the training in the summer time as an amusement and a holiday. After I left the Army I was myself for fourteen years in command of a Militia battalion. That battalion then consisted of ten companies; then they were reduced to eight; and latterly it was threatened to reduce them to six companies. It came to Aldershot the other day only 450 strong, and of these 150 went out to South Africa, and some regiments are even weaker than that. That is a most unsatisfactory state of affairs. While the proposals are not the best, and while they depend upon invitation here, and conjecture there, I nevertheless hope they will be sufficient

to give a substantial addition to the defences of the country.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derby, Ilkerton): I am bound to say that I listened with considerable interest to the very clear statement which the hon. Gentleman made in introducing his Estimate; but I also must admit that I listened to that statement with some amount of disappointment. We are face to face with great national difficulties, and these arise from the fact that we are fighting this campaign under entirely novel conditions. I think these novel conditions in South Africa ought to have induced the Government, in laying this Estimate before the House, to give us something different from the old lines on which they formerly proceeded. We must remember that we are fighting against a people with a population not equal to that of a second-rate provincial city in England, and able to put a fighting force into the field of considerably less than 100,000 men. It is inconceivable to me, that a great Empire like this, governed by the House of Commons and the House of Lords, can be reduced to anything like an extremity of difficulty, by having to conquer a nationality of only about 300,000 souls. It is almost incredible that the difficulties which have arisen might not have been averted. The truth is we have gone into a modern war very much on ancient methods. We have been meeting forces that have infinitely greater mobility than our own, and armed with artillery considerably superior to ours. The conditions brought about by new methods of warfare are conditions with which our methods are not able adequately to cope. That has been shown in every fight we have had. Although our men have exhibited as much bravery and pluck as ever before, they have not had the success which they deserve: and that is because they are fighting against weapons with which they have not had previous experience. We must meet our difficulties with new methods. I do not see in the statement of the hon. Gentleman a sufficient amount of imagination, if I may say so, in reference to existing needs and the necessities of the case. When he wants to increase the military forces of the country, he goes on the same line of policy as we have been pursuing in the

past. If the necessity arose at any time to defend this country from an invasion, it would require to be done very much on the same lines as the Boers are taking in South Africa, and our troops would require to be trained very much like the Boers in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. But I do not see any adequate provision in the suggestions which the Under Secretary for War has made to bring about that end. It is true that he calls out new regiments of the line and more militia, but he gives us no suggestion that these are to undergo a different training from that given to our soldiers in the past. What we want is, that the new force or forces should be trained on the lines of modern warfare, rendered absolutely necessary by new weapons of precision, with which an enemy will be armed in the future. For that purpose three things are necessary. First of all it must be a very mobile force—a force of mounted infantry to a large extent, and that will not be supplied by the conversion of the Yeomanry, as has been suggested. We want also a very much better training in rifle shooting than we have had in the past, and for that purpose we want facilities given all over the country for practising rifle shooting. In addition to that we want a great improvement not only in the strength, but in the character of our artillery. If these proposals were carried out, then the suggestions of the hon. Gentleman might be adequate to the needs of the country. The hon. Gentleman wants to apply a certain amount of the money he proposes to raise in the increase of the pay of soldiers and Militia. It is obvious that if these men are to spend a considerable amount of time away from their ordinary avocations their pay must be increased, and, so far as that goes, this is a step in the right direction. I hope the hon. Gentleman will carry out his proposal with regard to the Volunteers in a generous spirit, especially in the encouragement of rifle shooting, for I am sure the country would gladly consent to any generous methods of treatment of the Volunteers. Again, we have a great reserve of able young men, full of pluck and daring, who are prevented by straitened means from going into the Army as officers, and if the hon. Gentleman would give these some encouragement, by offering higher pay, he could secure a much better supply of officers, and of better material, than in

Sir J. Ferguson.

the past. I hope, likewise, that steps will be taken to fill up the gaps in the Royal Army Medical Corps, and to attract young medical men from the schools.

SIR A. ACLAND-HOOD (Somersetshire, Wellington): The proposals of the Government are only a temporary expedient, and it is fortunate they are so. We have tried raising an army by voluntary enlistment and by making the Army popular, but we are now trying to raise an army by invitation and imagination. The country had looked forward with intense anxiety to the declaration of the Government about the Army, and, as far as I am concerned, I had a feeling of disappointment in listening to the speech of the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for War. What the country wants is, first, a scheme of home defence; second, an adequate force for reinforcements in South Africa. As to the latter, we are told by the Government that we have at home 109,000 men. What are they—Reservists, men medically unfit, men under age, or recruits? If we have 109,000 men, how is it we only have seventeen battalions of Infantry? As to the home defence, what the country asks for is a sufficient force to make us safe from invasion. One party among military and naval experts thinks that our Fleet is our first and only line of defence, and that in the event of our Fleet failing it is only waste of money to provide an army to defend our shores. If the Fleet should be annihilated, that is true, but then we may have checks and reverses at sea. In the event of such a check an army at home would give invaluable time to enable our Fleet to recuperate. One lesson from the war is that whatever else we waste, we cannot afford to waste time. The Government scheme of defence is, first an active mobile Army, ready to strike a blow at the invader; and, second, the occupation of certain strategic points for passive defence. The second without the first is useless, yet we depend for active defence on battalions, batteries, and cavalry regiments, not only not yet raised, but only shadowed in this Vote. Why not organise your active defence from the material you already have in the Militia and Volunteers? What the country wants is an army, not a mob. The Volunteers have no staff, no proper

organisation, and no proper training. If they are to occupy certain strategic positions for home defence they ought to be exercised in those positions by the officers they will have to serve under; to learn the country, the ranges of positions, and the roads leading to them. It is knowledge of that kind which has enabled the Boers to hold their own. As to the sources from which the numbers required are to be drawn they are: First, Section D of the Army Reserve. Now Section D cannot be called out till Sections A, B and C are called out. The consequence is that when tradesmen, artificers, and so on are wanted for the Engineers and Artillery, they, being in Section D, cannot be called out until the whole of A, B and C—thousands of whom are not wanted—have been called out. The consequence is that these men are now living on furlough at full pay. I hope that an alteration will be made in the Act so as to prevent this in future. The second source from which the numbers are to be drawn is the Volunteers—magnificent material, but not trained or organised. They have been snubbed by every Government, and are now approached with invitations. They are not properly drilled, trained, or organised, and their shooting as a whole is indifferent, which is not their fault, for they have no means of improving it owing to the lack of ranges and the small amount of rounds allowed, and the expense of getting to the ranges. It is a mistake to suppose that in these respects any comparison can be made between the Volunteers and the Boers. The Boers are a highly drilled and well trained force, with every facility for learning manœuvring and shooting. The Under Secretary for War said that the Volunteers and Militia were to have every opportunity of improving their musketry practice. But where are the ranges? They could not be improvised in a few weeks. What the country wants is an army for home defence at once. The scheme of the Government will produce some sort of army in nine or twelve months, by which time the war will probably be over, and the result of the present scheme and the future reorganisation of the Army will be absolute chaos. The country is ready to accept almost any proposal from the Government in order to make home defence secure. It would have taken much more than the present scheme with great

eagerness. But though these proposals fall short of what is necessary, they are those of the responsible Government, and as such must be supported by everyone in the House.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER (Staffordshire, Lichfield): The speech which has just been delivered has expressed many of the sentiments and thoughts which have passed through my head as to the statement of the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for War. Everybody has been anxiously looking forward to this statement, and expecting to hear that in the shortest possible time another army corps would be prepared to go abroad or defend the country, as might be required. But this scheme apparently does not do that. There is one point I should like to refer to—the increase in the artillery. That increase is not to be permanent, but is to be reduced as soon as the war is over. The increase in the artillery, taking all the guns we have got, and putting down all the forces as they have been mentioned to-night, will be only one gun per thousand men, instead of five per thousand as in foreign armies, and if we are to reduce that number still further it will make a very small number of artillery when we include the Reserve forces. What is needed at the present time is a mobile force that can be used for defence or sent abroad at once. It is quite possible that we may have another check, although I hope we shall not, and it is possible that we may have to send out further troops. We cannot send the Volunteers, who stand on the chalk hills to defend London, or the Militia, which is not yet embodied. Some people say the Militia is embodied; yes, for the reason that the country is almost denuded of trained troops. Had they been embodied sooner, we should have had a further 50,000 trained troops now. The Militia ought to have been embodied sooner, so that trained troops might be provided ready to hand. As to the Militia, there is one question which I should like to ask the hon. Gentleman. He said the Militia was to go into camp and be trained during the summer. Is he going to train any to take the place of the seventeen battalions ordered abroad?

MR. WYNDHAM: We are going to embody them all.

Sir A. Acland-Hood.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER: But to take the place of the seventeen battalions?

MR. WYNDHAM: Oh, yes. The reason we cannot have any more is because of the barrack accommodation.

MR. COURTENAY WARNER: The reason for that is, I think, because most barracks are full. I think it would have been better to have broken up the battalions by placing them in the cavalry and Regular barracks notwithstanding the fact that there might be a little overcrowding. That is one of the ways in which we might have had infantry and garrison artillery at the present time. Another curious statement is that with regard to the cavalry. That is an arm most needed of all. We cannot increase the guns more quickly because it takes, I am told, three months to make a gun; but a cavalry soldier takes some time to make, and according to this scheme the cavalry is not to be increased to any extent. The recent gaps in the cavalry are to be filled, and a full squadron of the Household Brigade is to be made up by a flying squadron, and one troop is to be taken from each Yeomanry regiment in the country. But that depends entirely on the capacity of Yeomanry regiments to supply it. We shall have some mounted infantry, it is true, and that will make up to a certain extent the first force to be mobilised; but there will not be sufficient mounted men to form a large reserve force in the country. This force is talked of as an army on paper, and this force will have no cavalry. The mobile force will have mounted infantry instead of cavalry. There are two questions I should like to ask upon that. With regard to the one month's training of the Yeomanry, one difficulty in the Yeomanry is the horse. To provide a horse for a month is a great tax on the men. What are the Government going to do as to providing that? It is difficult to get officers and mounted men at any time. Has the Government thought about providing the horse? The other question is as to the Militia. It is to be embodied for six months this year and to get extra pay. Is that beyond the extra 3d. which the Army get, or is it the 3d. we got last year, and which I am grateful to the Under Secretary for having given? One

last question I wish to ask is this. The right hon. Gentleman opposite said the Militia was short of officers and men; but it is not quite so bad as he makes out, because many battalions are short of men and not short of officers, and many are short of officers and not short of men. A great deal, I think, might be done if they were all trained together so that they might to an extent be amalgamated. I hope, in spite of this statement, we shall hear of something more being done to prepare troops to be moved. A little while ago the service Members of this House approached the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for War, and asked that a force including infantry, cavalry, and artillery, and a train should be prepared at once. No such force, so far as I am aware, has been prepared for the last three months, and although the country, it is true, is prepared to go to almost any length to get such a force, this statement is, I think, open to the objection that, although a large number of men will be trained, they will not be sufficiently trained.

COLONEL LOCKWOOD (Essex, Epping) said he always had a robust faith in the reforms proposed from the Government side of the House. His faith in the simplicity of this reform was increased, but he doubted its practicability. The truth was there was very little scheme about it. It relied for its success on the patriotism of the country, and on the power of obtaining the number of recruits asked for. We had been trying to get 30,000 men for some time, but they had not been obtained yet. We were now asking various classes to serve, but the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary had omitted to say what they would get for serving. He congratulated the Government upon not having given way to the craze for compulsion, the enforcement of the ballot for the Militia. He did not believe in compulsion, and, though it might eventually be forced upon us, the day of the adoption of such a system was yet far distant. What the nation wanted was encouragement, and not compulsion. He was pleased to hear of the proposed change in the drill of Yeomanry to make them more fit to act as units. The Militia was to be called up for six months. Of all the Auxiliary forces this was the one which had been most neglected in the past, and would certainly require more

encouragement, and should be liberally dealt with to make up for that neglect, which they would be a long while in forgetting. If Volunteers were called out for considerable periods of time he hoped the voluntary character of the force would not be overlooked, and that their expenses would be met in a generous spirit, and that officers of the Auxiliary forces would not be called upon to pay as they had paid in the past, charges that should be defrayed by the Government. Over and over again officers of regiments had been called upon to pay sums which they should never have been allowed to pay. Upon the question of rifle ranges, the use of smokeless powder, and other matters raised during the discussion, more information would, he hoped, be forthcoming. He should support the measures foreshadowed, though he regarded them as meagre, and practically constituting no scheme beyond fresh enlistment.

COLONEL PILKINGTON (Lancashire, Newton), who was imperfectly heard, was understood to say: I believe in training the Army as quickly as possible, and in getting a mobile force as large as possible prepared to be sent out to South Africa and possibly elsewhere. From the remarks that have been made it is evident that great reliance is going to be placed on the Volunteers. With regard to that force I desire to add a few remarks to those which have been made. It does seem to me that the words which fell from my hon. friend, who spoke as to the Swiss system, are very applicable to the present time. If the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary had not mentioned the Volunteers I should not have spoken to-night; but if you are going to rely on the Volunteer force, then the War Office ought to take the force seriously into its consideration. The Volunteer force at the present time has in its ranks men ranging from eighteen to sixty, and although that force is most patriotic, and so far as it goes a good force, it is in my opinion not properly organised. It wants organising, and I would suggest that we should adopt some system where every man over twenty-one up to twenty-six should be obliged to be enrolled in the force. I would not call it a Volunteer force at all, but a Regular force, something like the Swiss force. By that means you would get many advantages of the conscription, and get rid of

the disadvantages. You would get rid of the barracks, and the men could work steadily at home at their business; they could attend three or four times a week in the spring, summer, and autumn, and every Saturday could drill. After the age of twenty-six they could go into the Reserve force and rest as they do in Switzerland. It seems to me also that Volunteer officers should go through examinations, and if you were more strict with them you would give them a better status in connection with the Line, which is what ought to be done. One thing which is, in my opinion, necessary is that the brigadiers of Volunteers ought to be continually looking them up. Volunteer battalions only see their brigadiers for seven days in the year, and that is not what ought to be. The brigadiers ought to be efficient young officers, and they ought to look up their brigades and see that the men are soldiers in every respect. It may be said that you would not get the people to do that, but, in my opinion, you would get them to do so if you gave them shooting ranges. Every Volunteer regiment ought to have a shooting range close at hand; and it seems to me that a short shooting range could be constructed as on the Continent, with a target 200 yards away, with arches every 20 yards to keep the bullets from straying. It is quite true that many of the Volunteers are not good shots; because they do not practise. Well, the question arises—how is it to be done? It is clear that this is the best time to do it. The country is moved to its centre with enthusiasm and determination, and there should be no trouble in bringing forward a workable and acceptable scheme at a time like the present. I think this one is the very best, because you will secure the youth of the country in the Volunteers, and you will give them something to do, something that will take the place of football and cricket. They will turn their attention to the rifle and make shooting their hobby. What is the use of giving a man a rifle out of the rack if he does not know the sighting of it? It is impossible to make good shooting without practice. Now, I say also that the scheme is a little too vague. This question of the Volunteers wants taking up by the War Office; and if you do not introduce some scheme of this kind, you must have conscription. If you have these Volunteer battalions and brigadiers to look after them,

Colonel Pilkington.

and each of them is attached to a Line battalion; if you organise the youth of the country properly under such a system, you will be able to draft from the Volunteer battalions first-rate shots in time of war. You will be able to get hundreds of such men and to draft first-rate soldiers into the Line battalions at the front. I should not have troubled the House with these remarks on the Volunteers were it not for the prominent part they have played in my hon. friend's speech; but I feel deeply on this subject, and I am perfectly certain that unless you take some such steps as these you will not make the Volunteers the effective force they might be. Select your brigadiers wisely, and put them over these men, and they will tell you what is best to do with them. I would suggest, too, that you should take away the name of "Volunteer," and put them under military laws. They could still live in their own homes, pursue their daily labour, and so the industrial forces of the Kingdom would not be depleted.

MR. C. J. MURRAY (Coventry) said in regard to the Volunteer proposals that he would give men the opportunity of serving for three months, and as many of them (he referred especially to the Artillery) would be drafted from the working classes, and it was impossible almost for them to give their whole time to the duties, he would ask his hon. friend to consider whether or no they should be placed under Service conditions as regarded pay and allowances.

MR. MADDISON (Sheffield, Brightside): For some considerable time past there have been floating about rumours that in the statement of the Under Secretary for War the adoption of some form of compulsion, if not actual conscription, would be announced. It was, therefore, a very great relief to me to find that the Government have abandoned the fatal idea of introducing a system so alien to the traditions of the British people. The Under Secretary for War, in almost his opening sentences, said there was no modified compulsion in the scheme, and that the Government had not even considered such a proposal. It was fully expected that hon. and gallant Gentlemen opposite would not welcome that omission, and those anticipations have been

far more than realised. Almost every hon. and gallant Gentleman who has addressed the House has regretted to a greater or less degree the fact that there was not some form of compulsion proposed. One hon. Member desired the very name of the Volunteers altered, and that all men from twenty-one to twenty-six years of age should be compelled to serve in this newly named Auxiliary force. Another hon. and gallant Member stated that the country was at present in such a patriotic mood that the Under Secretary for War had only to ask and he could have whatever he wanted. I was rather surprised to hear a complaint of lack of information in the statement of the Under Secretary for War, seeing that to the lay mind it seemed to state in very clear terms the number of troops at our disposal. How that hon. and gallant Member could ask for the statement to be carried still further and to be told how many of that total number were, from some cause or other, non-effective, passes my comprehension, as I should have thought that hardly patriotic. Another hon. and gallant Gentleman advocated the adoption of the Swiss system, and in doing so expressed his conviction that conscription could never be introduced into England. He is doubtless quite right in his view about conscription, but I am very pleased the Government are not prepared to bring in even the thin end of the wedge under the guise of the Swiss system. Speaking with some little knowledge of the working people of England, I say that while it is quite true that the present is a most favourable moment for playing on the patriotic feeling of the nation, and while you might just now get temporary support for some kind of modified compulsion, the Government have far too much sagacity to trust a great reorganising scheme, such as any form of compulsion would be, to the fleeting passion of the moment, which might afterwards leave them stranded, and make their last state worse than their first. It is all very well to argue for conscription or some kind of compulsory service, instancing some Continental State as an example; but it must be borne in mind that you cannot speak of our Army as being for home defence in England at all. It is true you may set apart a certain portion of your forces for home defence, but such an arrangement is completely upset by the

example we have had of the use to which a purely Volunteer force - supposed to be, and, so far as the law is concerned, being, entirely for home defence—has, by methods often amounting in their pressure almost to compulsion, been put in South Africa. I believe I am voicing the sentiments of the great masses of the country when I say that, no matter how glittering may be the prospect of dominion and empire, anything, I do not care what, which turns or attempts to turn England into a great military nation after the pattern of Germany will be accounted by the people of this country as dear at any price. The Government have been far too much deceived by the newspapers in connection with the present unfortunate war; but I am glad they have not, so far at any rate, allowed themselves to be misled by those newspapers, morning and evening, weekly and monthly and quarterly, which are assuring the Government that the great masses of the working classes have only one ruling passion, and that is to go to the front. No greater mistake could be made, and again I most heartily congratulate the Government on having resisted the temptation—and it can have been no little one—of including in their scheme some form of compulsory service. I was also very glad to hear, though I do not think the scheme altogether bears out the statement, that the Under Secretary desired to avoid all attempts at panic, that he did not wish to set up the cry, "The country in danger." I was sorry and somewhat surprised to find that an hon. Member on this side of the House evidently regretted that that cry had not been set up, because he was most enthusiastic about embodying the Militia. For my part I think the Government have acted very wisely in doing nothing of the sort. With respect to the scheme as it refers to the Volunteers, I say very candidly that I hate militarism in any form; but if we have—and I am aware that we have to have—armed forces, I very much prefer Volunteer forces to Regular forces. Volunteers remain at least to some considerable extent a citizen force, and that fact consoles me in some degree, because as a citizen force they would not be so completely subservient to the ruling classes and the Government of the day—a state of things which in certain emergencies might be a very bad thing for the workers of this country. I was also very pleased that in dealing with

the Volunteers the Under Secretary for War again gave the Committee the clearest indication that compulsion was not in his mind, because when he referred to the three months training he would like the artillery to undergo, he said in a very useful aside, "Of course, we shall not make this compulsory," a statement which was greeted with dissent by those who favour conscription. Here again, apart from any theoretical opinion about compulsory service, I am quite certain the hon. Gentleman was acting in the interests of his own scheme, because I know very well the sort of men who join the artillery Volunteers. They come in the main from a class who are strong trades unionists, men who in the towns earn very good money, and who, by training and tradition, are very independent. The very moment you let them know there was compulsion about this three months training you would lose a large number of the very men you wish to obtain. Therefore, even from the point of view of expediency, I am sure the Under Secretary for War was right in that particular. I do not quite understand the hon. Member who sits for one of the divisions of Essex, who seemed to twit the hon. Gentleman about the vagueness of his scheme with respect to the remuneration of the Volunteers. He said that unless they had some very solid comforts offered to them very few would volunteer. I do not think that is true. What is the fact? No doubt workmen must get something like an equivalent of their earnings, but beyond that I am certain it would not enter into their minds. But when we come to the addition of 30,000 Regulars, I am bound to say the faith of some of us is sorely tried. This is not a mere war vote; this is more than a mere vote of men and money to prosecute the South African campaign. Some of us in this House—and I am one—conscientiously believe that the war in which we are engaged is an unnecessary one, but we also realise—and this fact has shaped our action hitherto—that the Government has got the country into one of the greatest calamities of the century, that the Boers hold British territory and by all appearance are likely to hold it. [An HON. MEMBER: No!] I bow to the opinion of the hon. and gallant Member; I hope he is right and I am wrong. But the fact remains that the Boers are on British

territory now, and therefore, much as some of us are against the war, we have not been able to vote against the men and money required to get the Boers off British territory, and if this was a mere vote for that purpose I for my part should follow the same course as hitherto. But this is more than that. Under the shelter of a great national calamity, which has caused considerable excitement, we have proposals of a permanent character, proposals not merely for an emergency. We are face to face with the fact that we are going to add enormously to our permanent military forces, and I say here that this is not caused by the necessities of the nation. This addition is not because England is in danger, but it is the result of a mischievous and mistaken—I almost said a fatal—policy. Therefore I shall feel perfectly free to act towards this demand altogether apart from the situation in South Africa. In conclusion, I solemnly protest against a dangerous militarism, the outcome of a mad Imperialism. The conviction is growing deeper and deeper in the minds of the poorest of the working classes that—it may be all right to supply material for inflated rhetoric or to provide matter for leading articles in the newspapers—they are getting absolutely no return from this vast outlay to which you are putting the country from time to time. Do not mistake me. I do not mean by "outlay" merely a material something; the workers are never materialistic. But you are neither freeing oppressed peoples nor are you on the material side giving the people new markets, a point of which the Colonial Secretary made so much a few years ago. I say here, much as I may be misunderstood, I have a real and a growing fear of this encroachment of that bad system of militarism which does not stop in the inflated Budgets of Governments, but permeates the very life of the people.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB (Great Yarmouth): I for one regret that on Supplementary Estimates to provide for the extra expenses within forty-one days, namely, before 25th March and the exigencies of a temporary war, we have brought before us a scheme of a more or less permanent arrangement. I can hardly believe the Government fully realise the effect of that procedure upon

Mr. Maddison.

some of their supporters. The feeling and the absolute determination of the country is that this war should be prosecuted with all the resolution and energy and resources of the nation, and be brought to a successful conclusion as soon as possible. Almost every man in this House is ready to vote any money for forty-one days or forty-one months to accomplish that object. But now, when under cover of this temporary emergency we have proposed a permanent plan of alteration of our military forces, to make them, in the opinion of the War Office, adequate to our needs, what is the position of a member of this House? Of these 120,000 men we are now asked to vote I cannot understand how many are asked for for South Africa, for a reserve for over-sea requirements, or for sitting down at home. Therefore, objecting as I do to a passive policy, but determined as I am to give the Government the fullest support in all things that will help to end this war and to make us ready for any emergency over-sea, how can I move a reduction of or cavil at this vote? We are all trapped by the War Office—I do not use the word offensively; we are obliged to swallow a sketch and a scheme of an alteration of our military system under cover of a sort of Supplementary Estimate to meet certain expenses within forty-one days. I extremely regret this step; I think it is unfortunate in every way, but it is doubly unfortunate in one way. I should object to the Government coming forward with any scheme of Army alteration or reform to meet the needs of our Empire under circumstances where the discussion must be confined purely and simply to military questions, and excludes questions of broad policy. I object to such a course most strongly. My hon. friend, whose ability, courtesy and talents we all admire, incidentally threw in a phrase about a certain blue waterschool. The necessities of Empire and the conditions of Empire know no school. This is a broad question, a question of the number, quality, need and extent necessary for home defence. The nature and extent of home fortifications depend absolutely upon the naval policy of the country and the fulfilment of its naval demands. How therefore, can you, on a Votes supposed to be for the prosecution of a purely military war in South Africa, enter upon or discuss the question of home defence? You cannot do it. I confess I am

extremely disappointed, because I do not think it is the proper way to treat the defences of this Empire at present. I would first of all like to ask for an explanation when my hon. friend rises to reply of exactly what is to be the net permanent addition to the cavalry and to the field artillery for over sea service. I confess that, for my own part, I strongly believe that the niceties of arrangement in time of peace of the relative proportion of arms is an unsound policy to follow. Taking all things into consideration, I think we should maintain our cavalry and field artillery above all proportion to the infantry in time of peace. If this war shows anything, it shows us how rapidly infantry forces can be created, and how difficult to create artillery and cavalry. This war shows another thing, and it is that we were shamefully deficient in field artillery and in cavalry. The very first checks which our arms inflicted would have been converted into routs if we had had the cavalry and artillery necessary to follow them up, and we are now paying in blood and treasure for the deficiency in these arms, which were reduced in 1887 on what we were then told was the advice of the military authorities. I propose to ask my hon. friend to give the names of those military authorities who gave this advice in 1887, because it is high time that we should have some understanding as to who the military authorities are. Those who advised the Minister for War in 1887 to reduce our field artillery are practically responsible for the disasters which have happened in South Africa. I mention this because I think that, in any scheme to provide for the military needs of the Empire, the subject must be approached upon broad and well-defined principles, and not by tinkering with alterations here and alterations there. What we have to do in dealing with this question is to study history and facts. The War Office does not seem to study either, because it comes down here and talks about home defences without having understood the principle upon which home defence should be undertaken. As the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Forest of Dean has pointed out, we want the supremacy of the sea and we want a mobile army. You must, of course, have a certain amount of force, at home, but it must be associated as

closely as possible with the mobile force, because by association it will become so attached to it that when the hour comes, as has been proved by this war, it will join it over sea; when the demand for a military force comes from over the sea, the advantages of the association will be fully recognised. That is a principle which we should bear steadily in mind. My hon. friend has put in the front of his military programme passive defence. I object to that absolutely and entirely, because I think it is a false principle and a dangerous one. I would ask what is the lesson of this war? Why, it has broken down every theory of passive defence not only in this country but throughout the Empire. Up to the outbreak of this war the whole of our colonies were following our example, and were relying upon passive defence. This war, however, has shown us all the absolute futility of passive defence. This has been brought home to every colony, and for common safety they have had to break through all the self-imposed ties of passive defence, and they have volunteered to send their money and their men wherever our Empire is attacked. I want to know when the people of our Colonies read my hon. friend's speech what will they think? Why they will see that the War Office is in the same old rut as it was in 1870-71. They will see that the Government are not approaching this question from a broad principle of Imperial consolidation, but are simply tinkering with it here and there. They have admitted that the principle of passive defence is wrong. To-morrow the people all over the Empire will read that the War Office and the Government of this country attach the first importance to passive defence.

MR. WYNDHAM: I think the hon. Member must be in error, or I must have expressed myself with great obscurity. I pointed out that under the defensive scheme we looked to the Auxiliary forces for that form of defence. I clearly defined that in the future we should look to them to take part in a more active form of defence.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB: I am extremely glad of those words from my hon. friend, but I cannot help thinking that all over the Empire the general effect of his speech will be that he attaches more importance

Sir John Colomb.

to the principle of passive defence than to an active and mobile force. I shall be extremely glad if that is an incorrect view. I hope that my hon. friend when he replies will make it perfectly plain that the policy of this country is a policy of reliance upon our Fleet for the security of all our dominions, and that the great military requirement to be met in the interests of our Empire is the establishment of a mobile army adapted entirely to our own needs, and not blindly following the example of Continental countries whose position is unlike our own.

MR. BUCHANAN (Aberdeenshire, E.):

I think we are somewhat at a disadvantage in this discussion, because the Under Secretary for War, in the interesting speech he has just delivered, did not dwell exactly upon the subject which many of us anticipated he would deal with. We were told last week over and over again, both inside and outside of this House, that by carrying on the debate on the Queen's Speech we were preventing the country from knowing what the Government were going to do with regard to the prosecution of the war in South Africa. That was continually being dinned into our ears, and now, when the opportunity comes round, the hon. Gentleman makes a very able and interesting speech, but from the beginning to the end of it he never mentions South Africa. With regard to the subject matter dealt with by the hon. Gentleman, I cannot speak with the same knowledge as my hon. and gallant friend who has just sat down. But I have listened with great attention to the speech of the hon. Gentleman, and from a purely outside point of view I have drawn one or two general conclusions. I should like to ask him what is the number of men under his new scheme that he proposes to add to the permanent establishment of the Army. I gather that there will be twelve or fifteen battalions of infantry, but I could not make out the number of cavalry, and there will also be forty-three batteries of artillery.

MR. WYNDHAM: We propose to raise fifteen battalions of infantry; but the House has already voted three, and we are now asking the Committee to vote another twelve.

MR. BUCHANAN: I think it is desirable for the general information of hon. Members of this House that we should have it clearly stated what is the net amount of the permanent addition to the armed forces of this country. Then again, from beginning to end of his speech, the hon. Member did not say a single word about pounds, shillings, and pence. What is all this to cost? We want to get an idea of the cost of this permanent addition to the Regular Army, and what it will add to the Estimates of the year, supposing this scheme is carried out. He told us in the course of his speech that the Army Estimates last year amounted to £20,750,000, but the hon. Gentleman knows that the military expenditure of the country was considerably more than that. There was £1,000,000 upon the Colonial Office Vote, and £1,750,000 under the Military Works Loan Act. I think it would be very useful if the hon. Member was able to state the permanent increase in the forces of the country, and the amount of increase in the permanent expenditure. There is one other point I wish to make. I say with all submission that it seems to me that the hon. Gentleman's speech would have been better delivered upon the introduction of the Army Estimates. He has already told us that in this Estimate out of £13,000,000 there is only £420,000 for purposes which he explained to us in his speech. I think it would have been more to the convenience of the House and the regulation of business if this scheme had been set forth upon the introduction of the Army Estimates. Will the hon. Gentleman tell us when the Army Estimates are to be introduced—whether they will be introduced at an early date, and whether in the memorandum he will see that there is set forth a complete description of the scheme which he has laid before the House this evening, and then we shall be able to judge better of the details. I should like to refer to the other part of his speech relating to the Estimate now before us, and I ask him to give us some further information as to what we are voting this evening. It will be within the recollection of the House that last October, when we passed a similar Vote, the hon. Gentleman, in a very interesting speech, explained to us with considerable detail the way in which the 35,000 men were made up, and he gave us a number of details with

regard to the items in the Vote. I should like to hear from him something of the same sort this evening.

MR. WYNDHAM: I gave the figures several times during the course of last week.

MR. BUCHANAN: I cannot quite make out these numbers. Are these men included in the 120,000?

MR. WYNDHAM: Of course they would embrace the portion of the Reserve not sent out.

MR. BUCHANAN: Last October the 35,000 men included 21,000 Reserves. Does this include the whole of them?

MR. WYNDHAM: Yes, the whole of them.

MR. BUCHANAN: The hon. Gentleman gave us an estimate then, and I think it would be convenient if he also gave us one on this occasion. I should like to know if that 35,000 includes those in Natal and also the native Indian troops moved to the Mauritius. With regard to the colonial forces in South Africa does that 26,000 men include all sorts of colonial forces serving now? I am afraid that I do not make my question quite plain, but I have no doubt the hon. Gentleman will be able to explain what troops are included in this 120,000. But besides this 120,000 men he has got another 14,000 men to play with, and we should like to know whether he has raised these men, or whether he proposes to raise them during the present financial year. I think the Committee would like some information from the hon. Gentleman as to what the Government have been doing, are doing, and are going to do for the prosecution of the war in South Africa. What troops have they been sending out, are sending out, and are going to send out? In his speech the hon. gentleman stopped his narrative on the 17th of December, and from that date he did not give us any particulars as to the course which the Government propose to take. As we are asked here to vote £13,000,000, we ought to have some information from the responsible Minister in this House as to what they propose to do with it. I do not want to say any-

thing about the war ; but everyone will agree that, although it has denuded our defensive forces, this danger will be diminished if the war is quickly brought to an end and prosecuted with vigour ; and the more overpowering the numbers of our troops are in South Africa the more quickly will the war be brought to an end. We want to get from the hon. Gentleman some particulars upon this subject, and the public will be very much disappointed to-morrow morning if he does not give these particulars. We should like some further particulars about this £13,000,000, but perhaps I had better postpone my question upon this subject until we come to that Vote. If £10,000,000 was to be the complete Estimate for the forecast of the war on the 10th of October last, I cannot understand for the life of me how £13,000,000 is likely to be enough up to the 31st of March, in view of the largely increased forces in South Africa.

*COLONEL SANDYS (Lancashire, Bootle) : Before making my few remarks I wish to compliment the Under Secretary for War upon the very excellent statement he has made to us with regard to the Government proposals for home defence. I do not for a moment, however, suppose that these measures will be entirely satisfactory to the country, although I regard them as an instalment in the direction so much desired. It will be within the recollection of the House that in the autumn of last year a vote was taken for a sum of £10,000,000, and then it was supposed that a force of 75,000 men would be adequate for dealing with the military situation then before us. But what is that situation now ? We are confronted with a force supposed to be about 150,000 men, armed with the best arms in Europe, commanded by able strategists from Russia, France, and Belgium, besides Transvaal officers, and a large force of German artillerists who are occupying positions which have proved hitherto practically impregnable. It goes without saying that in the face of these facts the number of men and the amount of money supposed at first to be sufficient must now be very largely supplemented. Hon. Members on the other side of the House, in speaking upon this question, have, in some cases, stated that the requirements have been over-estimated ; in point of

fact they indicate, to some extent, that the sum asked for was excessive. The opinion, however, which I have formed from those with whom I have been in consultation in various parts of the country is that the people do not care what sum of money the Government ask for, but they do ask that there should be provided an adequate force in the country to defend our interests both at home and abroad. I therefore welcome the statement made by the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for War in which he proposes to put the forces at home in a condition adequate for home defence. There were objections made by the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean, and my hon. and gallant friend below me, who said that they thought the policy of passive defence was a wrong conclusion. I understood the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for War in his speech to indicate that we had a force of 328,000 men of all arms in the Auxiliary forces at home, and that in addition to this we had a force of 109,000 Regular soldiers in the country at the present time available for home defence, making a total force of 437,000 men. I do not mean to say that they are organised into fighting units. They are not yet told off into Brigades, Divisions, or Army Corps, but I welcome the statement of the Under Secretary of State for War because it shows that the Government have to some extent realised the position of affairs. They have so far grasped the situation as to enable us, in case of foreign complications, to have an army here at home in, it is hoped, a reasonable time, which will be reliable for home defence. It will, in addition to forces for the defence of strategic points, give us a mobile force that we can move from time to time to where it is required, and once having got this mobile force under arms and under canvas, we may say that we have begun to meet the danger of foreign interference. There were, however, one or two points in the speech of my hon. friend that met less with my approbation. One was the action of the Government in deciding that there is to be no compulsory military service at present ; and I beg to add my expression of regret to that of the hon. Members who have addressed the House this evening, and who in some form or other have deplored the decision that there is to be no com-

pulsory military service. I consider, Sir, that whatever measures we take at the present time to meet the exigencies of the moment, the question of the adoption of compulsory service in the Army of this country is only a question of time. We shall have to choose between some form of compulsory service and defeat at the hands of a foreign enemy. We shall have to choose one or other of the horns of this dilemma. This is not merely my opinion, but that of the highest military critics on the Continent, who have predicted our fate in the event of our being engaged in a very serious war, unless we adopt compulsory service for our Army in some shape or way beforehand. Well, Sir, we are at present engaged in a very serious war, one which will tax our military resources to the uttermost, fighting, as we are doing, an enemy 6,000 miles away from home. But it would be a very different thing fighting a first-class Power, or a combination of two first-class foreign Powers in Europe, where, in case of defeat, it would mean the invasion of this country and its occupation by a foreign army, and the payment of a fine—a humiliation compared with which a little mild compulsory military service would be as nothing. I would remind the House that compulsory service in the Militia Force is the constitutional law of this country at the present time. No man, under the British Constitution, can be compelled to serve in the Army; but every man between the ages of 18 and 40 is by the law of England subject to serve in the Militia, that is to say, if the Militia Ballot Act were put into force. Just now, the Act is hung up; but it can be brought into effective operation by a resolution in this House any evening; and, then *ipso facto*, every man between those ages would be liable to serve. This form of compulsory service has existed in England from the time of King Alfred to the present day. I do not say that the force we are to have may not be adequate to our needs. The Government is going to try an experiment, and if it does not succeed, we can then fall back upon the Militia Ballot Act. Another point that I take exception to is that the twelve new Line battalions to be raised are to form part of a scheme for increasing the number of battalions of certain regiments to four. Well,

that I regard as a continuance of the pernicious system of linked battalions—that bad system of Lord Cardwell's which has ruined the British Army, and has entirely broken down now, under the strain of this present war, so far as the linked battalions are concerned. It is impossible that there should be continual changing of officers from one battalion to another without loss of efficiency. The only advantage of the four battalion regiment is that the officers can exchange from one battalion to another without losing their place in the regiment; and I may remind the House that an officer who exchanges has to go to the bottom of the cadre when he goes from one regiment to another. What we want to get is a true connection between officers and men, so that they become known to each other, and this object is to a considerable extent frustrated by the continual changing of officers from one battalion to another, even in the same regiment. Therefore, I say, let the officers serve their whole period as far as is possible in the battalion to which they belong. The four-battalion regiment is faulty as a military institution and ought to be abolished. We have now a splendid opportunity of putting our offensive and defensive forces into a condition commensurate with the military needs of the country. We may never have such an opportunity presented to us again. Taking all things into consideration, I regard the war in South Africa as a providential opportunity for preparing the means of saving the country from future disaster. [Cries from Irish benches of "Oh, oh!"] That is the opinion which I hold, and we cannot be too thankful that this opportunity has come to us now in time to show the country its military weakness, and to make us alive to the necessity for placing our military forces on a footing commensurate with the needs of the country. The next time we are faced with a crisis like this it might be in a war with a European Power, and we should then have neither the time nor the opportunity to set our house in order before we were committed to a fight for our very existence which we can now prepare for, as we have a breathing time given to us for it, but if we neglect the present opportunity we have only ourselves to blame for the inevitable consequences of our neglect of military foresight and preparations.

MR. ALLAN (Gateshead) said that while he was bound to criticise the Government's latest proposals he must congratulate the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for War on his speech that night. At the same time he was bound to say that while he listened to that speech he felt grievously disappointed. He had heard no elucidation of the mystery of what was going to be done in South Africa, and for what purpose the £13,000,000 was required. It was stated that £420,000 of this money was to be spent in home defence. Well, he looked upon that as a mere bagatelle; but he was left in utter ignorance as to what was to be done with the balance. He further directed the attention of the Committee to certain facts in regard to the expenditure of this money, which he did not think was fully accounted for. He wished to know from the Under Secretary of State for War why it was that this great Empire—voting between £21,000,000 and £22,000,000 per annum for military purposes—was brought face to face with the stress and strain we were now experiencing in South Africa. Why was it that Great Britain was compelled to go down on her knees and be driven to buy guns—not directly, but through an Italian agent—in France? Why was it that we were compelled to buy shrapnel and shell from Germany? How was it that we had been compelled to seek aid from countries with which at no distant date we might be at war? He wanted to know what we were getting for our twenty-one millions. He asked what they were doing at Woolwich in the Arsenal, and why they were now calling in all the ammunition from the Volunteer depôts. Could it be possible that we had not enough ammunition to carry on this war? He could remember a Government being turned out of office for a deficiency in the store of cordite, yet here they were now, in the first few months of a serious campaign, obliged to send to France to buy guns through an Italian agent, and to Germany for shell and shrapnel. He naturally asked under such circumstances how the £13,000,000 was to be spent. The speech of the hon. Gentleman told them nothing on that head. Then, again, as to the question of quick-firing guns they were told last year that the military authorities had con-

cluded a series of experiments with these guns. He objected to them at the time as a waste of public money. Well, what was our position to-day? We were obliged to buy elsewhere, for we had no quick-firing piece fit to cope with the arms of the enemy in South Africa. Where were the millions going? Let the House ask the moribund lot in Pall Mall. [Laughter.] This was no laughing matter. Our country was going through a grave crisis. England had never received such a humiliation as she had received in South Africa since the battle of Bannockburn. [Laughter.] Nevertheless, it was absolutely true. It was a historical fact. Now, the money had been voted. Where, then, was our ammunition? Where was our artillery? Practically all the guns we possessed were muzzle-loaders. ["Oh!"] They were not quick-firers. We were only making them now. Again, as to the question of home defence, the hon. Member the Under Secretary of State for War said £420,000 was required for that purpose. Why were the batteries around our coasts equipped only with muzzle-loaders? Yet in face of facts like these, it was only proposed to spend £420,000 on home defence. No doubt, at the end of March another forty or fifty millions would be asked for. Turning next to the subject of the Volunteers, the hon. Member said he happened to be an old Volunteer himself, and he declared to the House that in his opinion the treatment of the Volunteers of this country had been shabby in the extreme. They had no rifle ranges to resort to except those at a great distance. No wonder there was difficulty in getting men to join. Why was it? We must look again for answer to the War Office—to the gentry in Pall Mall, where they had no idea whatever of encouraging the citizen soldier to practise the art of defending his own country in the hour of need.

MAJOR RASCH (Essex, S.E.): I am entirely in agreement with the remarks of the hon. Member for Gateshead on the subject of our field guns in South Africa: everybody knows that they are not quick-firing guns, such as are used in France and Germany. Our guns fire

about four shots a minute, whereas the guns in Germany will fire from ten to fifteen shots per minute. I would like to say, Sir, that it is rather difficult to be in agreement with the speech of the right hon. Member the Leader of the Opposition, who holds a brief for the War Office, as right hon. Gentlemen in his position always do. The right hon. Gentleman said he was not in accord with the suggestion made as to conscription. The Under Secretary of State for War has said nothing about conscription. But I do believe that this country will be obliged to have recourse to the ballot for the Militia, if we do not have some other form of compulsion. Of this I am certain, that unless we feed and clothe our Army better and find the men some employment after they have left the service, and give them some hope of promotion from the ranks, there will have to be some sort of compulsory service if we do not have conscription. Although the speech of the Under Secretary of State for War was extremely instructive, it did not convince me. It appeared to me to be a speech which this House has heard several times before; and the scheme it foreshadowed was extremely like that introduced by Mr. Cardwell in 1876. The hon. Gentleman told us that there are 109,000 Regular troops in this country at the present moment; but surely the hon. Gentleman knows that the Regulars in this country now are immature and inefficient, otherwise they would be out in South Africa and not at home. They have no regimental organisation; and there are practically no batteries, although they have a certain number of guns. Now what does the hon. Gentleman say as to the Militia? He proposes to give them transport and extra pay, and if the hon. Gentleman knew the Militia as I have had an opportunity of knowing them for the last half dozen years he would acknowledge that these suggestions have not come too soon. A considerable proportion of their battalions is made up of recruits who are not available for service, and they do not anything like represent the numbers as they appear in the Army List. As to the Volunteers, it is about time that their Artillery should be equipped with new guns. The 40-pounders they have now are practically useless. I should also favour the capitation increase; but I think it would be more simple if the men

received, say, 6d. an hour while at drill or on duty. Personally, I do not see much use in enlisting large masses of undisciplined men. What is the use of doing that, if you have not the necessary ranges? What you want, of course, is a disposable army corps, composed of forces which are capable of offence, which is practically the vital principle of defence. When Kruger sent his ultimatum there were no troops in the country which we could send out at once; whereas if we had had a disposable army corps at Aldershot four months ago we would not now be seeing General White fighting with his back to the wall at Ladysmith. I also think that the proposal to allow old soldiers to re-engage is a good one, and that officers in the Reserve should have a chance of serving in the Regular forces. As to the Yeomanry, I have never been an enthusiastic admirer of that branch of the service, although I am bound to say that I admire very much the way in which the Yeomanry have come to the front during the last few months. I believe if the War Office took them in hand and turned them from cavalry into mounted infantry they would regain the reputation for utility which in recent years has been denied to them.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton):

Mr. Lowther, since I have had the honour of being a Member of this House, and no matter who has been the War Minister for the time being, I have always noticed that the colonels who sit in this House criticise the military proposals as those of a set of imbeciles and incompetent men. Now, my hon. friend the Member for Gateshead wants to know what the money is to be spent for. If my hon. friend had taken the trouble to look at the Estimate he would have seen for himself. As far as I am able to read it, the £13,000,000, with the exception of the £420,000 to be spent on home defence, is to be spent on the war up to March of the present year. Well, Sir, a person may consider this war absolutely unnecessary and absolutely unjust; he may consider that the objects aimed at are undesirable in the interests of the country; but that does not alter the fact that the war does exist, and that this Vote is practically for money expended. If we choose to send men out to Africa, we are

bound in honour not to deprive them of the money we have engaged to pay them. Under these circumstances, although I have my own view in regard to the war, I do not object to this Vote. Moreover, I do not object, when we are at war, and have denuded the country of nearly all our troops, to provide for the defence of the country in case of attack by some foreign Power. But what I do object to in the speech of the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for War is that he has grafted on to his demands for the present emergency a scheme for the permanent increase of the Army. I could not follow the hon. Gentleman in all the details of his scheme, but his figures seemed to show a plan for taking troops from one force and adding them to another. As a matter of fact, the hon. Gentleman did say that there was to be a permanent increase of our soldiers by something like 32,000 men per annum.

MR. WYNDHAM: I said the present proposal was for an increase of 32,000 men, but I also certainly said that when the army came back from South Africa their services would not be required, and the Army would be reduced to the peace establishment.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Well, we ought to know definitely what the Government scheme is, and by how many men the Army is to be increased. I take it that the increase will be not less than 20,000 men. Although I say that we ought to be ready to grant this Vote for the money which has been already spent, it must not be taken that we assent to a permanent increase in the Army; and I do not see how far the hon. Gentleman was entitled to engraft on the Vote of money for the present emergency a scheme for the permanent increase of the Army. I have followed this question for a considerable number of years. I remember the time of the establishment of the Volunteers. We were told then what an excellent thing that was, and that it would not be necessary to increase the Army. Then we were told, when we were asked to vote a large number of additional ships for the fleet, that we would not have to be asked for an in-

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creased Vote for the Army; but ever since then the numbers and the cost of the Army have gone up by leaps and bounds. The idea was that we ought to have troops for the defence of this country and for the defence of our garrisons abroad, and 40,000 or 50,000 men to send to a foreign country in the event of war. The War Minister himself has said that we cannot expect to cope with the great Continental armies, or dream of being able to send an army abroad sufficient to fight the army of France or of Germany: but at the present moment you have sent an army of 150,000 to South Africa. Are we to consider that our normal military establishment should be such that we shall be able to send abroad an army of 150,000 men, and yet have a sufficient army at home to defend the country? I hope occasions like the present will never occur again; but if you adopt that policy, it is very obvious that we must have a perpetual increase to our Army and Navy. Now I am opposed to that policy. The Under Secretary for War says he hopes that the patriotism of the country will enable him to fill up the ranks. I have no doubt that a sufficient number of men will come forward in defence of their country if it is attacked, but I very much doubt if you can have such a number of men in times of peace without conscription. I gathered the other day from an admirable speech by Lord Rosebery that his Lordship considers conscription will shortly be necessary, and the hon. and gallant Gentleman who has just sat down took the same view. We must look all these facts in the face, and I am perfectly convinced that if the present policy is persevered with, within one or two years we shall have conscription. I hope I have made my position clear in this matter. I am not going to oppose the Vote, because I believe that, the money having been spent, it would be most improper that the bill should not be paid. But I do protest against the representative of the War Office interpolating in a proposal for the payment of this money a scheme for permanently increasing the Army. It must be clearly understood that when that scheme comes on for discussion on its merits we shall be free to approve of or to reject it irrespective of the present Vote. There are one or two questions I would venture to ask the Under Secretary for War. The hon. Gentleman spoke of the

Volunteers, and said he was going to increase their pay and the extent of their organisation. Does he intend to apply that to Ireland, or to the United Kingdom alone? [IRISH MEMBERS on the Irish Benches: Hear, hear.] That is a most important question, and I am curious to know whether it is so or not. The hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for War professed the most wonderful contempt for money, as if this Vote were so many halfpennies; he said that patriotism was everything, and that the money would be given freely. That is all very well when you talk of the present war; but when we go into a new scheme we should ask what that scheme is to cost, and if the hon. Gentleman will not tell us, the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to inform the Committee what that scheme is to involve. I know that some gentlemen want the English Constitution changed, and declare that the Treasury ought not to control our expenditure: but I do not agree with that. Before we have a scheme adopted, we should have some notion as to what it is to cost. Another question is, whether this £13,000,000 we are asked to vote now will represent the total expenditure up to the 31st March, or only a portion of it?

MR. WYNDHAM: The total expenditure up to the 31st March; but, of course, the operations in which we are engaged involve very heavy charges besides.

MR. LABOUCHERE: The hon. Gentleman distinctly tells us that it is the total expenditure up to 31st March, exclusive of terminal charges, by which I suppose he means bringing back the troops. But will the total expenditure for the war that is due be covered by this £13,000,000?

MR. WYNDHAM: That is due.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER (Belfast, West): We have an estimate before us, which deals with many millions of pounds. The Under Secretary for War has spoken in great detail about a portion, a very insignificant portion, of the Estimate; but £10,000,000 of the whole Estimate refers to the expenditure in connection with the war in South Africa, and,

if my memory serves me right, the words "South Africa" did not once fall from my hon. friend's lips, and no particulars of any sort or kind were given in regard to the expenditure in South Africa, or on any other item of the budget which my hon. friend presented to the House. It seems to me that that is rather a topsy-turvy arrangement. I do not know whether I am out of order—I think I am not—in departing from the arrangement of the discussion which my hon. friend proposed; but, so far as I can understand, this debate is almost the only occasion on which we can raise the question, very important to many of us, of the expenditure of the money included in the major portion of this Vote. When I heard my hon. friend make his speech, I did not know whether to laugh or cry; to laugh, because there is something rather comic in the proposals my hon. friend made to the House. I think we must all agree that the Under Secretary has been proposing to us measures which are of the nature of emergency measures, and that if we leave that fact out of sight we shall entirely misapprehend the appeal he made to the House. I admit, then, that what he proposed is an emergency measure, that it is the best, perhaps, that can be done under the circumstances, and that it is our duty, as patriotic men, to give credit to the War Office for their desire to get us through the emergency. But, after all, we have some sort of responsibility as individual Members of Parliament, and I think it is reasonable that, before giving *carte blanche* for these emergency measures, we should make some sort of inquiry into the question of whether these emergency measures will satisfy the need that we all admit exists. I think I may justify my frame of mind. I said that I felt half inclined to laugh because I heard my friend get up and propose point after point as essential for the country's need, which has been the commonplace, year after year, of that small number of hon. Members who have taken the views I have endeavoured to expound in regard

to the necessities of the Army. It was laughable that my hon. friend should have discovered at this, the eleventh, I may almost say, the twelfth hour, that there was some reason, some method in our proposals; that two and two did make four; and that the time had at last come when it was necessary to admit our facts. There was a melancholy side to the proposals of the hon. Gentleman—a very melancholy side. Here is an expenditure of £13,000,000, which does not nearly exhaust the total expenditure, on the purely military preparations of the country. Now, it is melancholy that we should be confronted with a demand of this kind in a war with a small Power, that we should be told that so inadequate were our preparations for that war, with all our enormous resources, that we should consider it a reasonable and fit thing for the Under Secretary to come down to the House and ask us for—what I am sure we are ready to give—a blank cheque to enable him to discharge the very elementary duties of the office of which he is so distinguished a member. We have been told that it is absolutely essential that more batteries should be provided. Of course, it is essential; everybody has said that it was essential for years past. We are told that guns of position should be supplied to the Volunteers, and that these should not be obsolete, but guns of the most modern description. We have said so for years. The other day, I read an account of how two nine-pounder guns at Mafeking were found to be outranged by the Boer guns by 2,000 yards. These guns were the guns of the Natal Volunteers. That is precisely analogous to the armament we have given to our own Volunteers. We have never regarded the Volunteers seriously. It was the same War Office which comes down now and asked for the most modern guns for the Volunteers which provided for our excellent and well-intentioned Volunteer gunners the guns which under the stress of war would fail as the guns failed at the siege of Mafeking. We are told that we are to have a number of three years men. Of course we are, because it has been obvious any time during the last ten years that that was the only way you can get men under the conditions of recruiting, so as to make up a large reserve. But the three years system was at one time anathema with the War Office. There is another development, side by side with

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the recruiting of three years men, we are to have the recruiting of long service men. We have already got back to twelve years long service men to the extent of 5,000, but now, apparently, we are to have a full return to long service and pensions. I do not know how these changes have come over the spirit of our dream, but I do know that three years service men, long service men, and pensioned men used all alike to be anathema. I want to know whether it is reason, or the pressure of emergency, which has changed the opinion of the War Office in these matters. And then, in regard to Yeomanry, I was astonished to find, for the first time, what an extraordinarily valuable body the Yeomanry were. I remember when a member of the present Government said that, in his opinion, the kindest thing the Government could do would be to disband the Yeomanry, but now we are told, with regard to this very force so described by the Minister for Agriculture, that there is no such body in the country. I have had a great deal of correspondence with officers of the Militia, and their opinion has always been that the process applied by the War Office was killing that force, is destroying the ambition of the officers and the efficiency of the men. Year after year officers of the Militia have complained of the way they have been treated when they applied for some recognition of the force. But now we are told that the Militia is the one force on which we are to depend, and we are to go round the country gentlemen, who have been doing all that in them lay to try and get some recognition from the War Office, begging them to try if they cannot furbish up the Militia in order to meet the needs of the War Office at the present time. Only last session I was rebuked for saying that £20,000 was a ludicrous vote for ranges for the Volunteers, but now we are told that the one thing essential for the Volunteers is the provision of rifle ranges. Cavalry officers told us again and again that we were departing from the best Continental models in organising our cavalry regiments in three squadrons; but now we are told that we and they were right, and that the old system is to be re-established. These are facts. Now, as to the Household troops. We are told that they are to be brought up to their proper strength. I do not know whether

the country is aware that only one regiment of the Household Cavalry has been made up out of three regiments for this war. How is it that the sound principle has been departed from that a regiment should remain unbroken? The reason is that not one of the three regiments of Household Cavalry could supply two squadrons from its own composition. These are all things that I complained of years ago, and which are now to be remedied, and I want to know why all these things have changed their aspect within the short period of three months, and why what was unreasonable and ridiculous, amateur, and impossible then has now become necessary? The only solution that I can think of is that the War Office have had applied to these contradictions, impossibilities, and incompatibilities the touchstone of war. Never, during the last twenty years, has the British Army been organised by the War Office for the purpose of going to war, and the moment you apply that touchstone all these fads and fallacies and preconceived ideas which we were told were essential to the system vanished, and the stern realities prevailed. And now we have my hon. friend the Under Secretary for War coming down to the House stating that these very things we demanded are essential if we are to be saved from the difficulties into which the War Office has plunged us. I say this, not from a desire to embarrass the Government, but because I do think it is necessary that the Committee and the country should be careful indeed how they entrust to this same organisation the vast sums which are now asked for and the vast powers demanded to be conceded. My hon. friend the Under Secretary said a great deal about the muscles and the ribs and other anatomical parts of the body being a protection to the heart and the lungs, and something also about the mailed fist, but he said nothing about that part of the body which, after all, plays a very important part—the brain, which directs the fist and gives an impulse to the muscles. In my opinion that is what the country is particularly anxious about at this moment. I suppose there is no man in this House, or out of it, who is disposed to deny to the hon. Member the credit he deserves for his proposals. But there is a very large number of men who agree with me, that, if these proposals

are to bear the stamp of permanence they ought to be opposed. Nay, more, that they ought to be criticised, opposed, and thwarted until we have an assurance that the organisation and the brains which are to control them are something totally different from the brains and organisation which have exposed us to the calamities which have made all these things essential. I regret that my right hon. friend the First Lord of the Treasury has thought it necessary to subscribe to a eulogy of the War Department as strong as that which he felt it his duty to pronounce the other night. I think that eulogy would have been almost excessive if pronounced on a committee of archangels directing the movements of the heavenly hosts before the battle of Armageddon. But whether that be so or not, I think that though perhaps as grateful appreciation of strenuous service by able men under the pressure of an emergency it was permissible, it was not exactly appropriate to the present situation. Of course, whenever you get a number of English officers and gentlemen in an emergency, and when the country is in danger, they will do their best—neither sleep by night nor rest by day—until they have done all they can do. But I do not know that the attitude and mind of the country towards the War Office at the present moment is exactly that which the right hon. Gentleman seems to have imagined. With all its application, all its good intentions, with the purse of the country freely open to it, and the support of the country behind it, the War Office has landed us in a state of things which it is lamentable to contemplate, and in a series of mishaps and entanglements which, happily, have not been common in the history of this country. I intend to postpone criticism of that organisation to another day, but I think it most important that the myth which the First Lord of the Treasury has gone a good way to create should be dissipated before it assumes a solid form in the minds of the majority of the people of this country. I am prepared, when the appointed time comes, to demonstrate that the great success which the right hon. Gentleman claims for the War Department has been a very moderate success indeed. That they have foreseen the difficulties which they would have to contend with, that they have made any adequate preparations for the performance of those duties, I am prepared to deny, and,

believe, to prove. I must say that I regret the right hon. Gentleman should have thought it necessary at the present time to put the matter quite as high as he has done. I am sure there is no Member in this House who admires more, and who would be more ready to sympathise with, the spirit that always stands up for a Department which is attacked than myself, and I personally would have been perfectly willing for a long time to come to abstain from criticism of the details of the work of the War Department, but I do think it is absolutely necessary at the present time to say a very little about what the War Department has done. The Under Secretary for War spoke to-night about 106,000 Regular troops in this country. I regret that he used that expression, because though it is literally and absolutely true, and I think I could enumerate every single unit which makes up that total, that expression will go forth to-morrow as a statement made on authority by the Under Secretary of State. Yet as a military organisation that 106,000 men have no existence at all. It is an unorganised and incoherent body, and, as an hon. Member said just now, if it were anything else it would not be in this country at this moment. We have entrusted enormous sums to the War Department, and yet what have we got in return? At the beginning of this war 185,000 men were being paid for by the country as Regular soldiers in the Army and the first class Reserve. Yet what do we find? That when we come to squeeze the sponge, when we attempt to get what value we can out of that 185,000 men, it resolves itself into 84,000 or 85,000 effective men for the service of the country. This is a very serious state of things, that we should be paying so much and getting so little. It is a crowning mercy for this country—and we have had many to be thankful for—that this lesson should come at a time when we are still able to profit by it. I do hope that we may not be misled by optimistic views of our present situation into neglecting this lesson and failing to profit by it. Let me ask the Committee to consider for one moment what would be our present condition if we were at war, not with two small inland States, but with some serious European Power? Should we be able to do then what we have done now? My hon. friend spoke of 124,000 regular

soldiers being in South Africa. But he omitted to tell the Committee, though I should like to do so, where those men came from. He omitted to tell the Committee that we have depleted the garrison of India by 7,000 men; that we have swept the colonial garrisons; that Malta, Crete, Cyprus, the Mauritius, Singapore, the West Indies, and, I believe, Halifax, Bermuda, and Ceylon, have been called upon to provide their contingents to make up that body of men; that even of the considerable number of men whom he correctly says have left this country several battalions have been brought back from the Mediterranean and despatched from this country. What would be the case in a real, a serious war? I think I may challenge contradiction when I say that if we were engaged in a serious war our first call would be to provide not reinforcements but troops to the extent of nearly 20,000 to bring the garrison of India up to a war footing. So far from depleting our Mediterranean garrisons, we should have to reinforce them, and every movement of troops would have to be made in face of a vigilant navy, and of the possibility of having our transports interfered with. We were told that the Guards were to be sent to Gibraltar as the part of the spear always ready for action, and a great deal of excellent eloquence was expended in this House in proving the value of sending the Guards to Gibraltar. But what happened? The moment this war with the Boer Republics broke out a battalion of the Guards were called on. What was the first evidence of the activity of that battalion of the Guards? A transport arrived in Southampton Water with 300 men of the battalion of the Guards at Gibraltar incompetent to take part in any war at all, and who were consequently shipped home. Again I ask the Committee what would be the condition of this country if we had not been given this lesson, this trial of our resources, but had been engaged at this time in a real war? I have frequently been found fault with because I have said that our present system, the very system which my hon. friend now asks us to perpetuate and to exaggerate, was not a system suited to the needs of the Empire. I regret that we are asked *sans façon* to add twelve battalions to the Army. Except as an emergency measure I will not consent from my own personal point

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of view to any addition of the kind. The mere addition of battalions will not do this country any good at all, and whereas the last additions have not helped this country so future additions will not help it, unless we have an entire change in the administration of these battalions. I do not want to talk vague generalities to this Committee, as they have other things to talk about, but I do want to put one or two very pregnant facts before them. I will ask the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for War to contradict me if I am wrong, but I say that between the 1st July and the 20th October—nearly a fortnight after the issue of the ultimatum by the Transvaal—this country was unable to send and did not send to the assistance of General White, hardly pressed as he was in Natal, one single brigade of troops. Such is the organisation of our army which we are asked to perpetuate. What is the fact? We did send a contingent. We sent one battalion, the 5th Fusiliers, which was here by accident because of an international agreement by which the garrison of Crete had been reduced by one-half, and that battalion were here *en route* from Crete to the West Indies, still in their khaki uniform, and were sent to the Cape. What was the other battalion? The other battalion was a very weak battalion of the Munster Fusiliers from Fermoy; it was sent off, and, I believe, at the present time is engaged in guarding prisoners on board the "Manilla" in Simon's Bay. The only additional troops beyond those were one brigadedivision of artillery which, to my certain knowledge, had been under orders for twelve months at Aldershot. In the stress and emergency of this Empire, out of the 109,000 men on our pay rolls at home, and out of the 77,000 men on our Reserve rolls, we were able to send only 1½ battalions of infantry and a brigade division of artillery. I shall be told that that is a mistake, that we sent 10,000 men. What did we do? What we did do was this: we took 5,000 men from India, which I have said before, and now repeat, was a most illegitimate and dangerous transaction; we took men from four of the Mediterranean stations; we took in a hurry 200 men from the garrison of the Mauritius; but the contribution from the 106,000 Regular troops in this country was, as I have said, 1½ battalions of infantry and a brigade division of artillery. And even a fort-

night after the ultimatum of the Boer Government was issued we were able to send from this country only a balloon section of the Royal Engineers and a troop of New South Wales cavalry, of whom, I believe, a considerable number went home when they reached the Cape. Here I want to come to a point in which I do trust the Committee will follow me. I have always said that the gross error of our system was that, given the conditions of our Empire, we were not able to meet the sudden calls that were certain to be made upon it. I have said, until I am weary of saying it—[Several HON. MEMBERS: Hear, hear!] I am sorry if I have wearied hon. Members opposite. [Several HON. MEMBERS: No, no! go on.] I have said, until I am weary of saying it, that our battalions as they exist are unfit for any purpose whatever except to serve at depots. I have produced figures again and again to prove the justice of my remarks, and have been told that my figures were incorrect, and that my conclusions had no relation to facts. I have here before me the actual facts with regard to ten battalions at Aldershot. They are not ten selected battalions, but ten battalions taken at random, and the proposition I want to prove is this—that if we had desired, as we ought to have desired, to send troops to General White at the commencement of this war, we could not have done it, and we could not possibly do it without calling out the whole of the Army Reserve. Here are ten battalions which alone require 5,530 men to bring them up to war strength. That is no fancy figure. I will give, if desired, the actual figures, battalion by battalion, of what are called the "details"—the War Office always calls matters of principle matters of detail. Out of those ten battalions, 3,185 men were left behind, and are still in this country as unfit to go. I go back to my proposition, and say that these battalions could not have gone. You have a battalion of 770 men, you deduct from it 381 men, and you require 693 men from the Reserve. I say that the remainder of that battalion, 389 men, rank and file, non-commissioned officers, pioneers, and so on, are not a battalion at all in the parlance of any military nation of the world; and that you could not send one single battalion of the whole of the Aldershot Division without calling up the Reserves. The result was that

you had to wait, week after week, until the 20th October, when the first mobilised battalion sailed in the "Roslyn Castle" to the Cape. That is not a system which is compatible with the exigencies of the Empire, and I again ask the Committee to note that that is one of the points on which we have been flouted and contradicted over and over again in this House. Those figures can be verified by anybody; they are not selected figures. But they do point to the fact that the War Office, having had this enormous power and this enormous responsibility, have not prepared us for the emergency which they knew we should have to contemplate. I have said many things in the past about the incompetence of the War Office to despatch troops when emergency arose. I have nothing to retract on that matter. I have said, and I repeat—not what has been attributed to me, but what I did say, and what many of us have said—that if the equivalent of two army corps were sent from this country the whole of our military organisation at home would be destroyed. It has been destroyed. I go further, and I say that two army corps were not, in fact, sent from this country, and that the break-down of the second army corps was exactly and precisely the break-down we had anticipated. Let me give the Committee one instance. We have always said—I remember saying it ten years ago—that in the one particular of an ammunition train—an essential portion of an army corps—there was no organisation. What happened? The first army corps went out complete, with all its batteries and with an ammunition train. Officers, all anxious to go to the front, volunteered to form that ammunition train. The result was that when you came to form the batteries and the ammunition train for the second army corps you were all at sea; you had not the officers for the ammunition train, and ever since that there has been one lengthening chain of deficiency in those batteries, until now at this moment, there are subalterns of eighteen years running batteries at Woolwich. There are now a number of skeleton batteries which have no existence except on the War Office books, and the failure has been more and more pronounced as every battery has gone out. I did not intend to go so far into detail to-night, and I apologise to the Committee for having done so, but I do so fear the myth which the right

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hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury has set up about the efficiency of these transactions. I do want the Committee to understand that in order to produce this force abroad we have absolutely destroyed the whole of our military organisation, not only at home, but in the colonies and in India, and that we have performed an operation which, in the event of a real war with a first-class Power, would have put this country in jeopardy greater than any it has been in since the time of the mutiny of the Fleet at the Nore. What is my conclusion? My conclusion, perhaps, is not so irrelevant to the subject of this vote as some hon. Members may suppose from the way I have apparently diverged from the actual matter which the Under Secretary for War has submitted to-night. But I do not know that I need apologise, because I think I am well within the four corners of the Vote in discussing these matters. The hon. Gentleman elected to deal with one portion—no doubt a very interesting portion—of this Vote, represented by £400,000, while I have elected to deal, most inadequately, with a portion of the Vote, representing some £10,000,000 or £12,000,000. Therefore, I think I have not been going altogether outside my rights. In conclusion I wish to draw the attention of the Committee to this, that we must be very careful how we entrust this power to the present organisation. To my mind, and the conclusion has been borne in upon me for a succession of years, we are not rightly served in the War Office. I do not desire now to impugn the action of any individuals. The real difficulty, the real danger of the situation is that we are, so to speak, criticising an administrative jelly-fish, that there is really no person who is responsible: the curse of the situation is that no one is responsible. My hon. friend would himself admit that all he desires is not accomplished, and that it is not within his power to accomplish all that he desires. I would only say in passing, with regard to the *personnel* of the War Office, that there are—this is plain truth—officers at the War Office who have greatly adorned the military profession, and who, in the opinion of some persons, are equally capable of adorning private life. But whether or not that be so, whether or not we have the right men in the military side of the War Office, is a question about which there may be many opinions, but

that there ought to be somebody who, at a time like this, should take the responsibility upon his shoulders there can be no doubt at all. I propose to ask every assemblage of my countrymen whom I may be able to address, as I have already asked my constituents, whether they are content to go on indefinitely with this organisation or want of organisation that leaves us exposed to a crisis of this kind. Though we have been talking in a very quiet way in this Committee, we ought to realise that there is a solemn fact behind it all, namely, that we are being asked in the presence of the enemy, at a time when no man knows from day to day to what extent these dangers may develop, or how far they may overwhelm us—we are being asked to do exactly those things which common sense and common prudence, and the general voice of the public, have demanded should be done at any time during the last twenty years. And now, when we make this demand, what are we met with? This seems to me to be the most disquieting feature of the whole situation. We are met with declarations that it is the inevitable destiny of this country to muddle through the first days, or the first weeks, or the first months, or the first year of a campaign, and that if we muddle on long enough, all will at last be well. I do not subscribe to that doctrine. I take quite another view of the position, dangers, and future of this country. I look back to some forty or fifty or sixty years ago, and I find that every European country was committed to a system of feudalism, and that this country, learning a new lesson, devoted itself to the policy of “go as you please” and *laissez faire*, and by adopting it we placed ourselves far in advance of the feudally organised countries of Europe. But, meanwhile, the years have gone by, and those Continental countries which we have passed in the race have found a new doctrine; they have found the doctrine of scientific methods, and the application of scientific methods to produce complete results, and they have distanced us as certainly as those who are armed with modern arms of precision have distanced those who are armed with the old “Brown Bess.” I shall never rest as long as I am a Member of this House, or indeed as long as I am alive, until we have some recognition that this truth must be applied to our Military Service,

indeed, to every branch of our public organisation. I have kept the Committee too long, but I would implore them to listen to one further illustration. We have our Army organisation; we have our War Office, whose melancholy confession of improvidence and incompetence has been voiced to-night through the pleasant expressions of my hon. friend. The measure of what we are asked to do now is the measure of the neglect and incompetence of the past. We have that strange body, the Council of Defence. I should belie every feeling which is implanted in my breast if I were to say one word in disrespect of those who compose the Council of Defence, but I do say that it is something like a joke that at this time, in the nineteenth or the twentieth century, whichever it may be, the fortunes and fate of this country should be in any way dependent upon an organisation of that kind. I recognise, and I am sure all constitutional Members of this House recognise the need of some channel of communication between the professional heads of the great services, and the constitutional heads of the Government. To that extent I not only admit, but I rejoice in the existence, and welcome the creation of this somewhat anomalous body. I only wish, I confess I do wish, that that body was not so ethereal by virtue of its being a sub-committee of the Cabinet, that it keeps no minutes, and has therefore nothing to remind it of what had taken place at the former meeting, because, so far as my knowledge goes, these meetings take place at considerable intervals, and it is conceivable that in those intervals the members of the Committee may have forgotten what took place on the previous occasion. I should only like to urge that members of that Committee should be more constant and enthusiastic in the performance of their duties than they at present are. But I do think it is a serious reflection that that is practically the only organised body charged with providing for the enormously complicated and highly specialised task of the defence of this Empire, the preparation for the defence in times of peace, and the execution of the measures devised in times of peace in time of war. In a great country which is organised not only for peace but for war, we have quite a different state of things. In Germany a member of the general staff is taken at the age of fourteen; from that moment

he is devoted to his profession; he is taught everything it is necessary for him to know and all that the experience of 100 years of successful warfare can suggest, until he is turned out a full-blown member of the general staff. Even then no hour is considered well spent unless he is further qualifying himself for the task he is to perform. It would be an exaggeration if I suggested that the Cabinet Committee of Defence had studied these problems to the extent and in the way considered necessary in other countries, but I do not think it is too much to demand that there should be some educated specialist body in this country to whom this enormously complicated task should be entrusted. I do not for one moment believe that any progress whatever—I will not say “no progress whatever”; that is probably an exaggeration—but I do not believe that any substantial progress has yet been made towards realising the ideal which the Duke of Devonshire's Committee set before it, namely, to provide some regular method of communication between the services, and to provide a system of organised defence. I see no signs of it; but from what has taken place during the last few months there are absolutely certain indications that no such system exists, because what has taken place is absolutely incompatible with the existence of such a system. I do hope that we shall learn the lessons we have got to learn in a time when we can profit by them. The days are dark, but they may be much darker, and if we are to be met by the cheery optimism of the First Lord of the Treasury, if we are to be told that all is well when all is not well—

MR. A. J. BALFOUR made an observation which was inaudible in the Press Gallery.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I welcome that admission. I will not say anything that may appear unjust and exaggerated with regard to the First Lord of the Treasury. I know perfectly well that he cares as much about these matters as I do; but I think—and I believe the opinion is shared by many others besides myself—that the optimism he has displayed and the tone he has adopted with regard to the complications in respect of

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which we are now asked for this enormous expenditure, are not at all appropriate to the moment.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Gentleman is interpreting the views I have expressed in a manner which I cannot tolerate. I have not gone beyond this statement of fact—that the War Office have contrived to send to South Africa a fully-equipped body of men larger than was ever sent from the shores of this country before. I have said that criticism of the Government of this or any other country in their warlike policy has been directed to the fact that they were not able to carry out the promises they made. The War Office have performed every promise they ever made. That is not optimism, but a naked statement of fact.

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: I accept the statement of the right hon. Gentleman, and welcome it as an earnest, not that he shares my opinion—that would be too sanguine a hope—but that he admits there is a fair field for inquiry, and a great possibility of improvement.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Hear, hear!

*MR. ARNOLD-FORSTER: That is all I desire to express to the Committee. I hope an opportunity will be given at a later stage for some qualification of the statement that has been made. I care little for that, however, but I do care that we should jealously guard the vote we are asked to give as far as the scheme is permanent. As far as it is temporary I shall enthusiastically support it. But when we come face to face with this problem of how we are to provide for the defence of the Empire in the future, we should ask whether we are justified in acting without inquiry, and the most searching inquiry, into the credentials of those to whom we are asked to entrust this great duty.

MR. WYNDHAM: I hope I shall not be considered discourteous to those hon. Gentlemen who have risen at the same time as myself in intervening at this stage of the debate; but if I remained silent longer I might forget some of the arguments used and the questions asked,

and then I would be guilty of even greater discourtesy to the hon. Members who have preceded me. I think I had better first of all address myself to the long and interesting speech of the hon. Member for West Belfast, who takes such an interest in these matters. I will do the hon. Member the credit of believing that he knows he has raised questions and issues upon details of fact, and that he cannot seriously expect me to-night to argue out with him once again the old battle over the system of short service and Reserve. It no doubt sounds very convincing when you listen to it put forward as a haphazard and therefore a fair illustration of what is taking place, when the hon. Member says, "I take ten battalions and I find that with six you had to leave 600 men and with the other four 400 men," but it really has nothing to do with the case. The hon. Member said we did not and could not send troops to Sir George White from this country. It is true we did not, but it is quite untrue that we could not. We had a scheme before us. As I informed the Committee in October, and again the other day, there were two alternative plans—one to send 10,000 men from this country and the other to send 10,000 men from India and the Mediterranean garrisons. As a matter of fact, we sent the men from India because the passage was somewhat shorter. The battalions were selected after the Reserve had been called out. Had we intended to send eight battalions—the number we sent from India and the Mediterranean—without calling out the Reserve, we should, of course, have taken the eight battalions which were most ready to go on foreign service. I must decline altogether to argue this question again on matters of detail. These young lads in the battalions at home would be of the same age if they were not in those battalions. They must grow. It reduces me to an absurd position, but I have to assume that position, and I have to inform some hon. Members of this House that if you allow a man to enter the Army at the age of eighteen it takes two years before he arrives at the age of twenty, and the only question between us is what you will do with him during those two years. You can, we admit, put him in a *dépôt*. In that case he has what we consider an inferior chance of being properly trained, and he is not available in any event for any form of

military service. Or you can take the course that we have pursued, and put him in a home battalion which is linked with another battalion on the foreign rota. Then you have the Reserve to fall back upon—the Reserve which we have openly stated to be part of our first line. All you do is to take men, thoroughly trained, put them in that battalion in which they have served seven years, and send them off to the front with their own officers. Meanwhile, the younger man who enlists at eighteen has the benefit of the traditions of that battalion, and the benefit of being exercised in an effective unit on Salisbury Plain or in other manœuvres, and when he reaches the age of twenty he is every bit as good as the men who have preceded him to the seat of war. We think the merits of the case are on our side, because you do two things at one time, and that is the great art of getting on in any profession in life; you train your men at home, and you have your foreign battalion at the same time. That is economy. Although I admit economy is out of fashion, and although I have been accused this evening of bringing in a large Estimate, the third in one year, without dwelling on finance, still we do care about economy. It is better to train young men in that way, because they get a more efficient training, and it is more economical. Not that mere cheapness is economy, but when cheapness is combined with efficiency, that is economy. We know this system is sound, and we believe it is economical, and when the hon. Member alarms the Committee by picking a battalion here and there, and stating that they cannot fight without leaving 600 men behind, he does not touch the remoter fringe of this question. His statement of facts is rather argumentative, and he will take it in good part, I am sure, if I say that in part his arguments seem to lack something of consistency. He said he was prepared to withhold the permanent part of the scheme until he was sure, by some anatomical illustration, that there were brains to direct that force; but he must not oppose a great part of our scheme, because only five months ago he was impressing with some reiteration upon the Committee that he himself had urged upon the Government some five or six of the proposals which we are now submitting to the House. Therefore we need not wait for the brains, we have them

already—we have in fact followed his leading in respect of some of our proposals. Then, again, I cannot allow the hon. Member to say that we have treated these proposals in earlier days as being unsound or baseless. We said there were other proposals which ought to be attended to first. Consider for one moment the talk we have had this evening about the obsolete guns of the Volunteers. Will any hon. Member assert that it would have been prudent for this or any other Government to have supplied the Volunteers with the most modern guns before we had succeeded in raising the batteries for three army corps of the Regular troops? We have been told over and over again that our first duty was to have a mobile force, and our first care therefore was to provide that mobile force with its necessary complement of guns. The hon. Member knows as well as I do that when we came into office in 1895 we had not the guns for three army corps, and, therefore, we should have been unable then to send two army corps out of the country. That we have been able to do now. I feel I cannot dwell longer upon the speech of the hon. Member, because I believe I shall employ the short time left to me more fittingly in trying to answer some of the questions put to me in the course of this debate. The right hon. Baronet the Leader of the Opposition took exception at the start to the fact that I did not dwell sufficiently on the important part—the overwhelming part, I would say—which the Fleet plays in our home defence. Well, I put in the Fleet at the beginning of my speech, and I put it in at the end of my speech; but although I spoke for an hour and a quarter I was only able to dwell upon one aspect of the Estimate. The right hon. Baronet also asked what was the amount for home defence, and the amount for the prosecution of the war. £420,000 is for home defence and the remainder for the war. The fact that we asked the Committee to consider our scheme as a Supplementary Estimate has been the subject of criticism. What else could we do? We ask, I will say frankly, for a covering sanction for things that have been already done. The hon. Baronet the Member for the Berwick Division of Northumberland asked in his speech last week if the action then taken by the Opposition impeded the Government in taking steps

to build up a home defence, and I honestly told him it did not. As the Executive of the country we have been engaged for some time past in carrying out our scheme on the broad lines which I have divulged this evening. Therefore we have incurred expenditure; we must pay for that expenditure, but we cannot pay for it without first obtaining the authority of the House before March 31st, and therefore there was no other course open to us. I have been asked—What are the numbers of men permanently added to the Regular Army? Since we have abandoned any idea of proceeding by compulsion, it follows that our scheme must be a scheme of invitation. That, of course, is the essence of the voluntary system. You say, “If you give your services, we will give you certain remuneration.” Unless we proceed by compulsion, that must be the basis of our scheme. The question, therefore, is not very easy to answer. I gave all the facts necessary in order that hon. Members could form as good a notion as I could on that subject. What we are doing is to raise fifteen battalions of infantry—three already voted by the House, but not raised, and twelve now to be voted and raised. We are adding forty-three batteries of artillery. We are strengthening the Army Service Corps, and we are strengthening the Royal Engineers. If and when we get back from South Africa the Army that is there —[An Hon. Member laughed.] I do not think that is a laughing matter. Whenever we have in this country the three full army corps at war strength, then we shall, more or less, fold up the artillery, the engineers, and the Army Service Corps of two army corps in such a way that they may expand when again necessary into the artillery, the engineers, and the Army Service Corps of two army corps. That is one permanent feature of the plan I have endeavoured to explain, and I commend it to the consideration of the Committee. Whereas in times past we have always aimed at the maximum of three army corps, from this forward, if the House sanctions the scheme, we will aim at a maximum of five army corps. That is a very considerable permanent addition to the military defences of this country. The right hon. Baronet also raised a question of great importance with respect to the guns of the Volunteers. He said we ought to consider the importance of not competing, so

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to speak, with the Navy. I can assure the Committee, on the authority of the First Lord of the Admiralty and on my own knowledge, that the Navy has not been put, and will not be put, behind the Army in any respect. The right hon. Gentleman also dwelt on the fact that we had borrowed troops from India. Of course, we will repay what we borrowed at the earliest possible moment. But what has been the extent of our borrowing? Four regiments of cavalry out of nine—that is heavy borrowing, but, as the right hon. Gentleman knows, the native cavalry is numerous and efficient—two batteries of horse artillery out of eleven; three batteries of field artillery out of forty-two; and although we have borrowed eight battalions of infantry out of fifty-two, we have already paid back some, for the battalions in India now stand at forty-seven, so that there is only a loss of five white battalions. It is one of the first duties we shall discharge, just as we are already taking steps to pay back the guns we have borrowed.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE: How about the three year men?

MR. WYNDHAM: The men are, I admit, a very important point, and one which requires a little further consideration. The right hon. Baronet says we now propose to take a greater number of three year men, and the hon. Member for West Belfast also brought that point against us. But it is very easily disposed of. You must have in the home battalion about 700 seven year men in order to feed with drafts the linked battalion in India, and the number of three year men you can take in the home battalion depends absolutely upon the number by which your home battalion exceeds that figure. Last year our home establishment exceeded that limit by 100, and we agreed to take 100 of these men. We now propose to increase the home battalions this year again, and that will allow us to take 200 three year men on any battalion in the home establishment. My hon. friend the Member for King's Lynn deserves an answer, as he was the first of several

Members who argued, "You have come down to us with a plan for organising three army corps for home defence; but we want to hear how you are going to reinforce India if it should need reinforcing, and how you are going to reinforce Lord Roberts if he should need reinforcements in South Africa." Well, Sir, we believe the best way to do that is to do what we are doing now—namely, to engage in the work of organising these three army corps, and if one is required abroad we can send it away and set to work to organise another. The Committee is aware we have a division ready to embark at a moment's notice, and in the course of a few weeks we may have an army corps ready to embark, and when that embarks we will go on with the next. That is really the only practical manner in which this problem can be approached. The way to provide troops ready to take the field in South Africa or in India is to work them up to the highest point of efficiency as a first step at home. The hon. Member for the Ross Division of Herefordshire, referring to the Yeomanry cavalry, said it would be necessary to reduce very much the expensive character of that force. I agree with him, provided that we do not break down its traditions altogether. But I cannot let pass, as one who has served twelve years in the Yeomanry, his allegation that the officers spend the whole of their training in gambling and amusement. I have never seen a card during the whole time I have served in the regiment to which I belong, and I know no body of men more zealous to get the utmost benefit they can out of the opportunities given to them. Then the right hon. Baronet the Member for North East Manchester dwelt at some length on the Swiss system of Militia. I know the Intelligence Department of the War Office has recently published a short book on that subject. No doubt it is a most interesting one, but it has this difference from the system we propose, namely, that although as the right hon. Baronet declares, there is no conscription in the Swiss system, there is compulsion, and compulsion does not merely give you all the men you want at a certain age, for a certain pay, and for a definite number of days, but it also enables you to work them as hard as you like during those days. That is a most fundamental difference between the two systems, and, if we

attempted to apply not to our Volunteers or Militia but even to our Regular Army the course of drill which is applied to recruits obtained by compulsion, the recruiting returns would fall down in a manner which would be most disastrous.

The hon. Member was still speaking at midnight when, it being midnight, the Chairman left the Chair to make his Report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again to-morrow.

EDUCATION AND SCIENCE AND ART DEPARTMENTS.

Report presented,—relative thereto [ordered 12th February; *Colonel Wyndham Murray*]; to lie upon the Table, and to be printed. [No. 47.]

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: On the motion for adjournment, perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will say what business will be taken to-morrow and Thursday.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: To-morrow we propose to continue the discussion on the Army Supplementary Estimates. On Thursday we propose to put down the ordinary sessional Supply rule first, one or two Bills will afterwards be introduced under the Standing Orders with which the right hon. Gentleman is acquainted, and we shall then deal with the Civil Service Supplementary Estimates. Supposing the War Office Estimates are not concluded to-morrow they will be taken before the Civil Service Supplementary Estimates on Thursday, and if both are concluded we hope to take the Bill intro-

duced by my right hon. friend the President of the Board of Trade.

SIR HENRY CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: When will Ways and Means be taken?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: As soon as these two Votes are carried, but that stage will be purely formal.

MR. CALDWELL (Lanarkshire, Mid): What about Friday?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Supply will be taken on Friday.

Adjourned at five minutes after Twelve of the clock.

NOMINATION OF TEMPORARY CHAIRMEN OF COMMITTEES.

In pursuance of Standing Order No. 1, "Sittings of the House,"

I hereby nominate—

Mr. Arthur O'Connor,

Mr. John Edward Ellis,

The Right Hon. Charles Bailby Stuart-Wortley,

The Right Hon. Edmond Robert Wodehouse, and

Mr. John Grant Lawson,

to act during this Session as temporary Chairmen of Committees when requested by the Chairman of Ways and Means.

WILLIAM COURT GULLY,

Speaker.

10th February, 1900.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, 13th February, 1900.

EARL OF MEXBOROUGH
AND
VISCOUNT CLIFDEN.

Ordered and Directed, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, That Certificates be sent by the Clerk of the Parliaments to the Clerk of the Crown in Ireland, stating that the Lord Chancellor of the United Kingdom has reported to the House of Lords that the right of the Earl of Mexborough and the Viscount Clifden to vote at the elections of Representative Peers for Ireland has been established to the satisfaction of him the said Lord Chancellor; and that the House of Lords has ordered such reports to be sent to the said Clerk of the Crown in Ireland: And it is hereby also Ordered, That the said Reports of the said Lord Chancellor be sent to the Clerk of the Crown in Ireland.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had laid upon the Table the Certificate from the Examiners that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have been complied with:—

Cork Electric Tramways (Blackrock Extension).

And the Certificate that the Standing Orders applicable to the following Bill have not been complied with:—

Barnsley Corporation.

The same were ordered to lie on the Table.

BRISTOL WATER BILL [H.L.].

CALEDONIAN RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

DEARNE VALLEY RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

IMSCHENETZKY'S URALITE PATENT BILL [H.L.].

MILFORD DOCKS BILL [H.L.].

SOUTH ESSEX WATER BOARD BILL [H.L.].

WHITECHAPEL AND BOW RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

GLYNCORRWG URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL GAS BILL [H.L.].

GWYRFAI RURAL DISTRICT COUNCIL WATER BILL [H.L.].

PURFLEET AND GRAVESEND JUNCTION RAILWAY BILL [H.L.].

WALSALL CORPORATION BILL [H.L.].

WORKINGTON RAILWAYS AND DOCKS BILL [H.L.].

Presented, and read 1^a.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TREATY SERIES, No. 4.

Declaration between the United Kingdom and the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg respecting the reciprocal protection of trade marks; signed at Luxemburg, 25th January, 1900. Presented (by command), and ordered to lie on the Table.

FOOT AND MOUTH DISEASE.

LORD BURGHCLERE: My Lords, I beg to ask Her Majesty's Government what number of cattle have been slaughtered during the present outbreak of foot and mouth disease, and over what area do the restrictions extend; what was the date of the notification of the first suspected outbreak, and the date of its confirmation by the Board of Agriculture; and whether the Board of Agriculture have any reason to believe that the disease existed unnotified before the first suspected outbreak was reported to them. I am quite certain I need not assure Her Majesty's Government that in putting this question I have not the slightest intention of throwing any reflection upon the officials of the Board of Agriculture, whose skill and ability in dealing with the suppression of disease I so very well know. But I think that agricultural interests generally would be glad to receive some official intelligence as to the spread of this outbreak, which appears to be rather serious. I would lay particular stress on the latter part of my question—namely, whether the Board of Agriculture have any reason to believe that the disease existed unnotified before the first suspected outbreak was reported to them. As your Lordships are aware, foot and mouth disease is one of the very highest infectivity, and if it gets hold of

referred to

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a district it spreads like wildfire, doing damage to agricultural interests to the extent of hundreds of thousands of pounds. I am afraid it sometimes happens—it only happens, I am glad to say, in a very few instances—that through a mistaken idea of his own interests a farmer does not report a suspected case in time, but I hope that has not occurred on this occasion. I should be glad of an assurance on the subject. It cannot be too often laid down that it is to the interest of the farmer, to the interest of the public purse, and to the interest of the agricultural body at large that every suspected outbreak should be reported as soon as possible to the Board of Agriculture so that the officers there, in whom, I am sure, we all have the greatest confidence, may be able to deal with it promptly and effectively.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (The Duke of DEVONSHIRE): In the absence of my noble friend the Lord Privy Seal, the duty of answering the question of the noble Lord opposite has fallen upon me. I have to inform him that there have been slaughtered in all 127 cattle, eight sheep, and forty-two swine in connection with the present outbreak of foot and mouth disease in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. The restrictions imposed extend over a district comprising twelve petty sessional divisions in Norfolk and seven in Suffolk, with the boroughs therein. The first information which we received as to the suspected appearance of the disease was from the superintendent of police on 29th January Instructions as to the isolation of the premises and the observance of the rules applicable to infected places were at once sent off to the police and to the local authorities, and an experienced veterinary surgeon was despatched to the spot. His report went to confirm the suspicion previously entertained, and on 31st January our chief veterinary officer also visited the infected place and declared foot and mouth disease to exist. So far as our inquiries have proceeded we have no reason to believe that any person concerned was guilty of any offence in regard to the failure to give notice of the existence of disease for which proceedings could be taken under the Diseases of Animals Acts. The long immunity from the disease which Norfolk and Suffolk have enjoyed and the fact that in several

respects it resembles other animal diseases would alike tend to allay suspicion as to the real character of the outbreak.

House adjourned at twenty minutes before Five of the clock, to Thursday next, half-past Ten of the clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, 13th February, 1900.

PRIVATE BILL BUSINESS.

PRIVATE BILLS [Lords].

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, that in respect of the Bills comprised in the List reported by the Chairman of Ways and Means as intended to originate in the House of Lords, they have certified that the Standing Orders have been complied with in the following case, viz. :—

Cork Electric Tramways.

And that they have certified that the Standing Orders have not been complied with in the following case, viz. :—

Barnsley Corporation.

PRIVATE BILL PETITIONS [Lords] (STANDING ORDERS NOT COMPLIED WITH).

Mr. SPEAKER laid upon the Table Report from one of the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills, that in the case of the Petition for the following Bill, originating in the Lords, the Standing Orders have not been complied with, viz. :—

Barnsley Corporation Bill [Lords].

Ordered, That the Report be referred to the Select Committee on Standing Orders.

ROCHDALE CORPORATION BILL.

“To enable the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the borough of Rochdale to re-construct the existing Tramways in the said borough when required by them, and to construct additional Tramways in and adjacent to the borough; and to make further provisions for the good government of the borough; and for other

purposes." Read the first time; to be read a second time.

SOUTHPORT AND LYTHAM TRAMROAD.

Petition, and Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. Seton-Karr, Mr. Gilliat, and Sir Joseph Leese.

PETITIONS.

GOVERNMENT PROPERTY (EXEMPTION FROM RATES).

Petitions from Stepney, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

NATIONAL OLD AGE PENSIONS.

Petition from Tipton, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL.

Petition from Melton Mowbray, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

TOWN COUNCILS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Petitions in favour, from Stornoway; Pittenweem; and Wigtown; to lie upon the Table.

VACCINATION ACTS, 1867 TO 1898.

Petition from Northwich, for alteration of Law; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

TREATY SERIES (No. 4, 1900).

Copy presented,—of Declaration between the United Kingdom and the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg respecting the Reciprocal Protection of Trade Marks. Signed at Luxemburg, 25th January, 1900 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

AMERICAN MAILS.

Return ordered, "Showing the number of days, hours, and minutes occupied in the transit of Her Majesty's Mails, both outward and inward, carried during the year 1899 by steamships between Queens-town and New York, and also between Southampton and New York, the Return to specify the names of the steamers, and

to indicate by asterisks or otherwise those not carrying the mails under contract."—
(*Sir John Leng.*)

QUESTIONS.

SOUTH AFRICAN WAR—COMMANDS AT THE FRONT.

SIR HENRY HOWORTH (Salford, S.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether the several generals in command at the front in South Africa were selected by the Secretary of State for War or by the Commander-in-Chief, or whether the responsibility for their selection was shared by the two officials just named; and, in the case of any general in command of a detached army in the field in South Africa, with whom does the responsibility of maintaining him in his position or of recalling him rest—with the Secretary of State for War, the Commander-in-Chief, or the General in supreme command of Her Majesty's forces in South Africa.

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (MR. WYNDHAM, Dover): Selections for command in the field are made by the Commander-in-Chief subject to the approval of the Secretary of State. The general in chief command in the field has full powers in regard to his subordinate generals. There need be no mystery. Every selection put forward has been approved.

PRISONERS AT MAFEKING.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN (Kilkenny): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether he will cause inquiry to be made into the truth of the statement alleged to have been made by Colonel Baden-Powell to the effect that he had forty Fenian prisoners, including the late station-master of Mafeking, in custody; can he state what was their offence, and why they were described as Fenians; and whether the late station-master of Mafeking, Mr. Quinlan (alleged to have been shot), is still a prisoner.

*MR. WYNDHAM: No, Sir. As I have already told the hon. Member, there is no information whatever in the War Office on this subject, and I cannot undertake to trouble Lord Roberts at such a time with questions based on hearsay. It would be more unwarranted in this than

in other cases, because, as the hon. Members knows, Lord Roberts cannot communicate with Colonel Baden-Powell.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN: I understand that there are means of communicating. May I ask how it is that letters can come direct from there, and yet none reach the War Office?

[No answer was given.]

THE MAGERSFONTEIN ENGAGEMENT.

MR. WEIR (Ross and Cromarty): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War, in view of the fact that no information has been sought or received by the War Office since the 22nd December last in regard to Major Mackenzie, of the Seaforth Highlanders, will further steps be taken to ascertain if this officer is still alive, and the number and names of Highlanders buried by the Boers without identification after the battle of Magersfontein.

*MR. WYNDHAM: Endeavours have been made to obtain information in regard to Major Mackenzie, and information has at length been received from Pretoria that he is not a prisoner there, and that the Transvaal Government is trying to find out whether he was killed and buried on the field of battle. It would further appear that the enemy secured the identity tickets only of their prisoners, and not of the dead Highlanders who were buried on the spot, and I am afraid that it must be assumed that those of the men reported missing who have not since been accounted for were killed and buried there.

SPION KOP.

CAPTAIN NORTON (Newington, W.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War if he can say whether there is any truth in the statement that no party of Royal Engineers was detailed in the first instance to accompany the battalions attacking Spion Kop, and that no such party was sent forward until it was too late and the troops were in retreat; and whether as a consequence of this neglect the entrenchments were laid out in a direction which rendered the men occupying them liable to a severe reverse fire.

*MR. WYNDHAM: Nothing is known of the matter to which the hon. Member refers.

SEPARATION ALLOWANCES.

MR. HAMMOND (Carlton): I beg to ask the Financial Secretary to the War Office if any separation allowance would be made to the widowed mothers of unmarried men at present serving in Irish Militia regiments, most of those persons being wholly dependent for their livelihood on the support of their sons.

*THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE WAR OFFICE (Mr. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS, Birmingham, S.): Separation allowance is not issued in such cases. The man, however, may, if he chooses, allot a portion of his pay to his widowed mother.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): Is the hon. Gentleman aware that mothers of these unmarried soldiers are now chargeable to the rates in Ireland? Will not the War Office make some provision for them?

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: I am not aware of that. We can only proceed according to the Queen's regulations. We have no power to do as the hon. Member suggests.

COMMEMORATION IN SCHOOLS OF DEEDS OF HEROISM.

MR. YERBURGH (Chester): I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education whether his attention has been drawn to a letter from the Bishop of Chester upon the proposal to inscribe upon the walls of our public elementary schools the names and record of their old scholars who have distinguished themselves by acts of heroism and self-sacrifice, or have earned in other ways a high place in their country's regard; and whether the Education Department will sanction this proposal; and, if so, whether he would take steps to encourage its adoption.

THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL ON EDUCATION (Sir J. GORST, Cambridge University): The Committee of Council consider the proposal of the Bishop of Chester a most excellent one, and will do their best to secure its adoption by the managers of elementary schools.

GERMAN POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA

MR. HEDDERLEY (Burgis): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Majesty's Government

from the German Government any communications tending to modify the declaration made by Baron von Marschall, in his dispatches to Count Hatzfeldt of 1st February and 15th October, 1895, that the beginning and the end of German policy in South Africa was the maintenance of the Transvaal as an independent State, as laid down in the Treaty of 1884, and a guarantee of the *status quo* as regards the railways and the harbour of Delagoa Bay; and, if so, whether he can state in what way and to what extent any such communications modify the German policy as declared in 1895; and whether Her Majesty's Government propose to give to Parliament any information tending to show what the German policy is at present.

*THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Mr. BRODRICK, Surrey, Guildford): No communication has been received from the German Government on the subject of the Convention of 1884, which as a matter of fact has, through the existence of a state of war, terminated.

TRANSVAAL GOLD MINES.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES (Lynn Regis): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether Her Majesty's Government have received any intimation of the concurrence of foreign Powers with the notice issued by Sir Alfred Milner on 26th January, 1900, pledging Her Majesty's Government to refuse to recognise, and to treat as invalid, confiscations of gold mines in the Transvaal owned by British or other subjects, whether carried out by the executive or under colour of legislation; if so, does this concurrence extend to cases in which the confiscated gold mine has been, after confiscation according to the terms of law, sold by the Transvaal Government to subjects of the foreign Powers in question; and will he lay upon the Table of this House the correspondence which has passed relative to this subject.

*MR. BRODRICK: No such intimation has been received, nor has there been any correspondence with foreign Powers.

MILITIA REGIMENTS AND FOREIGN SERVICE.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War

whether the colonel of a Militia regiment takes the declaration of his men who volunteer for foreign service *en masse*, or each individual separately; and with what formalities.

*MR. WYNDHAM: I must refer the hon. Member to my reply to a question put on Thursday, the 8th instant, by the hon. Member for the St. Patrick's Division of Dublin.

VOLUNTEER COMMISSIONS.

COLONEL MILWARD (Stratford-upon-Avon): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether it is the intention of the Government to offer commissions in the Line to officers serving in the Volunteer force as well as to those serving in the Militia.

*MR. WYNDHAM: Yes, Sir.

SWISS MILITARY SYSTEM.

MR. SEELY (Lincoln): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether the War Office have any report on the Swiss military system; and whether, if there is one, he could have it printed as a Parliamentary Paper.

*MR. WYNDHAM: The handbook of the Swiss Army, 1398, prepared by the Intelligence Department, has been published, and will doubtless give the hon. Member the information he wishes to obtain; it can be bought at a very small price.

"MILITARY AUTHORITIES" — THE ROYAL HORSE ARTILLERY.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB (Great Yarmouth): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War to give the names of the military authorities referred to in the House on 13th July, 1887, by the then Secretary of State for War as having proposed the conversion of fourteen field batteries into ammunition columns. I beg also to ask the Under Secretary of State for War to state the names of the military authorities who recommended or approved the reduction of Royal Horse Artillery in 1887.

*MR. WYNDHAM: In reply to these questions put by the hon. and gallant Member, I can only refer him to the reply which I gave on Friday. I am unable to trace the statement mentioned by the

hon. Member as having been made by the then Secretary of State for War on July 13th, 1887. If the Secretary of State for War referred to the military authorities, he no doubt referred to his military advisers on the Headquarters Staff.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB: If the hon. Gentleman objects to giving the names of the authorities responsible, will he say if any of them are still advisers of the War Office?

*MR. WYNDHAM: If the hon. and gallant Member will look up the Headquarters list at the date he refers to, he will find an answer to his question. Lord Wolseley, of course, was not Commander-in-Chief at that time.

*SIR JOHN COLOMB: The hon. Gentleman forgets the definition he gave me of military authorities as the Commander-in-Chief and the Army Board, for there was no Army Board in 1887.

WAR OFFICE REORGANISATION COMMITTEE.

CAPTAIN NORTON: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War if he can state when the War Office Reorganisation Committee, presided over by the Financial Secretary to the War Office, and appointed in October, 1898, expects to conclude its labours; what progress has been made in the methods of conducting business in the Adjutant General's, Ordnance, and Accountant General's Departments; whether the Department of Works and Buildings, for which the Inspector General of Fortifications is responsible, has been overhauled by the Committee; and when, in view of the increasing public interest in the proper conduct of all departments of the Army, the Secretary of State will be able to place upon the Table of the House a report of the results of the inquiry of that Committee, which has been sitting for the past sixteen months.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: I would refer the hon. Member to the answer which I gave to the hon. Member for South Donegal on this subject yesterday, but I may observe that the scope of the inquiry was by no means as extensive as the terms of the question would suggest.

CAPTAIN NORTON: My question was not quite the same, and the hon. Gentle-

man has left two or three points unanswered.

IRISH GARRISONS.

MR. J. P. FARRELL (Cavan, W.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War whether it is contemplated to concentrate any large body of troops in either Mullingar or Longford in the near future; and whether the War Office have had laid before them plans for the erection of a large military station in one or other of these towns; and, if so, will there be any statement made to the House on the subject.

*MR. WYNDHAM: The answer to both parts of the question is in the negative.

ARMY ESTIMATES.

MR. BUCHANAN (Aberdeenshire, E.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for War when the Army Estimates will be issued to Members.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: We hope to issue them in about three weeks. With the changes in contemplation, and the war in progress, the preparation of estimates necessarily occupies more than the ordinary time.

SUPPRESSION OF RIOTS BY THE MILITARY.

*MR. D. A. THOMAS (Merthyr Tydvil): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer whether, as a consequence of the recent decision of the Appeal Court, that the expenses of troops employed to suppress rioting is an Imperial and not a local charge, the Government propose legislating with a view to placing such expense in future upon county councils.

*MR. J. POWELL-WILLIAMS: The question of legislation on the subject is under consideration, but the hon. Member does not accurately state the decision of the Court. It was not to the effect that the costs were an Imperial charge. The Court did not decide the point by whom the costs are payable.

*MR. D. A. THOMAS: Can the hon. Gentleman say whether the Court of Appeal did not uphold the decision of Justices Darling and Channell, which was that the expenses should be defrayed not out of local but out of Imperial funds?

*MR. J. POWELL WILLIAMS : I am informed that the decision was not to that effect. It was that the local authorities were not liable. It did not say who was liable. The Court of Appeal upheld the learned judges' decision.

MALTA—INSANITARY CONDITION OF BARRACKS, ETC.

MR. STEVENSON (Suffolk, Eye) : I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he will consider the propriety of appointing an Inter-Departmental Committee, upon which the Treasury, War Office, and Admiralty would be represented, for the purpose of investigating the complaints which have recently been made as to the unsatisfactory condition of the barracks, hospitals, and burial grounds at Malta, with a view to the adoption of remedial measures in the interest of the health of the soldiers and sailors at that station, and of the families of officials employed at the dockyard at Valetta.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Mr. J. CHAMBERLAIN, Birmingham, W.) : I have not contemplated such a Committee as necessary, but will confer with the heads of the other Departments named as to its expediency.

TONGA.

MR. HOGAN (Tipperary, Mid) : I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether the proclamation of the native kingdom of Tonga as an exclusively British sphere of influence involves any change in the present government or political constitution of the group ; if so, what is the nature of the contemplated changes ; and has Her Majesty's Government assumed responsibility for any financial indebtedness of Tonga to Germany or to German traders.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN : No statement can be made as to the future position of Tonga pending the result of Mr. Thomson's mission to discuss the subject with the King. Her Majesty's Government have not assumed any financial responsibility for Tongan indebtedness.

COLONIAL RUM.

MR. LAWRENCE (Liverpool, Abercrombie) : I beg to ask the Secretary of

State for the Colonies when he proposes to lay on the Table the return regarding local excise duties on colonial rum.

MR. J. CHAMBERLAIN : The Paper was laid in dummy in October last, the answers from the colonies being then nearly all received ; since that date a few further papers have been received, and the whole are now in print, but owing to the pressure of more urgent work in the printing branch, the revision has not as yet been completed. It is hoped, however, that the return will be delivered within a month from the present time.

THE LATE MR. STOKES.

MR. HEDDERWICK : I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs when the Government received the compensation money paid by Belgium in respect of the hanging of the late Mr. Stokes ; and whether the money has yet been paid over to Mr. Stokes' widow ; if so, when.

MR. BRODRICK : (1) Yes ; the sum of 150,000*l.* (£5,922 12*s.* 3*d.*) was paid on the 9th November, 1895, and was invested in the Two-and-Three-Quarter per Cent. Consolidated Stock. (.) Mr. Stokes' widow died before the money was paid to Her Majesty's Government. An allowance has since been made to the support of the family, and a deed is about to be completed investing the capital in the name of trustees, of whom Mr. Greene, Member for Shrewsbury, is one, for the benefit of the daughter, Nellie Stokes.

NEW HEBRIDES—SALE OF SPIRITS AND FIREARMS TO NATIVES.

MR. HOGAN : I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether any measure of success has yet attended the remonstrances of Her Majesty's Government against the sale of spirits and firearms to the natives of the New Hebrides by French traders.

MR. BRODRICK : No answer has been obtained from the French Government.

BRITISH NORTH BORNEO—TREATMENT OF NATIVES.

MR. WEIR : I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he will

state the nature of the differences which have arisen between the native population and the Chartered Company of British North Borneo; have any efforts been made by the British North Borneo Company to discuss the grievances of the natives with a view to an amicable settlement, as on a previous occasion, when Mat Salleh delivered his sword to Mr. Cowie, the manager of the British North Borneo Company; will he state the nature of the expedition sent against Mat Salleh and his followers; and whether the expenses will be charged to the British taxpayer or to the British North Borneo Company.

*MR. BRODRICK: No differences have arisen so far as Her Majesty's Government are aware between the British North Borneo Company and the native population in the company's territory, except in the case of Mat Salleh and his immediate followers. Every effort was made by the officers of the company to enter into communication with Mat Salleh, but he declined to respond, and two of the company's messengers who were conveying a friendly message to him were murdered by his followers. The expedition against Mat Salleh was composed of about 150 men of the company's police, and the whole cost will be borne by the company.

GERMAN RAILWAYS IN ASIA.

MR. MACLEAN (Cardiff): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been called to the action of Russia and Germany in constructing railways across the Asiatic Continent, and especially to the concession made by the Sultan of Turkey for a German line as far as the seaport of Bussorah in the Persian Gulf, and to the consolidation of the commercial and financial authority of Russia in Northern Persia; and what steps the Foreign Office is taking to maintain British interests in that part of the world, and to prevent the control of railways up to the Indian frontier from falling into the hands of foreign Powers.

*MR. BRODRICK: Her Majesty's Government are aware of the concession given by the Sultan of Turkey for a German line to the seaport of Bussorah, and of the progress of Russian railways

in Asia. If and when British interests are affected Her Majesty's Government will take whatever steps are necessary to maintain them.

THE GERMAN NAVY.

MR. GIBSON BOWLES: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, have Her Majesty's Government any information relative to any communications or negotiations between the Government of Germany and the Government of the Netherlands relative to the co-operation of Holland with Germany in the development of a largely increased German Navy.

MR. BRODRICK: The answer is in the negative.

INDIAN RAILWAY SURVEYS.

MR. MACLEAN: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India whether, in the year 1876, a large survey party was assembled on the Indian frontier under instructions from the Government of India to initiate all the preliminary arrangements for linking together the Indian and Russian railway systems; and whether the proposed operations of this survey party were countermanded by a cable message from the India Office in London.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Lord G. HAMILTON, Middlesex, Ealing): There is no trace of any record in the India Office of any such transaction.

THE PEN TRADE.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucestershire, Forest of Dean): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether the inquiries of the inspectors into the complaints as to the need for an order for particulars in the pen trade are yet complete; and, if so, whether an order is to be made.

*THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Sir M. WHITE RIDLEY, Lancashire, Blackpool): I have received the inspectors' reports on this matter, and the question of issuing an order is still under my consideration.

GLEN CLELLAND COLLIERS.

MR. WOODS (Essex, Walthamstow): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for

the Home Department whether his attention has been called to a fatal accident which happened on 8th August last at the Glen Clelland Colliery in Scotland, belonging to Messrs. Kerr and Mitchell, whereby a Russian Pole named Stanislaus Ambroziviczus met with his death; whether he is aware that the man did not understand the English language, and that he worked in the mine with another Pole who was also ignorant of the English language; whether his attention has been drawn to the statement of the jury at the inquest in their verdict, that neither of these two men were able to speak or understand the English language, and that their experience of mining was very limited; and in their opinion, in such an occupation as coal mining, the fact that any workman who was unable to understand the orders or warnings addressed to him constituted a danger to both himself and his fellow-workmen; whether the employment of two such men by the management is a contravention of Rule 39 of the Coal Mines Regulation Act; and whether he will cause full inquiry into the circumstances of this case, and take such steps as will give effect to the opinion expressed by the jury who tried this case.

*SIR M. WHITE RIDLEY: I find on inquiry that the facts of the case are substantially in accordance with the first three paragraphs. But there does not appear to have been any contravention of Rule 39. I am informed by the inspector for the district that he has repeatedly impressed their responsibility upon the mine owners who employ Polish workmen; and that the Abstract of the Mines Acts and the Special Rules have been translated into Russian for the benefit of these workmen. He adds that no accident caused by their ignorance of the English language has hitherto come to his knowledge.

SCOTCH WHISKY SAMPLES.

*MR. JOHN WILSON (Lanarkshire, Govan): I beg to ask the Lord Advocate if he is aware that small sample bottles of whisky are being freely distributed to dwelling-houses in Scotland by representatives of distillers and spirit dealers; and whether it is possible under the existing law to prevent this practice of promoting drinking by placing special temptations in the way of women and

young people at their homes; and, if not, whether he will consider the desirability of introducing a short Bill to stop it.

*THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. A. GRAHAM MURRAY, Buteshire): In reply to the first paragraph of the question, I have no special information, but I do not doubt that distillers, like other manufacturers, distribute samples of their wares. In reply to the second paragraph, such distribution is lawful, and I have no reason to believe that it has any such injurious effects as to call for legislation.

SCOTTISH FISHERY CRUISER.

MR. WEIR: I beg to ask the Lord Advocate whether he is now in a position to state when the new cruiser for the Scottish Fishery Board will be ready for service; and, if not, will he say if tenders have yet been invited.

*MR. A. GRAHAM MURRAY: The question of a new cruiser for the superintendence of the fisheries is receiving the earnest attention of the Fishery Board, and no time whatever is being lost in carrying out the necessary negotiations. I may add that the Secretary for Scotland cannot undertake to give further information at present.

VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM.

LORD BALCARRES (Lancashire, Chorley): I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education whether the collection of gold ornaments bequeathed by the late Signor Giuliano to the Victoria and Albert Museum, and recently stolen, has been recovered; whether the police force in the Museum had been reduced prior to the robbery; and if it is likely to be increased.

SIR J. GORST: The answer to the first paragraph of the question is in the negative. None of the ornaments have been recovered. In answer to the second and third paragraphs I may say that the police force was reduced four and a half years ago. Since the robbery it has been again increased.

SCIENCE AND ART DEPARTMENT— COUNCIL OF ADVICE FOR ART MATTERS.

LORD BALCARRES: I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education whether the four

artists recently appointed as a council of advice for art matters relating to the Science and Art Department will be at liberty to advise on administrative or departmental questions concerning the Art Museum; whether they will advise on the authenticity of objects offered for purchase; whether they are to be paid for their services; and whether they will meet at regular intervals.

SIR J. GORST: The answer to the first paragraph is No. The answer to the second paragraph is that they will advise on the artistic value of objects. The answer to the third paragraph is in the affirmative. The answer to the fourth paragraph is that they will meet at regular times, and also whenever required.

FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE REGULATIONS.

MR. F. W. WILSON (Norfolk, Mid): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Agriculture whether his attention has been called to a resolution of the Norfolk Chamber of Agriculture urging him to insist upon the immediate slaughter of diseased cattle, and asking for some modification of the restrictions, so as to allow, by special licence, fat cattle, sheep, and pigs to be moved from the scheduled districts to slaughter-houses; and whether he is able to grant either or both of these concessions.

*THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (MR. AKERS DOUGLAS, Kent, St. Augustine, for MR. LONG): The attention of my right hon. friend has been called to the suggestions made by the Norfolk Chamber of Agriculture, and he asks me to say that experience has shown that the slaughter of cattle affected with foot and mouth disease is in some cases more likely to be instrumental in spreading the disease than their isolation under strict conditions. The course to be adopted must therefore be settled by reference to the particular circumstances of each individual case. With regard to the movement of animals for slaughter, my right hon. friend hopes to be in a position to give some relief in this direction in the course of a day or two.

UNCLAIMED WAGES OF DECEASED SEAMEN.

SIR J. LENG (Dundee): I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade how

the unclaimed balance for the year 1898-9 of £5,757, in respect of the wages and effects of deceased seamen, will be applied, and for what purpose £17,747 has been accumulated under this head since the year 1893-4.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (MR. RITCHIE, Croydon): The unclaimed balance of the estates of deceased seamen for the year 1898-9 of £5,737 will be applied to the payment of claims on the estates it represents. After six years what balance is still unclaimed will be paid over to the Exchequer in accordance with the provisions of the Merchant Shipping (Mercantile Marine Fund) Act of 1898. The sum of £17,747 has been accumulated under this head to comply with this Act and the Merchant Shipping Act of 1894, which do not permit the Board of Trade to deal with the unclaimed estates of deceased seamen till six years after their receipt, and require the Board after that period to pay the balance then unclaimed into the Exchequer. Previously to the Act of 1898 they were paid into the Mercantile Marine Fund.

POSTAGE RATES TO SOUTHERN ITALY.

MR. HOGAN: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, as representing the Postmaster General, whether he has seen, at page 24 of the recently issued Consular Report on Southern Italy, the statement that hardly a day passes on which surcharged letters are not left at the Consulate, many if not most of them for seamen, to whom the payment of threepence per letter is a severe tax; and whether any steps are practicable that would remedy this grievance.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (MR. HANBURY, Preston): Notices have been exhibited in every post office warning the public that penny postage is only applicable to certain specified parts of the British Empire, and that for all other parts of the world, including of course Italy, the 2½d. rate remains unchanged. The correct rates are duly set forth in the Postal Guide, which may be seen at any post office in the United Kingdom; and several communications have been sent to the newspapers on the subject.

CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

MR. BUCHANAN: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury when the Supplementary Civil Service Estimates will be issued.

MR. HANBURY: I hope that they will be circulated to-morrow morning.

ADULTERATION OF IRISH WHISKY
IN BOND.

*MR. WILLIAM JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland if excise officers in Belfast have recently found in a bonded store a cask of whisky 30 per cent. weaker than it ought to have been; whether the matter has been referred to the Board of Customs; and whether any penalty has been or will be inflicted.

MR. HANBURY: The revenue officers employed in a bonded warehouse in Belfast under the Customs lately found that, after the contents of a number of casks of British plain spirits had been blended—which operation should have made the whole to be of uniform strength—and drawn off into separate casks, the spirits in one of the casks proved, on being tried, to be of considerably lower strength than that of the bulk, for, whereas the strength of the bulk was 22·5 degrees over proof, the contents of this cask were found to be of a strength of only 12·3 degrees under proof, or 34·8 degrees below the proper strength. The matter having been reported to the Board of Customs, and the explanation of the warehouse-keepers not being satisfactory, the Board have directed the seizure of the cask in question and its contents.

*MR. WILLIAM JOHNSTON: Will the right hon. Gentleman give the name of the owner, because there are a number of innocent people in Belfast who may be implicated?

MR. HANBURY: I don't know the name.

MR. PATRICK O'BRIEN: Was not the whisky extracted from the cask without the knowledge of the owner, by a thirsty Orangeman, who put water in its place?

*MR. WILLIAM JOHNSTON: Is not the person referred to in the question Mr. Samuel Young, the Member for Cavan?

MR. SAMUEL YOUNG (Cavan, E.): I hope to be protected from these attacks. I am not the person.

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

AUSTRALIAN MINTS.

MR. HOGAN: I beg to ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether replies have now been received from all the Australian Governments concerned in the question of the coining of silver in the colonial branches of the Royal Mint; and whether any decision has been arrived at.

MR. HANBURY: No, Sir. The Treasury have received no communication on the subject since I stated the position in reply to a question by the hon. Member on the 24th of October last.

IRISH RURAL DISTRICT COUNCILS.

MR. ENGLEDEW (Kildare, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the Government will introduce a short Act, allowing the reduction of the number of members necessary to constitute a quorum of rural district councillors at their meetings from one-fourth to one-eighth, provided such proportion of one-eighth does not reduce the number to less than eight members, in which case the latter number should constitute a quorum.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.) (for MR. G. W. BALFOUR): The Government are considering the propriety of introducing a short amending Bill, dealing, amongst other things, with the matter mentioned in the question.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY.

MR. DALY (Monaghan, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that a circular has been issued to the Royal Irish Constabulary in Ireland suspending the granting of leave of absence except in very urgent cases, and that the issuing of this circular has caused

great disappointment in the police force ; and whether he will have this objectionable circular withdrawn.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR) : No such circular has ever been issued to the Constabulary.

WESTPORT LANDLORDS.

DR. AMBROSE (Mayo, W.) : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that there are several landlords in the neighbourhood of Westport, County Mayo, who are anxious to sell their estates to the Congested Districts Board ; and if he can give any reasons why the Congested Districts Board will not purchase such estates.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR) : I am not aware what may be the views of landlords such as those referred to, save so far as they may be disclosed in confidential negotiations which may have passed between them and the Congested Districts Board. It would obviously be improper to disclose information so obtained.

IRISH POOR LAW OFFICERS' SALARIES.

MR. HAMMOND : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from what source has been paid to the local Poor Law Boards of Ireland the Government allowance on account of the payment of the salaries of medical officers of workhouses and dispensaries for the quarter ending 31st March, 1898.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR) : Recoupment in respect of the salaries mentioned in the question for the period ended 31st March, 1898, was made out of moneys voted by Parliament.

IRISH JUDICIAL APPOINTMENTS—RELIGIOUS DISABILITIES.

MR. DALY : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he can state if the right hon. the Lord Chief Justice, Sir Peter O'Brien, is qualified to act as a Lord Justice for the Government in Ireland ; and, if not, whether he can state if it is because he is a Roman Catholic.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR) : This question is similar to one

put by the hon. Member on the 5th instant. I have nothing to add to the reply given by me on that occasion.

IRISH COUNTY COURT PRINTING.

MR. ENGLEDEW : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether the cost of printing and advertisements in connection with the assize and county courts and the office of the clerk of the Crown and Peace can be charged on the funds of the county councils in Ireland, having regard to the fact that the salaries of the judges and officers of such courts are paid from the Imperial Exchequer.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR) : The cost of the printing and advertisements mentioned must be paid by the county council out of the county rates, as was formerly done by the grand jury, to whose powers and duties the county council have succeeded.

IRISH LUNATIC ASYLUM RATE IN AID.

MR. POWER (Waterford, E.) : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he has received a copy of a resolution adopted by the Joint Committee of Management of the Waterford District Asylum complaining of the action of the Treasury in charging the whole rate in aid for Irish asylums for the year ending 31st December, 1898, upon the Local Taxation Account, thus saddling that fund with full liabilities for the entire year 1898, during nine months of which year scarcely any income accrued to that fund ; and, if so, what reply has been given to that resolution, and what action it is proposed to take to remedy the state of things complained of by the resolution.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR) : This matter is under the consideration of the Treasury.

GRANARD (CO. LONGFORD) ESTATE.

MR. J. P. FARRELL : I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that about 100 tenants on the Granard (County Longford) Estate have been debarred from purchasing their holdings by reason of the action of the Land Commission in refusing to sanction advances on agree-

ments made for sale; whether the trustees of Maynooth College are now willing to sell to these tenants on fair and equitable terms; and whether, as fully nine-tenths of this estate has become the property of the tenants, he will urge the Land Commission to expedite the transfer when the new agreements are made.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR): The Commissioner before whom the applications for advances upon the Granard Estate were pending refused 127 of these applications on the grounds of insufficient security, etc. In 111 of the cases appeals from the decision of the Commissioner were made pursuant to the provisions of the 29th Section of the Purchase of Land Act, 1891, with the result that the applications in 100 of the cases were sanctioned and advances made. In these cases the sales have been long since completed. The orders of the Commissioner in eleven cases refusing advances were affirmed. In the remaining sixteen cases no appeals were taken against the decision of the Commissioner, and no further agreements which may have been entered into between the parties in these cases, or in the eleven cases above referred to, have as yet been lodged. There is only one case under the Land Purchase Acts upon this estate at present pending in the Land Commission. The Commissioners have no information with regard to the second paragraph. If new agreements are entered into by the parties, and lodged with the Land Commission in the prescribed manner, they will be dealt with as rapidly as is possible.

GUN LICENCES IN ROSCOMMON.

MR. HAYDEN (Roscommon, S.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether he is aware that some persons holding gun licences who reside in Beechwood, Roscommon, have been called upon by the police of that district, and presented with a document for signature, the contents of which they declined to disclose; whether he will state what the document contained; and whether this document is required to be universally signed by holders of gun licences; and if not, on what principle are selections made in Roscommon.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR): It having been ascertained

that in several instances persons who obtain licences to keep one description of firearm are in fact keeping and using another, the police at Beechwood, with a view to prevent this practice and to check the official register of firearms, asked some persons in that district to give a written description of the weapons in their possession. Each person was presented with a slip of paper, on which was written the words, "The gun in my possession is a —," a blank being left for a description of the gun to be completed by its owner. This is the only foundation for the suggestion in the question.

EXTRA POLICE AT TALLOW.

MR. SHEE (Waterford, W.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on how many occasions during the last nine months extra police have been drafted into the town of Tallow, county Waterford; how many extra police have been employed on each occasion; and what is the total cost of such extra police chargeable to the county Waterford in respect of that period; and whether, seeing that the town of Tallow is in a peaceful and orderly state, will he explain what are the circumstances under which it was considered necessary to detail such extra police, and who made the requisition for or directed their employment.

MR. ATKINSON (for Mr. G. W. BALFOUR): An extra force of police has been drafted into Tallow on ten occasions during the past nine months, the number of additional constables employed on each of these occasions varying from ten to eighty-three. The total cost of the extra force so employed and chargeable to the county Waterford will be nearly £4. The police were employed for the preservation of the public peace on the occasion of meetings convened under the auspices of the United Irish League, and were requisitioned by the authorities locally responsible for the maintenance of the peace.

MR. FLYNN (Cork): Was there any real ground for calling in extra police? Is it seriously contended any breach of the public peace was contemplated?

MR. ATKINSON: The persons locally responsible for the maintenance of the peace thought there were serious grounds

for fearing a breach, and the fact that no breach occurred was probably due to the presence of the police.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): Who is the person responsible?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The question has been fully answered.

IRISH NATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I beg to ask the Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture for Ireland whether he yet is in a position to state what provision is to be made to recoup the teachers of national schools in Ireland and national education generally for the sum of £78,000 handed over to the new Board of Agriculture in Ireland last year.

THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE FOR IRELAND (Mr. PLUNKETT, Dublin County, S.): The necessary provision for this purpose will be made in the Estimate for Public Education, Ireland, for the coming financial year.

THE COMPANY BILL.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I beg to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he will have any objection to the insertion of a clause in the Company Bill introduced by the Government, prohibiting the union of the offices of Minister of the Crown and company director.

MR. RITCHIE: Yes, Sir.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Do I understand the right hon. Gentleman consents?

MR. RITCHIE: I said "Yes" to the hon. Gentleman's question.

NEW BILLS.

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACT (1878) AMENDMENT.

Bill to amend the Factory and Workshop Act, 1878, so that the period of employment on a Saturday shall cease at twelve o'clock at noon instead of one o'clock, as at present, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Harwood and Mr. Kenyon.

FACTORY AND WORKSHOP ACT (1878) AMENDMENT BILL.

"To amend the Factory and Workshop Act, 1878, so that the period of employment on a Saturday shall cease at twelve o'clock at noon instead of one o'clock, as at present," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 4th April, and to be printed. [Bill 80.]

ANCIENT MONUMENTS PROTECTION.

Bill to amend the Ancient Monuments Protection Acts, ordered to be brought in by Lord Balcarras, Sir John Brunner, Mr. Carson, Mr. Jebb, Sir John Stirling-Maxwell, and Mr. Bryce.

ANCIENT MONUMENTS PROTECTION BILL.

"To amend the Ancient Monuments Protection Acts," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Tuesday next, and to be printed. [Bill 81.]

HIGHWAYS AND BRIDGES ACT (1891) AMENDMENT.

Bill to amend the provisions of the Highways and Bridges Act, 1891, ordered to be brought in by Mr. Jeffreys, Sir John Dorington, Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice, Mr. Hobhouse, Mr. Beaumont, Mr. Grant Lawson, Mr. Mount, and Mr. Humphreys-Owen.

HIGHWAYS AND BRIDGES ACT (1891) AMENDMENT BILL.

"To amend the provisions of the Highways and Bridges Act, 1891," presented, and read the first time; to be read a second time upon Wednesday, 28th February, and to be printed. [Bill 82.]

FIRST READINGS—THE TEN MINUTE RULE—POINT OF PROCEDURE.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: Will you allow me, Mr. Speaker, to bring under your notice a matter affecting the procedure and practice of this House? I wish to know if there is any remedy for the systematic abuse of the Ten Minute Rule by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, who yesterday—

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! If the hon. Gentleman rises to ask a ques-

tion as to procedure, he must not make a speech attacking a Member.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: I do not wish to attack anyone, but to describe what occurred. It will be in the recollection of the House that yesterday afternoon, just before a very important Ministerial statement, the President of the Board of Trade introduced the Companies Bill under the Ten Minute Rule. I submit that that Bill is a Bill of first-rate importance, and one of high complication, which should not have been introduced under the Ten Minute Rule. Its introduction was therefore a breach of faith with the House which passed the rule. When the resolution on which that rule was based was agreed to, the late Mr. W. H. Smith, as Leader of the House, gave a distinct guarantee that motions under the rule should only be introduced in certain circumstances, and that they should not be made in relation to complicated Bills, or Bills of first-rate importance. His words were—

“It is not intended by this resolution to give the Government power to introduce without explanation any Bill of great public importance.”

It was on the strength of that guarantee that the resolution was passed, and I submit that the President of the Board of Trade has been guilty of a breach of faith in introducing under the rule such a Bill as that dealing with public companies.

*MR. SPEAKER: I said, in answer to the hon. Gentleman yesterday, that the Standing Order does not give the Speaker any power to decide what Bills may or may not be introduced under this rule. The Standing Order leaves it to the discretion of the Member to decide whether the Bill which he desires to introduce comes within the rule. Hon. Members may, of course, entertain most varying opinions as to the degree of importance to be attached to any particular Bill. With regard to the Companies Bill it is absolutely impossible for me to judge whether it is a measure of great public importance. All I see on the Paper with reference to it is that it is “A Bill to Amend the Law relating to Companies.” I cannot tell from the title what the nature of the Bill is, and I am therefore unable, nor is it my duty, to express any opinion on the point raised by the hon. Member.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: May I ask the First Lord of the Treasury, who never broke a pledge, even to Ireland—

*MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member cannot, on a point of order, address a question to the Leader of the House.

*MR. D. A. THOMAS: May I suggest that the degree of importance of the Bill is characterised by the fact that it is named first in the Queen’s Speech.

SUPPLY.

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

ARMY (SUPPLEMENTARY) ESTIMATES,
1899-1900.

NUMBER OF LAND FORCES.

Motion made, and Question proposed,
“That a further number of Land Forces, not exceeding 120,000, all ranks, be maintained for the Service of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland at Home and Abroad, during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1900.”
—(*Mr. Wyndham.*)

*COLONEL BROOKFIELD (Sussex, Rye): What I principally notice in connection with the question now under discussion, is the very satisfactory increase of interest which the House now takes in this particular class of subject. Yesterday, even the hon. Member for Northampton was heard to admit that it might be necessary to keep some troops in this country, while the hon. Member for Gateshead complained that the amount asked for was a mere bagatelle, and, in his opinion, not half enough. I was also very glad to note that my hon. friend the Under Secretary for War, in his statement, appreciated the general drift of public opinion, and was fully aware of the facts of the present situation. Some speakers expressed disapproval, because the statement did not contain more on the subject of South Africa. But my own view is that the complications there form only one incident, and that the real question which we have to deal with is the general improvement of our whole military system. With regard to the changes that the hon. Gentleman foreshadowed, very few Members will

deny that they are in the right direction, and I am sure we all wish them every success. The main doubt I entertain on the matter is whether the hon. Gentleman is not a great deal too sanguine as to the practical effect of the proposals he has made. He was careful in the early part of his remarks to disavow having any recourse to compulsion, and I noticed that this disavowal was received with ominous approval by hon. Gentlemen opposite, and especially by the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition. I have observed—it may only be a coincidence—that when anything that is doomed to ultimate failure, and deserves such a fate, is referred to in connection with the War Office, the right hon. Gentleman invariably gets up and gives his blessing to it. He has been described as a Tory in the worst sense of the term, and I think that the word accurately expresses his attitude on all questions of Army reform. In disavowing any recourse to compulsion my hon. friend adumbrated a very large increase in both the Regular Army and the Auxiliary forces. Although I am one of those who would much rather not have compulsory service, I must say I do not think that Ministers should go out of their way to encourage the idea that it is impossible. Nothing could be more creditable to this country than to supply the immense number of men now required without compulsion. But there are circumstances which may account for my hon. friend feeling rather too sanguine. To begin with, it is amply demonstrated that the present war is a very popular one with the masses of the country, who are offering their sympathy in a practical form by going out to take their share in the fighting. But we might at any time be confronted with a war exceedingly unpopular; and in such a case I think we should, in trusting to the voluntary system, find ourselves leaning on a broken reed. My hon. friend called his general proposals a “scheme of invitation,” and obviously that implied that his proposals might either be accepted or rejected. My earnest hope is that they may be accepted and that the country may respond to his invitation, but I venture to repeat my wish that he had not appeared to commit himself against the possibility of having recourse to some form of compulsion. There are some Members of this House who like the compulsory system of

military service for the sake of the thing itself, but personally I do not think we should regard either the voluntary or the compulsory system otherwise than as a means to an end, that end being the efficiency and mobility of our forces. With regard to the more important general proposals of the Government, I usually associate myself with my hon. friend the Member for West Belfast, and his opinions. But I fear that his experience in this House has rather tended to make him a little hypercritical and sometimes unfair with regard to propositions that come from the Government. I certainly do consider it unfair for him to exercise his satire at the expense of the 109,000 men who have been referred to as being at home. Of course we all know that they are largely composed of young and immature soldiers. But everything must have a beginning, and we cannot expect that men under twenty years of age shall be as fit for foreign service as older men. I believe that if my hon. friend could see these men dressed as blue-jackets he would say that they were, on the whole, a very useful body. With regard to the proposals relating to our Auxiliary forces I think the whole country will be disposed to congratulate my hon. friend and the Government on having at length decided to give some official countenance to the Militia—that much-neglected but useful military body, which, in season and out of season, has borne the heat and burden of the day for many years past, and has always been found willing to do what is required of it in an unostentatious and unadvertising way. The increase of pay and the provision of transport for the Militia must be admitted to be substantial improvements, but when my hon. friend goes on to propose a training of not less than three months every year, I am again inclined to say that he is showing rather too sanguine a temperament. I think that the class of Militiamen who can find time to go out for three months in the year might just as well join Line battalions at once and become Regular soldiers. Probably that is the intention. But the old-fashioned Militiaman will, I think, find it very difficult to go out for three months: while as to the officers, the difficulty will be still more formidable. Of late years the officers of the Militia have very largely ceased to be drawn from the ranks of the country gentlemen. They are to an increasing

extent recruited from professional men and men of business, stockbrokers, &c., who go into the force not exactly in a spirit of leisurely patriotism, but rather with the idea of getting a short holiday, and at the same time of gaining some acquaintance with the profession of arms. My hon. friend expressed a hope that the country gentlemen would help him with respect to the officering of the force. I live most of the year among country gentlemen, and my opinion of them as regards the patriotic duties they are ready to perform is a rather low one. In many parts of the country, no doubt, they are behaving very well under the excitement of the present crisis, and are joining Yeomanry corps, and so on, but I fear that for the ordinary uninteresting military work of peaceful times we may appeal to them in vain. The idle young men who have least to do always complain that they are most busy, and it is impossible to obtain their services. The Government may be quite right politically in banishing the idea of applying compulsion to the working classes, but if they could only apply a little of it to the classes from whom the officers are recruited I believe no complaint would be heard, and that it would be for the good of the social community at large, and especially of the young men principally concerned. It would make them do their duty when they fail to do it of their own accord. As regards the Volunteers, I could have wished that some systematic attempt had been made to deal with the question of field artillery. It is, I admit, a very difficult question, and there is much to be said on both sides of it, but I hold the opinion that it would not have been impossible to provide the Volunteers with field artillery by borrowing a little from the Continental system, and giving them the assistance of Regular soldiers in the most difficult part of their duty—that is, driving. But as the Government have announced the very substantial addition of thirty-six field batteries and seven batteries of horse artillery to the Regular Army, I do not think we should make any further complaint on the subject of artillery in the immediate present. With regard to the Infantry Volunteers, I am sure that many of the proposals will be hailed with great satisfaction by commanding officers of battalions. They will be extremely pleased with the permission to recruit to a higher limit. I

do not, however, quite understand whether that means recruiting in their existing stations, or whether it means that they may go further afield, which would involve the appointment of additional instructors and the coming to Parliament for more money. Whether it will have the effect of popularising the Volunteers at the expense of the Militia, too, is a matter for the Government rather than for Volunteer officers to consider. Undoubtedly the Volunteers now absorb a large number of men who, from an abstract point of view, ought to be serving in the Militia. I do not think that the latter force attracts a sufficient number of the lower middle class, whom it would be very desirable to draw to the colours, and the only plan I have ever heard proposed to secure the desirable end of grouping our possible soldiers in their proper places is that of creating double battalion regiments composed of men of a particular class. The sanction for Volunteers to train for one month a year instead of a week I hail personally with the greatest satisfaction. I think it is an admirable boon, but I fear that many of my friends will find it extremely difficult to carry it out. What is easy for one Volunteer corps is very difficult for another, and what suits a man recruited in a city would not do for a man living in a rural district in Scotland. I should have thought that a little elasticity might have been provided under the management of the general officers, so that different localities—so long as they did not spend more money than they were entitled to—might settle matters as they pleased. I was glad to hear my hon. friend, in speaking of these concessions, state that they are to be accompanied by stringent conditions. I am anxious to hear what those conditions will be, for I have too often found that they only have reference to some detail as to shooting qualifications, and I think that Volunteers have long outstepped that period of their existence. I miss now, as I have done in many previous Army statements in this House, any reference to discipline. The Volunteer force is still suffered to remain very much, in many substantial respects, in the same state with regard to discipline as when it was first established in the evil days of 1859. [AN HON. MEMBER: No, no!] I say it is so, in spite of itself, and that the authorities have not

levelled it up or made it advance with the times as regards discipline. Let me refer hon. Members to the extraordinary regulation which prescribes that meetings of all ranks of a corps shall be held—meetings at which a proposition may be made by a private, seconded by a sergeant, and opposed by the commanding officer. Of course, there are ways and means of getting out of this ridiculous regulation, but I see no reason why it should not be expunged. At present it only constitutes a standing subject of ridicule from Regulars and Militia. These meetings are thoroughly pernicious, and I speak with some experience on the subject. While in some quarters there is a desire to stereotype these absurdities in the Volunteer service, the Volunteers themselves resent them more perhaps than anyone else. Again, I think it will be necessary before long for the authorities to draw up some precise regulation as to volunteering for active service. I think it would save a great deal of trouble if a register were kept of the men willing to act as regular soldiers in case of emergency, instead of only asking for volunteers when an unexpected emergency arises. Almost the most substantial concession contained in the very encouraging announcement in regard to the Volunteers is the intention of occasionally presenting them with a commission in the Regular Army. That is a privilege which should have been conceded long ago. I cannot help thinking that the present moment—or during the progress of the present war

would be a favourable one for reviving among the Volunteers the practice which at one time prevailed with regard to the Militia, under which any officer bringing in a hundred men to join the Regular Army was rewarded with a commission. Many officers would have done this in the present emergency, and I think some of the results would have been more satisfactory than under the present system, and that a new means would have been found to assist recruiting. I think we ought to regard with extreme satisfaction the manner in which our Volunteers have come forward to join their territorial regiments, and those who find fault with the territorial system ought to recognise that this is one of its advantages, that it forms a closer union between the Regular and the Auxiliary battalions. Nothing was said in my hon. friend's

field.

statement with regard to the War Office, which leads to the suspicion that it is going on like the old four-wheeled cabs in London, for another quarter of a century. The hon. Gentleman has disarmed a good deal of criticism by the tactful way in which he has made his statement, and by the remarkable gift he has exhibited of showing between the lines of what he says what he would also personally like to say. I regard his proposals for home defence, making due allowance for what is too sanguine, as the most important and most satisfactory that have been made for many years past—probably during the present generation—and I wish them every success.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON (Dundee): I do not want to discourage or depreciate the merits of the statement which the hon. Gentleman made last night, which I admire; but I think it has been received in the House with an almost universal sense of disappointment. That expression of disappointment has been as strong on the other side of the House as on this, and if we have been disappointed, what must be the disappointment of those outside, who called upon the Opposition to abrogate its principal functions because, forsooth, while we were debating the Address we were supposed to be standing in the way of something that was to be proceeded with on the part of the War Office? We have been subjected to that sort of criticism by persons—or at all events by one person, who appears to have transgressed and broken the rules of the high public office now vested in him. I certainly did not expect to hear such a statement as I have listened to to-night. We expected some detailed account of what the Government were going to do in the prosecution of the war which is now in progress. We have had instead a statement which dealt with the projected reforms, or rather with a permanent increase in our military system, and the Estimates which have been submitted to us, like the statement of the hon. Gentleman, are divided between the provision for the war which is now going on—as to which no objection comes from me—and the provision made for this permanent increase of our military forces. But whilst £13,000,000 of this Estimate are to be devoted to the war, the greater part of the hon. Gentleman's speech was devoted

to the provision which is to be made for the permanent increase of the military forces. In the few observations which I propose to submit to the Committee I wish to address myself first of all to that part of the subject which deals with the South African question. Whatever my feelings may be about the war, I do not propose to object to a single farthing of the money which is now being asked for for the purposes of the war, and there are only two questions which I desire to submit to the hon. Gentleman, who will no doubt give us the information I desire before the debate closes. First of all I think we ought to have a complete statement as to the extent to which the Army has, during the progress of this war, been obliged to borrow guns from the Navy. We know that some thirty-eight guns have been borrowed from the Navy up to a certain date, and the process has been going on. There is also another minor point. I understand that the searchlights, which have been so useful on many critical occasions in South Africa, have been borrowed from the Navy. I think the hon. Gentleman would do well to tell us to what extent that has taken place, and how it comes about that an army engaged in such a war had to borrow searchlights even from the Navy.

THE UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (MR. WYNDHAM, Dover): I am not aware of it.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: The searchlights used by the Army have been borrowed from the Navy, and that certainly requires explanation. I will finish by asking how is the borrowing of guns and of searchlights to be made good to the naval service? They must be replaced, I imagine; and I should like to know whether the borrowed guns are to be a Navy charge or an Army charge? In connection with the progress of the war I should like to know the status of the colonial troops who have been engaged. I take it that while these troops have been to some extent equipped by the colonies, their pay is to be a charge upon us, and forms part of the £13,000,000 now being asked for. I understand also that the colonial troops are to be paid at the same rate as the Imperial troops.

*SIR CHARLES DILKE (Gloucester, Forest of Dean): They are paid by the

Colonial as well as by the Imperial Government.

MR. WYNDHAM: The understanding with the Canadian and Australian authorities is that we should give the men arms and ammunition, pay them Imperial rates, and take them home.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: What I am driving at is the alleged inequality of remuneration—I don't care from what source—between the Colonial troops and the Imperial troops. According to my right hon. friend they are getting paid from two sources, as compared with our own troops, who are only getting our own pay. That, no doubt, will be explained.

MR. WYNDHAM: It is for the Governments of self-governing colonies to give the men what they please.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: I do not know that it is a satisfactory service to have two sets of soldiers belonging to the same rank, and one of them getting a different rate of pay to the other. I should like to say a word or two about the permanent provision which is being made in this Estimate for the increase in the Army. I object altogether to the manner in which the proposal for that increase has been submitted to the House. How has it been submitted? We have had a vast new scheme involving a large permanent addition to our forces laid before us in a Supplementary Estimate, a large proportion of which deals with expenditure for the war. I have protested more than once in this House against this way of abusing Supplementary Estimates. A year and a half ago the First Lord of the Admiralty came down to this House with a proposal for the increase of the Fleet without a Supplementary Estimate at all, and he obtained Parliamentary sanction for a large increase in the ship-building programme of the year. I think that was bad enough, but I regard the mode of procedure now adopted as, if anything, worse. I do not think that it is a proper use of Supplementary Estimates to use them for the purpose of launching a vast new permanent scheme of military defence, and at the risk of making myself wearisome to some of my hearers, I will venture to repeat once more a sentence which, two years ago, I quoted from

a speech made by Mr. Gladstone, in which he said—

“To render Parliamentary control effectual it was necessary that the House of Commons should have the money transactions of the year presented to it in one mass and in one account. If Supplementary Estimates were easily resorted to, the House would be pledged, in self-defence, to appoint a permanent Finance Committee.”

I am not betraying any secret when I say that that sentence is the golden rule of all Administrations, and I doubt if any man has ever held office in a spending department who has not been made acquainted with the rule. I think it was broken in spirit a year and a half ago by the First Lord of the Admiralty, and I think it is now being broken in spirit by the War Office when we are asked to sanction, in such a debate as this, a large Supplementary Estimate like this, making the great permanent addition to the Army which they are now seeking. It is impossible that this House can sanction these proposals in the manner they are now submitted to us, and for my part, I reserve all rights of criticism, and even of opposition and objection, if that should seem necessary. Usually, if this House once sanctions a Vote, that sanction is taken at something like the Second Reading of the Bill, which carries with it the approval of the House, but a proposal like this cannot do that. I have no objection whatever to this Vote if the hon. Gentleman, on behalf of the Government, will undertake to treat this £420,000 merely as a text from which he was able to preach his sermon last night, and not as something done with Parliamentary sanction, which would justify the Government in proceeding to execute a large scheme involving a permanent increase in the Army. I quite understand that the Committee was impatient to hear the military proposals of the Government, and that a certain sum should be put down to make the statement intelligible; but if any more serious significance is to be attributed by the Government to the amount, I for one will not be bound by it without fuller information, and I will reserve all rights of criticism, objection, and opposition. As I have said, I am not called upon now to enter into the merits of the scheme which has been submitted to us. A permanent increase of the military forces of the country ought to be justified by some permanent change in the condition of the

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country. I ask any hon. Member whether any case whatever was made out by the Under Secretary for War or those who supported him for any permanent addition to the military forces of this country. I submit there was none, and I do not think the hon. Gentleman in charge of the Estimate professed to set up any change in our condition such as would necessitate a permanent addition to our forces. There is also another objection. I agree with the hon. and gallant Member for Great Yarmouth in the criticism he passed last night on these proposals. The point is one which has often been taken, and I believe it is perfectly sound. It is that we should not enter upon the consideration of the defence of this country without considering all through both the naval and military position. I will not enlarge on the hon. Admiral's views or on the merits of the “blue water” school of politicians. I am satisfied of the soundness of the principle laid down, which I believe Members on both sides will endorse, that it is waste of time and futile to ask this Committee to consider military proposals without considering also the naval position. Until I know where the Navy is to be put in the joint scheme of defence—because it must be a joint scheme—I cannot offer any support to these proposals. You propose a great increase in the forces of this country, and you have indicated certain changes in detail, but I venture to say you have overlooked the one thing which at this moment is giving the country concern. There was not a whisper of real Army reform in the speech of the Under Secretary for War. What the country wants is not merely that the number of men and the amount of money should be increased, but that the whole Army from top to bottom should be subjected to a radical reorganisation. If I may presume to speak for the country—and it is a very difficult thing to speak for it nowadays—I think it wants to be assured that our Army, whether large or small, is a business army and a scientific army.

*COLONEL BLUNDELL. (Lancashire. Ince): So it is.

MR. EDMUND ROBERTSON: The hon. and gallant Gentleman says it is: but many people who certainly have not his experience believe it is neither a business army nor a scientific army.

What we want is an assurance that the Army shall be reorganised from that point of view. I will take one example. The hon. and gallant Gentleman who just now objected to my statement will not deny that the public are not satisfied that we get the best class of man for the rank and file in the Army. My own belief is that the first reform should be to increase the pay of all ranks. Until you increase the pay of the private you will not get the best men to enlist. I believe also that we should open up a larger field for the admission of educated private soldiers to commissions. I am quite sure that is the popular opinion—at all events I would approve of such a change; but I believe that the misgiving in the public mind refers even more to the class of officers than it does to the class of privates. In my opinion, the financial question, as in most public matters, is at the bottom of this matter. I believe the Army is too cheap—although that may seem a paradox. I believe you do not pay any rank at a sufficiently high rate of remuneration, and that you bar out the great majority of your countrymen by the enormous expense with which you saddle a military career. That, I am certain, is a point which must have consideration when the Army comes to be reorganised. I have here a paper written by a well-known military expert, not a military man, I mean Mr. Charles Williams, who discusses the war every morning in the columns of the *Morning Leader*. He makes the following statement, which I cannot vouch for, but which I accept on his authority. Speaking of a young officer he says—

“His military and mufti outfit would be cheap at £200, and it would be indispensable to provide an annual allowance for at least ten years, or until the rank of captain is attained. Taking one consideration with another, the average young officer by the time he becomes captain has cost his relatives not far from £3,000, and in many cases much more.”

If you handicap your Army in that way you cannot get the selection you otherwise would. Why should not every able-bodied and able-minded young man, no matter what his rank, have access to a career which is to many the most desirable of all? You are barring out by the vile and ignoble structure of money you are raising between them and the Army

men who possibly would make your best generals. My idea of the British Army is an army in which every young man physically, mentally, and otherwise fitted for military service should be encouraged to enter, and that from the earliest moment he should be able to support himself and not be obliged to depend on subsidies. I should insist further that every kind of expensive amusement which by custom is now made obligatory in the rank of officer should be stamped out with a stern hand. [Laughter.] I hope hon. Gentlemen who object to the metaphor will not object to the substance of what I say. I do not object to the amusements themselves, but to the exclusive effect which they have on candidates who might otherwise enter the Army. I believe that the country is not satisfied that we are dealing fairly with the Army, that we are not going the proper way to get the best men, and that if we get the best men a proper career is not open to them. These are some of the many points which the Committee should consider before any permanent increase in the military system of the country is sanctioned. I will only say, in conclusion, that while we do not object to the amount of money asked for, we do insist on holding open for consideration the question of the permanent increase of the Army. We shall give freely all you want for the prosecution of the war, but you should wait until your Army Estimates are ready before asking for an increase in the military establishment. The Navy Estimates are ready and placed on the Table of the House, and the Army Estimates ought to have been in the same forward state.

MR. WYNDHAM: I am sorry to intervene, but so many questions have been put and so many arguments addressed to me that I feel unless I rise every now and again I shall never be able to reply to them all. The hon. Member who has just sat down asked me as to our borrowings from the Navy. We have borrowed 35 guns and 1,100 men. This misdeemeanour, if such it be, was covered by the general explanation I gave the other day. The borrowings will be made good by the simplest possible method of all, by handing back the same number of similar articles to the Navy. We have been doing that already. We are purchasing a number of guns now and transferring

them to the Navy. As to the pay of the colonial troops, I do not think this is the moment for entering into considerations of that kind. Things are going very well. Nobody watches them with a more loving eye, if I may venture to say so, than myself; but we do feel that the success we have gained has been largely due to the fact that we have not fussed over the offers the colonies have made to us, but have met them in that spirit of the warmest acceptance which they deserve. We have not been urging our own suggestions and views upon the colonies; we wished to hear from them in the first instance. It may be that the colonial troops who have fought side by side with the men from home may like in the future to claim, if not some active share in the work of our Army, still some recognised right to share in that work in times of Imperial danger. I hope that may be so; but to discuss at this moment the different rates of pay that prevail in this or that part of Her Majesty's dominions would not conduce to, but rather retard that consummation. An hon. Member has taken us to task upon the ground of financial purity because we have proceeded by Supplementary Estimates; but we have an absolutely clean sheet this time. This is a genuine Supplementary Estimate. These are new charges, and all the money has been spent. If we had waited for the permission of the House before taking the steps which we have done we should have received the condemnation of the country, and we believe we shall get the sanction of the Committee for the steps which we have taken. The hon. Gentleman said a good deal with which I cordially agree. I do not think, to pass to another point, that we ought to proceed to drastic measures in order to put something in the pockets of officers in the Army, or that it is necessary to trample anything down with our hands, or to stamp it down with our feet, or whatever the treatment may be which commends itself to the hon. Member, but I do think some effort should be made not to close the door of our Army, and certainly not the door of our cavalry to every man who does not enjoy an income of £150 a year in the one case and £500 in the other. In view of this crisis it is nothing less than a scandal and a danger to the Empire that we cannot get young men into the cavalry unless their fathers or their friends are able to give them incomes to enable them

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to live. I may tell the Committee that we have been working at that problem. An important committee sat during last winter, presided over by General French, who is gathering fresh laurels every day in South Africa. That Committee has dealt in great detail with this very subject, which is one of the greatest public importance. I was glad that the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Rye hailed with satisfaction our proposals for giving Volunteer regiments facilities for training during one month, but he went on to say that the proposals ought to be more elastic. That criticism is due to some misapprehension. We offer facilities; we do not exact services from the Volunteers, and I tried to make it clear that we should consult the peculiar conditions of the several corps in the matter. We wish in all these matters to work in consultation and co-operation with hon. Members, like the hon. and gallant Member for Rye, who are well qualified to speak for that force. I may say that what I stated as regards the Volunteers holds good in respect of the Yeomanry. I have been asked several questions about the Yeomanry. I happen to know that a number of Yeomanry commanding officers are to hold a meeting next Friday. I have seen some of them, and we have invited the fullest expression of their opinion both as regards the Volunteers and the Yeomanry. I have to say that the proposal that they should encamp for one month is only fixed on our part as a desirable thing for this year. It is an emergency proposal, though we think a very necessary one, but it is one of those measures which I venture to call instructive experiments. If it turns out that such a period of training is not only useful to the force but also appreciated by it, then that would be one of the very best reasons why it might with advantage be continued in the years to come, though, perhaps, on a modified and reduced scale. I shall now go on as briefly as I can to the many questions addressed to me yesterday. I could not complete my reply last night to all the points then raised, and was obliged to bivouac on the field of battle. Taking up the thread of the debate last night, I have a personal correction to make of a statement I made in reply to the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Forest of Dean. I said we had borrowed eight battalions from India for the war. That

was the number we borrowed not only from India but from the Mediterranean; we only borrowed four from India. With regard to the question asked by the hon. Member for King's Lynn, whether we are going to overhaul the armaments and ammunition of our forts in this country, I have to say that we are, but I purposely left that out in my speech last night, because we propose to lay our scheme before Parliament later in the session. Regret has been expressed that we have not attempted to form an army corps of Auxiliary forces. It is under consideration at this moment whether that is or is not a practical proposal, and therefore I should not be justified in discussing it this afternoon. The right hon. the Member for Ilkeston asked whether we are making any addition to the Royal Army Service Corps. Yes, Sir, we are. We are offering instead of 30 commissions 100 commissions, and we are estimating for an increase of 250 non-commissioned officers and men. I am asked for further particulars as to the terms that will be given to the Yeomanry, more especially in the matter of horses. That is one of the questions which will be carefully, and I hope liberally, considered in consultation with the Yeomanry commanding officers. We came to an arrangement satisfactory to both parties in respect of the mounted infantry which have been sent to South Africa. That being so, we hope we shall not fail to solve what, after all, is a much easier problem. We are now considering very carefully all the provisions for giving bounties to the Militia. We have not yet arrived at a definite conclusion, but the trend of our opinion is that the bounties and the conditions are too various and complicated; that it is an anomaly, and not wise, to have one man getting £3 10s., another £2, and a third £1. In any case, we shall not offer for three, four, or five months work a sum considered adequate for one month. The hon. Member for South-East Essex made a statement in respect of the guns to which I must take exception. He told us that our guns could only fire five rounds a minute, whereas the guns of foreign armies fired ten and fifteen rounds. Well, that is not so. In this matter aimed rounds are the only rounds that count. For the German guns only five rounds a minute are claimed. With our present guns we can fire almost five rounds a minute; but the

new guns which we have ordered with certain improvements, which make them practically quick-firing guns, will fire eight aimed rounds a minute. We have ordered guns of that type for the forty-three batteries, and the only reason why we do not order more is that we wish to profit by the reports which we shall receive from South Africa before plunging into a re-arming programme. It is quite clear that when the bulk of the artillery has been engaged in a long war you are approaching near to the time of re-armament, and we must profit by the experience of the war. If we find that we can better those guns which fire eight rounds a minute, they will be a sort of transitional weapon, and they will be given to the Auxiliary forces when the Regular forces are armed with weapons of greater value, and I think the Auxiliary forces will be very glad to hear that at any rate they will differ materially from those now in use. The hon. Member for Northampton asked me whether we proposed to raise Volunteers in Ireland. No, it is not our intention. He also asked me what the scheme would cost, and several hon. Members have asked for greater detail in respect of the money portion of this Estimate. I tried to show that it was not an easy question to answer. Part of this programme is permanent in every sense of the word; part of it is permanent, but subject to contraction in certain contingencies. The fifteen battalions are permanent. Although the men have been voted, money has not been taken for them in previous Estimates; and therefore in respect of money we must regard the fifteen battalions as an increase of the Line involving a permanent increase of £750,000. We want depôts, which will cost £35,000, so that the permanent up-keep may be put at £785,000. There will be a capital charge for barracks, which I would put at £1,500,000. Then there are what I may call semi-permanent provisions—namely, the batteries. When, as now, you have two army corps abroad, and these added batteries for two additional army corps are in full blast, the full charge of their up-keep will be on the Estimates. Taking seven batteries of Horse Artillery at £15,000 and thirty-six batteries of Field at £12,000, there will be an annual charge of £535,000. But it is impossible for me to say what the annual charge would be when you

had reduced these batteries, because that is a question of policy which cannot be debated on this Supplementary Estimate. We can hear what hon. Members have to say to that when we come to the Army Estimates, of this year and the year in which it is proposed to reduce these batteries in consequence of the artillery having returned from South Africa. An hon. Member wanted to know how the 120,000 men were made up. He is aware that such a number really has no relation to the forces in the field. They are made up in this way. Gross excess on original estimate, and also further demands made that will give us in respect of the Army Reserve recalled to the colours 55,000 men; in respect of the Colonial forces we are asking for 26,000 more than the 9,000 originally asked for; Yeomanry and Volunteers, 20,000; European troops moved from India, 2,500, in addition to the original 6,000; native Indian troops moved to garrison at Mauritius, 3,500; and an estimated further gain by re-recruiting up to 31st March, 13,000. If you add this to what was done in October you get the gross excess over the original estimate of 155,000 men. We have asked for sanction for men borrowed from India for any purpose, and every colonial soldier in receipt of Imperial pay. The speech of my hon. and gallant friend the Member for the Wellington Division of Somerset was a very able and interesting speech; but I failed to make my meaning clear to him. He took exception to the fact that there are now 109,000 Regulars in this country, and he went on to say that I had connected them in some direct manner with the field army of three army corps and three cavalry brigades. If I left that impression on his mind I bungled my job yesterday. I thought I had made it clear. I tried to do so. I explicitly stated in the beginning of my remarks that I was only putting before the Committee the raw material in mere numbers we had at our disposal, and I tried to make it clear what were the methods of organisation to which we have recourse in order to get a mobile army out of that mass of raw material. We have in February 109,000 Regulars, and we expect to get 30,000 more. We have 28,000 Auxiliaries, and we expect to get 50,000 more, the total of Regulars and Auxiliaries at the end of the year being 517,500. As far as organisation goes the plan of the Govern-

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ment is, while training these men to greater efficiency, to make out of that number a field army of three army corps and three cavalry brigades of 340,000 men. It may be asked, "Why do you make these proposals for home defence instead of submitting proposals for the reinforcement of India and South Africa?" As this field army is formed it is available, and the quickest way of doing that work is to set our hands to the task of collecting the units, placing them in the barracks, and giving facilities for proper training. The hon. and gallant Member said the best thing in the debate last night. He described our scheme as being one of "invitation and imagination." It is very witty, and I will admit that it is perfectly true. But I waited to hear his alternative; and I do not know on what better method you can proceed. If you set compulsion on one side you must turn to some method of encouragement. It is a scheme of invitation. We do invite, and I hope we invite cordially. It is a scheme of imagination, because we suggest as an exercise of the imagination that it is a scheme about which we all ought to think a great deal, but, perhaps, talk as little as possible. It has been said, also, that I had been guilty of heresy in respect of the Navy. We are hardly allowed to manage military forces for home defence without being accused of forgetting the existence and the importance of the Fleet for the protection of the country—the policy of the "blue-water school." I belong to that school. I do not regard the military force as being important to anything like the same degree as the Navy in this matter. I am ready to whittle down with the best whittlers. I will put it as low as this. I do not look upon this as a defence against attack. I regard it as an insurance against the fear which might spring from a threat. That is putting it low enough. All the same, we ought to have that insurance. I think that if the Fleet were sent away, and we had no military system of defence, you might have a panic which might turn out a strong Government or force the hands of a weak Government; and this might be courting an Imperial disaster.

*ADMIRAL FIELD (Sussex, Eastbourne): There is no doubt that the war has brought out grave shortcomings in our military system. I care very little for

these reforms so long as we get the substance for the Navy and Army. An hon. Member who spoke just now seemed to condemn the military department because it had been compelled to borrow from the Navy guns, men, and search-lights. There is no room, I say, for such criticism as that. The whole of the service on South African stations are proud to be of service in this war. It is quite true that the Navy lent heavy guns, and it is quite true that a clever officer, Captain Percy Scott, designed the carriage for them, but there is nothing in that. It is our duty to render assistance, and when Sir George White applied for our assistance he got it. I understand the Admiralty have sent more guns out to replace those which were lent to the Army, so that where the War Office has to repay I fail to see. I am not prepared to support the hon. Member for Dundee in his view of this military programme, and that this is not the proper time for proposing a vote of this nature. The hon. Member seems to cast aside the fact that we are at war, and to suggest that we should wait with dignity until the Estimates come on in their regular course before we embark on any scheme of this kind. But I would remind the hon. Gentleman that time is the essence of the whole business. If there have been shortcomings on the part of the Cabinet, the Ministers concerned have been candid enough to acknowledge them. They have confessed their faults. But the faults do not, in my opinion, lie with the War Office, but with past Parliaments and past Governments. I will prove my words. The Navy was in the same condition in 1885, probably in a worse condition than the Army is now. And why was that? Because the Government, like Governments before and since, were too anxious to square their budgets with popular feeling, irrespective of the needs of the services. Two years ago there was a reduction in the duty on tobacco which meant £1,250,000. Had that £1,250,000 been preserved and handed over to the War Office we should not have been in the plight we are in now. We should not be asked for £750,000 for new battalions and £530,000 for new artillery. The tobacco tax would have met the whole of the expenditure. Nobody asked that it should be taken off. I was entirely opposed to it. Public opinion did not demand it; but the nation does demand

that our naval and military efficiency shall be maintained. You cannot have your cake and eat it. Now you are called upon to spend money like water; whereas if you had pursued a sound policy and the Government had had the courage of its convictions we should not have been in the hole we are in now. I have listened with great attention to the able statement put forward by the Under Secretary of State for War. He referred to the "blue water school," but whatever he may say about us he must admit that the present expedition to South Africa was only possible because the Navy is strong. Sir, when the "red school"—the military school—can point to a result similar to that achieved by the agitation of the "blue water school" they will have something to be proud of. Get some distinguished man to "stump" the country and agitate for the redress of your military grievances, just as Admiral Sir Geoffrey Hornby did in our behalf, and the nation will very soon give all you ask. When I am addressing the House on these questions I regard the two services as one. I do not put one before the other. The only rivalry between them is as to which of us shall die first for our country, and in that matter I am quite willing to grant precedence to the sister service.

MR. F. W. WILSON (Norfolk, Mid) said that one of the first things to be taught the men of this country was the way to shoot, and he would like to ask the Under Secretary of State for War what steps were to be taken by the War Office to secure the reopening of closed rifle ranges. He was afraid that much could not be done unless some compulsion was applied. He knew of a case where a single squatter's cottage and the convenience of its inmates had been put before the benefits of an adjacent rifle range which had to be closed. Again, at such an important centre as Colchester the range was closed for years because of the objections of the lord of the manor, and no doubt the lord of the manor was a very magnificent person. Musketry training at short ranges only was not enough. Long ranges must be opened and compulsory powers secured for that purpose in the future. As to the mounted infantry being raised in connection with the Yeomanry, he would like to know whether it was to be insisted on that

candidates should have the cavalry seat instead of the splendid hunting seat which men had been accustomed to in their youth. It seemed to him that when they invited country gentlemen to join they put a great obstacle in their way by insisting on the cavalry seat. The hon. member also thought that the Volunteers should be drilled in the art of taking cover. One of the reasons of the Boers' successes was that they did take all such cover, and refused to fight in the open. With regard to the reopening of rifle ranges he urged that there should be full charge ammunition and full range, as the Volunteers had found the half-charge ammunition hopeless for rifle shooting. He hoped in the rearrangement of Army matters this question of rifle shooting would not be overlooked, but it could only be dealt with satisfactorily by the putting into force of compulsory powers.

*SIR HERBERT MAXWELL (Wigtonshire): If I understand the hon. and learned Member for Dundee aright, he wished the Committee to believe that we were not to rely upon our land forces for defence. I should be the last man to underrate the importance of a strong fleet. The Fleet must of course always be our first line of defence, but the Fleet is not enough unless it is supported by an adequate mobile land force. There is at least one instance within this century to which I may appeal as evidence in support of that view. It was not long after the beginning of this century, about six years after the battle of the Nile had been fought, and when the maritime power of England was paramount, that the Fleet very nearly failed us for defence. I do not for the moment remember whether Mr. Addington or Mr. Pitt was Prime Minister; it was after the year 1804, when Napoleon had 150,000 men lying at Boulogne, with a flotilla ready to bring them over to this country if he could but lure away our fleet. Cornwallis was watching one French fleet at Brest, Nelson was watching the combined French and Spanish fleet in Cadiz. The combined fleet managed to get out of Cadiz, gave Nelson the slip, and got five days start across the Atlantic. Nelson followed, and was six months absent. That combined fleet escaped back again across the Atlantic, and had it not encountered another British fleet under Sir James Calder in the Bay of Biscay, it is my

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belief that the army which Napoleon had at Boulogne would have been able to make a safe passage across the Channel. It may be said that that did not come off, that the Fleet proved effective. Yes, but it was too near to be pleasant, and it is our duty to see that we do not run any such risks in the future. I, therefore, hope that my hon. friend will receive, as he no doubt deserves, the heartfelt thanks of this country for the able and lucid propositions he has laid before the Committee. I have not enough to contribute to this debate to presume to stand before the Committee very long, but there is one branch of the service with regard to which I can speak from experience, and which I would press the hon. Gentleman to consider well before he makes any far-reaching changes in it—I allude to what is now spoken of, but with very little reason, as the "old constitutional force," the Militia. It is a remarkable thing, but it is not present to the mind of everyone that we have not a single Militia regiment left. We have nothing but territorial regiments. The old Militia has been so far incorporated with the Army that the name "Militia" has disappeared from the Army List, except within brackets, and the old county Militia regiments have become third and fourth battalions to the Line regiments. I believe that was a change in the right direction, my only complaint being that it did not go sufficiently far or deep. I would urge upon my hon. friend the expediency of altogether abolishing the misleading title "Militia." It is a discredited title—I say it with pain, for I served for more than twenty-one years with the Militia; I was very fond of the service, and always hoped to see it put on a proper footing. It is a discredited title, being always associated with inferiority to something—to the Army it used to be, to the Line battalions of the same regiments as it is now. Of course, I do not claim that a force which is brought up for only short periodical training can be as efficient in any respect as a force always under arms. It is impossible that it should be so. What I mean is that whatever force you have you must make it something with which those of whom it is composed, whatever their rank, can take a pride. They must not always be reminded that they are inferior to regular soldiers. If they are so reminded you will not draw the best class of officers, nor

get the best kind of recruits. During the time I served with the force the point which impressed itself most upon my mind in the way of discouragement was the system of Militia Reserve. Ever since, at all events, the commencement of this century, the Militia has supplied the Army with a very large number of recruits. During the Crimean War it sent 30,000 to the Line regiments. At that time every officer who brought 100 recruits from the Militia to the Line received a commission in the Regular Army. That was altered under the territorial system, and although the Militia still supplies a large number who join the Line battalions, those men do not join under their own officers. They are taught to look upon their officers as fit only for drill purposes, and when there is real work to be done you draw away the best men from the Militia battalions and send them to the Line. The effect of that is two-fold. It deprives the men of all respect for their own officers, and it prevents the officers taking any pride in their work. What I would like to see done is this—not that the present Militia battalions should be put on an equal footing in regard to privileges, and esteem, if you like, with the Regular Service, because they do not earn that, they do not work for it; but, in so far as the Militia contributes to the efficiency of the Line regiments, let all ranks share alike; send the men to serve under their own officers—for it is well known that men always serve best under their own officers—and exact from those officers a higher standard of qualification. At present there are schools all over the country for the instruction and education of Militia officers, but there is no obligation for those officers to take advantage of them. That obligation should be made a very strict one. I would like to see every officer compelled to justify his right to wear the Queen's uniform by passing a certain standard of efficiency. Until that is done it cannot be expected that the men will have a proper degree of confidence in and respect for their officers. I do not think I need labour this question any longer. I am sure my hon. friend, a soldier himself, has enough sympathy with the Auxiliary Services to ponder well the changes he proposes to make. As far as I have been able to follow those proposals they are in the right direction. But I am not quite sure whether he has

realised the strain he is about to put, by greatly extending the period of training, on the class of men from whom the ranks of the Militia are recruited. Perhaps I have not correctly gathered his idea, but as far as I understand it he proposes to embody and encamp Militia regiments for a period of six months.

MR. WYNDHAM: For this year.

*SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: For this year only. Then I have no doubt they will heartily respond to his call, as they have already responded to the call of duty. But I would ask hon. Members never to forget the strain which has been put upon the men in the ranks of the Militia by that call. There never was a time when men of all kinds were so well paid or work so plentiful as the present, and yet the Militia have come forward almost to a man. I hope that that will be reckoned to the credit of the Militia force in the future. Hitherto they have had no credit for what they have done, although it is quite true that they have shed their blood as freely on the battlefields of Europe as any soldiers of the Queen ever have done, but they have done it as units, and not under their own officers. Now, for the first time, Militia battalions have been sent to the front, and I am not afraid of the way in which they will bear themselves. At the same time, that is not the work for which the Militia was intended, and I do not believe that hon. Members think it is desirable that the present system of allowing battalions to volunteer for the front should be continued. A soldier's duty is to go where he is sent, and not where he wants to go, and until you get that spirit you will not get out of the men all they are capable of. May I express a hope that the rest of this debate may be a little more practical than a great part of it has been in the past. We are a very peculiar people. We sit in this chamber and we consider ourselves *in camera*. We discuss the most delicate problems, and we make out to our own satisfaction that the War Office has been asleep, that our generals are incompetent, and that the whole administration of the affairs of this country is in a state of muddle and embarrassment. There is not much harm done here, and it may be very edifying to some of our foreign critics. But it may also be a little misleading, and it does not tend to

smooth the path of our relations with other countries that we should always be washing our dirty linen in public.

COLONEL KENYON-SLANEY (Shropshire, Newport): I have been somewhat struck with the proposals of the Government. I do not think it wrong that the Service Members of this House should take this opportunity of indulging in a little self-pride in regard to the results that have been achieved, apparently by their continual pegging away at the objects they have had in view. We have heard Members asking for an increase of infantry in former times, and we have heard hon. Members, above everything else, pointing out the enormous necessity of increasing the amount of artillery. Some of us have pointed out the mistakes that were made in recent alterations, and we have expressed our desire for more cavalry. Upon every one of these points we now find that the Executive Government is in accord with us, and therefore I hope and trust that the somewhat cheap and silly attack levelled at us colonels and military critics by the hon. Member for Northampton will cease, now that the country has taken up in earnest the practical points which the colonels in this House have been urging all these years. I do not at all agree with all the criticisms which have been made from the other side of the House. I think we have wasted too much time in taking credit to ourselves and identifying ourselves and our own judgment with the position in which the Government is placed under these proposals which are now offered for our acceptance. What are the chief points on which I think the country is looking most anxiously to this debate? I do not think we are wrong in saying that probably the chief point which the country wishes to know about is the number of reinforcements which are available for South Africa. The noble Lord the Secretary of State for War assured the country that 50,000 men were now under orders or on their way to South Africa. I believe the number of men indicated in that statement is as many as the generals wish to have under their command, and as long as that number can be maintained so long will the military exigencies of the case be met, and the country will derive much satisfaction from that statement. Now I come to the other point dealt with by these proposals. Some people, both

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outside and inside this House, seem to think that these proposals are aimed at the fear of an invasion from a foreign country. I think that is an unwise view to take of the situation. I have faith in the position which the Fleet holds, and it is certain we shall at all events have considerable notice and warning of any possible attitude of invasion or any possible preparation for such an invasion. How much notice does the country think would be wanted to bring not 500,000 men, but quadruple that number of men into the field, ready to defend this country in case an invasion were imminent, for the purpose of repelling any such invasion? I take leave to say that the number of men in this country who know how to use a rifle and who are capable of falling into line instantly for this purpose can hardly practically be estimated. If the Government have plenty of rifles, and take care that opportunities are afforded for practising rifle shooting, the men would be forthcoming in hundreds of thousands for the purpose of repelling invasion. Therefore I regard this cry of invasion as more or less of a bogey. There are people who lay stress upon this idea of an invasion, and it is probably quite right that that section of public feeling should be assured by the measures put forward. I notice that the right hon. Gentleman who leads the Opposition announced that this policy would dictate an increase of the armaments in foreign countries. Possibly the policy of foreign countries dictates our policy at home. I think the right hon. Gentleman should not take shelter under that dictum without considering to what extent it may be developed. This subject before us may be arranged under two heads—emergency proposals and permanent proposals. Without professing to have any particular authority for saying so, I myself believe that these proposals are, on the whole, the best that could be made. I believe they take advantage of the best resources at our command for the immediate present, and that they deal with those resources on the whole in the most practical and rapid way in which those resources could be utilised. If that is so there ought to be universal satisfaction with these proposals from that point of view, and a general desire to give effect to them, and see them carried into active practice. With reference to these emergency proposals

there are some points which should be dealt with, but they are matters of detail which will be elaborated bit by bit as the scheme works out. With regard to the Militia I do not wish to dwell upon that point beyond saying that I agree very much with what fell from my right hon. friend who preceded me, and I am glad to notice that full attention is to be paid to that branch of the service, and that it will be developed in a way satisfactory to them and to their feelings of pride. With regard to the Volunteers, I hope and trust that with the feelings now existing in the country the people will respond to the invitation of the Government. I only hope the full strength of the Volunteers will be maintained, not only during the progress of this war, but after it is over, when we shall have to establish things upon a firmer footing for the future. I do not wish to dwell upon this point in detail, but I think that in the case of Volunteer corps belonging to counties and country districts it will be very difficult to get those men to come out for any length of time under canvas. You might be able to develop what would be a very popular movement among the Volunteers, and that is to give a certain amount of money and support to officers commanding companies to undertake field days on their own account in the districts in which they live. Opportunities would be willingly granted by the local landowners, and such experience would be of very considerable value. The country generally would take an interest in seeing these manœuvres going on amongst them, and this would help to engender a military feeling in the Volunteers much greater than people would imagine. Like everyone else I attach the greatest importance to what the Government intend to do in regard to providing rifle ranges. Although the long ranges are necessary, yet short ranges would be extremely useful, and I hope the Government will take full advantage of opportunities for getting short ranges. If you can teach men to use the sights on the rifle you will have gone some distance towards getting them to make the proper use of the rifle and getting the best possible results out of the weapon placed in their hands. But these, I understand, are mostly to be treated as emergency proposals. Personally I should not be so much interested in these emergency proposals if I did not think they would

lead up to those more permanent proposals which I hope are in the mind of the Government at the present time. The immediate permanent proposals are not very large. I think on this point the whole tone of the speech of the hon. Member for Dundee was exaggerated throughout. He talked of vast changes, enormous expense, and so on. With regard to the permanent proposals the changes are not vast and the expense is not enormous. They are large, but it is using exaggerated language to talk of this addition to our permanent Army as vast. Those of us who have been desirous of seeing the fighting forces of this country put upon a proper footing welcome these proposals as an indication of a permanent increase in some important points. We are delighted to see that so large an addition is to be made in our artillery; we are delighted that there are to be more cavalry and more infantry battalions taken under this Vote. But why do we want all these? It is not because we are so interested in the defensive scheme which some people talk of, or that we wish to see our home defences permanently increased on these shores, but because we recognise in this permanent increase in the Army an addition which will give to us a stronger mobile and striking force. I am anxious to see these emergency proposals carried out to the full, not for the moment, but because they lead up to the increase of the permanent force in the future, greater mobility and striking power which most of us believe to be absolutely necessary to our military organisation, and which all military authorities ought to aim at. It seems to me as if some hon. Members have talked rather as if they were inclined only to have had emergency proposals and put the others by, and few of them are men who recognise the necessity of greater striking power. We should welcome this addition, and also this better system by which these forces shall be utilised in the future. Let us get the men and be thankful we can get so many, because this increase will be one of great value, and I hope it will lead up to a greater and a more permanent increase in the future. It is apparent to all that for the immediate moment it is wise to stiffen our Auxiliary forces by improvements of a permanent character, and if the ideas of the Government are successful—and I hope and trust

they will be—just in proportion as they are successful so will they be able to utilise more and more the Regular forces in directions which we think are of paramount importance. I do not wish to speak at length upon these points, and I do not think it will be wise to enter into minute criticism for which we shall have a future opportunity. I think, however, we may say broadly that, under the circumstances as they exist at this moment, the proposals of the Government do meet the immediate necessities of the war, and they also indicate a resolution to deal with the larger questions in the future in a broader spirit than they have been dealt with hitherto, and they will result not only in an increase of the forces of the Army, but they will also give us an opportunity of remodelling our organisation so that every single fighting man in this island may be taken advantage of to the utmost of his capability. What we want to secure our position even more than a well organised defensive force is a force so organised, so mobile, and under such command that it can leave our shores with the greatest rapidity whenever it is required. I think these proposals tap the best sources which the Government could tap, and I wish them hearty success. I think we ought to be grateful to the Government for gauging public opinion so accurately, and for doing their best to give effect to it.

CAPTAIN SINCLAIR (Forfarshire) : So far as the emergency proposals go, I agree entirely with the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down that they deserve our heartiest support. However great the disappointment may be in some quarters of the House because the Government have not gone in for a more radical scheme, that course would have been open to the most damaging criticism. To swap horses at such a time as this is entirely out of the question, and in taking such steps as are necessary to consider our position by proceeding on the old lines and developing those lines the Government have done all they could to receive and claim our support. So far as home defences go, my own opinion is that the result of this debate will be rather to further the impression that if we are at present in a position of embarrassment and humiliation it is not upon the War Office or the military authorities of the country that the respon-

sibility should be laid. The hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for War practically said that in his speech upon a former occasion, a fortnight ago, when he said that you cannot hold the War Office responsible for the diplomatic policy of the Government. For my part, holding as I do that our military system, with all the criticism which has been levelled against it, and with all its defects, is the best system that has hitherto been shown to be workable in this country, I can only look with satisfaction at the way in which the War Office has performed a task far greater than certain people ever expected it was able to do. Another point of great importance is the question of the home defences. The Cardwell system has always subordinated the home defences of this country to our interests abroad, and I am delighted that this opportunity has come to do what is necessary, and that is to put the home defences upon a right basis. It is perfectly true that it involves expense, but if you spend a certain amount of money and get an inefficient machine, you had better spend the complement of that money and put your home defences upon a proper and a satisfactory basis. Then there is the question of the permanent addition to the forces, and the Government have been criticised for mixing up their War Estimate with the permanent addition to the defensive power of the country. I should have thought it would have been quite possible, knowing that the House would have sanctioned what they have done, to have presented us with their whole scheme at a later date, and so focus the discussion, and enable us to discuss from a more general point of view the whole problem. At the same time, recognising the enormous amount of work laid upon the Under Secretary for War, there may have been difficulties in bringing forward the whole scheme. I cannot help feeling that, in spite of all the satisfaction that is felt with the proposals of the Government, there is considerable disappointment and anxiety as to the future. I do not mean as to the proceedings in South Africa or home defences, but I cannot help believing that altogether there is a conviction that this must of necessity be a very tentative proposal. The hon. Gentleman pointed out with satisfaction that if these schemes were realised it would be possible for the Government to proceed to

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still larger schemes. For my part, I should regard these larger schemes with great seriousness. How are you going to effect by your present system any great extension of your voluntary forces? Last year we discussed at great length the question of recruiting, and it was evident from every side that in spite of every effort that had been put forward by the Government to increase the forces of the country, the total addition to the Army last year was only between 5,000 and 6,000 men. Now you are going to add by your present scheme 25,000 men, apart from the additions to your Volunteers, Militia, and other services, all of which increase and multiply the drain upon the resources of the country. I should very much like the Under-Secretary to give us some grounds for his markedly sanguine anticipations in this matter. More than once in his speech last night he repeated his own personal belief—founded, no doubt, largely upon the belief of others—that this would not present an insuperable difficulty. Every atom of experience that we have seems to me to show that we have very nearly exhausted our present supply of recruits. You may do what you like in additional facilities, in pay, in barracks, and in clothing, but if you want to make any serious addition, you are going to have an enormous addition to the cost of your Army, because you have got to go right into the labour market and compete with unskilled or skilled labour, which is very much higher paid than your soldiers. This is a very old story, and I do not want to go into it at length. But after all, if we are to look at this question seriously we have got to look ahead, and if the scheme of the Government fails, what then? It seems to me that you have only two alternatives—you have either got to increase the pay of the Army or adopt some other form of enlistment. Every sixpence paid to your Army of between 220,000 and 250,000 men means a couple of million pounds. How far are you prepared to go—that is, apart from the barracks, ranges, ammunition, frequent rifle practice, ordnance, rifles, and so forth? The other alternative is some form of compulsory enlistment, which has been hinted at in the House here. It is not necessary to discuss this, but we must keep in mind on occasions such as this these alternatives which are staring us in the face if the present scheme of the

Government fails. We are bound to face these contingencies. People talk as if there were no difficulties in the question of compulsory enlistment. It would involve an entire change of system not only in our military organisation but also in our civil life. Conscription means an elaborate means of enrolment; it means that no man can leave his country without notifying his change of address, and it is altogether foreign to the ideas, habits, and customs of this country. Apart from all that, it is only too well known that such modified attempts at compulsion as were tried in this country did not meet with success. I wish to press my request on the Under-Secretary for War that he would give us some ground for hoping that the proposals of the Government are likely to meet with the success which we all desire. There are only two alternatives: we must either increase our Army by this or other means or modify our policy. The hon. Member for Dundee expressed the view that no increase was necessary. It is, however, a fact that an increase is urgently necessary. The responsibilities we have incurred abroad during the last twenty or thirty years, responsibilities of coaling stations and other important points in different parts of the world have, although I regret and deplore the fact, necessitated a limited and moderate increase in our military forces, if our system—the Cardwell system, as it is called—is to work smoothly. I only hope myself that that extension will be kept within moderate limits, and that we shall not only maintain the Cardwell system in regard to the home establishment, but that we shall also remember that a complement to that system is to allow the colonies whenever possible to rely on their own forces for defence, so that we may concentrate our home force as much as possible within these islands.

*MR. LEES KNOWLES (Salford, W.): As a Volunteer of something like twenty years standing, I wish to congratulate the Government upon the position in which they have placed Volunteers by these proposals. When one reflects upon that position in years gone by one is impressed by this wonderful alteration. In 1863, when a guard of honour of Volunteers was offered, it was stated there was a rule that no guard of honour was ever furnished by Volunteers

to the Royal Family. However, I noticed the other day that a guard of honour of Volunteers was furnished at Osborne to Her Majesty the Queen. That shows the difference between the status of Volunteers in years gone by and at the present time. As regards the business of war, the essentials of an army are equipment and mobility. I will not allude to mobility, but with regard to equipment I am extremely glad that our Volunteers will be armed with modern weapons and that adequate range accommodation is to be provided for them. In connection with that I would suggest that further railway facilities might be given to enable the Volunteers to travel more rapidly and at a cheaper rate greater distances from our centres of population, and thus they might be enabled to obtain ranges at a cheaper cost. At Salford our Volunteers travel for an hour by train and have a most excellent range on a grouse moor at Crowden. That idea might be followed out, perhaps, in other localities. It is a question of expense for the executive Government. I am glad that our Volunteers are, so far as is possible, to be brought under further military discipline. I think that it will be beneficial to the country, that it will improve the health and develop the muscles of our men, and teach them regularity and obedience. I should also hope that some means might be adopted whereby garrison duty in addition to camp life might be provided for the Volunteers. Many Volunteers have business engagements, and it seems to me that the Government ought to make friends with the employers of labour throughout the country. At the present moment the employers are showing great self-denial, and are doing all they can in connection with the Volunteer movement. I believe the more real you make the service of the Volunteers, the more popular it will be in the country. It must not be forgotten that they have really done some good work. It has been admitted in debate that some of the best shooting has been done by them, and even from a scientific point of view much good work has been done by them. I remember, for instance, that a member of a Volunteer corps recently invented an improvement in the matter of signalling. It has been already said that there is an immense amount of material to be obtained in the

country. In Salford, with a population of 200,000, we could easily double our battalion. I think also we should not forget the cadet corps, and we would have a most excellent shooting force if our police were able to practise at ranges and become marksmen. It is said that there is a want of Volunteer officers. When I was at Cambridge I remember I thought, "I can go in for rowing, cricket, athletics, or any kind of sport at the university, and when I go down I can join a Volunteer corps." In my time, therefore, the Volunteer corps at the University was not so popular as it is now, and the effect was that when men came down from Cambridge it was difficult to induce them to take commissions in other Volunteer corps. I think something ought to be done to popularise the Volunteer corps at our universities and public schools. I think also it would be a very good thing if there were a kind of rotation in and out of the ranks, as men in these corps are all gentlemen and of equal social position. I am the only man in the House of Commons who, as a member of the Inns of Court Volunteers—usually called "The Devil's Own"—had the honour of marching past the Queen in the Jubilee year as a private and the right-hand man of my company. Another matter I am particularly keen about, and that is to bind together, if possible, our regimental territorial families. I think we ought to do everything we can to induce the Line battalions to take an interest in the Militia battalions and the Militia battalions to take an interest in the Volunteers, and each in one another. We are trying to do that in my county, and we have recently started in Salford a compassionate fund for the benefit of the three branches of our territorial regiment. At the present moment the Lancashire Fusiliers have three Line battalions out of the country; one at the front, one at Malta, and one at Crete, and the Volunteer battalions at home ought to look after the interests of the Line battalions abroad. I think, also, we ought to do something to induce our Volunteers to pass into their own battalions of the Line. I think there must be some way of doing that. I believe that one reason why Volunteers are inclined sometimes to pass into battalions of another regiment is that they think they cannot be followed if they leave debts behind them. I think that the territorial

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family ought to be bound together into one united whole, and that some sort of privilege should be given to Volunteers and Militiamen who pass forward to a Line battalion of their territorial regiment. I myself wrote to the War Office some time ago on the subject, and suggested that in our own case we should like to pass on a company from our Volunteers and name it after our town. When men from it came back to Salford they would be able to return to their old friends, and might be able to use our headquarters as a kind of club house. The military authorities recognise the necessity for strengthening the tie between the Army and the Auxiliary forces, and the more they combine them together, the better for the Army and the State. The War Office have adopted my idea to some extent, for they recently raised companies of Volunteers in cases where their Line battalions are fighting in South Africa. They apparently recognise that it is desirable for general efficiency that Volunteers should take a special interest in their battalions abroad. In this matter we have with us the interest of the Commander-in-Chief, who recently wrote me a letter stating that he took a deep interest in the Volunteers' movement and their future.

*COLONEL WELBY (Taunton): The hon. and gallant Member for Forfar at the beginning of his speech praised the War Office system very much, and said it was the best that could be devised for our requirements, and that it had done better than was expected. The country, however, expected that the War Office would be able to defend the Empire, and I say in that respect it has to a very great extent failed. If anyone were to state in this House that the Navy were not efficient to defend the Empire, I think such an imputation would be very much resented. This war is one that was common talk for many years, and surely it is a war which might have been prepared against, and all the plans of which should be considered and prepared, just as the Navy would have done. I desire to join with those who have congratulated the Under Secretary of State for War for the able speech in which he set forth the measures which are going to be taken. I am only sorry that I am obliged to state that I was much disappointed by the

contents of that speech, because it strained at securing an increase in our forces rather than better organising the forces we already possess. As a military critic I am of opinion that instead of increasing the number of troops we ought to make our forces more efficient. I believe we have already a sufficient number for the defence of this country and for any operations in which we are likely to be engaged. What we are deficient in is organisation, and I am sorry indeed that the hon. Gentleman representing the War Office should have been obliged to lay stress upon the number to be added to the Army rather than upon an increase of efficiency. He has said, and said rightly, that we cannot possibly have compulsion to provide soldiers for our garrisons and services abroad. But how is this very great increase which is proposed going to be provided? I ask where are the men to come from? Even in this time, when recruiting is popular, I doubt, in the present state of the labour market, whether it is possible to procure a larger number of men except by offering them a considerable bounty. There is no question as to the importance of the forty-three batteries about to be added to the Army. I can only say that when, after the war is over, it is intended to reduce them to *cadres*, I should prefer, if they have to be reduced, that they should be reduced to a peace establishment rather than to *cadres*, because I believe the former would be much more efficient. With regard to the Infantry to be added, I would ask the Under Secretary for War whether in view of the wonderful enthusiasm shown by our colonies to take a part in the Imperial Army it might not be possible to raise some of those new infantry battalions in our colonies. There are certain Imperial ports, like Halifax, which might well be guarded by such troops, thereby setting free the Imperial troops supplied by this country. I am afraid the only result of this proposed infantry increase will be that after the war is over the battalions will be reduced, and that we will have a number of half pay officers going about the country very discontented with the treatment they have received from the Government. The filling up of the battalions of Militia and Volunteers seems to me to be only what was to be expected to happen in time of war, but I understood from the

hon. Gentleman that if any Volunteer corps 1,000 strong found it had a considerable number ready to join it could add another battalion to its strength. I would urge the hon. Gentleman before another battalion is created that there should be a very careful inspection of the members of the existing battalion both as regards military and physical efficiency. I would also ask him whether it would not be better, when a wave of enthusiasm is passing over the country, which may easily decrease, to increase each battalion to twelve companies of 100 each. With regard to the Yeomanry, I am one of those who cannot favourably regard the proposed alteration. If it were a very large force, one likely to be reckoned by tens of thousands, I would say by all means let them be trained as mounted infantry; but it is a small force, and by the conditions of the country it will always remain a small force. Men who are brought up as cavalry soldiers always do cavalry work better than men brought up as mounted infantry, and it would have been better to have retained the Yeomanry as cavalry. The whole of the preparations which the hon. Gentleman foreshadowed seem to me to be influenced by what is called "passive defence." Under that system 96 battalions of Militia and 75 Volunteer battalions are allocated to seaport towns. I would ask what those battalions are going to do in the event of war. Are they for the purpose of preventing an enemy landing? If they are, we should want something more; there should be field artillery attached to such a force, and they would want ammunition columns. If it were intended to repel the landing of an enemy's whole force at, for instance, near Dover, it would be no use sending these battalions without artillery, columns, and brain. The sending of these battalions to these seaport towns is a very pernicious system, and it would be much better to organise a large field force and have it thoroughly mobile. The hon. Gentleman has referred to three army corps, a very difficult thing to define. He says an army corps, as he means it, is a proportion of the three arms and services, upon which all military critics agree, and seeks a name to describe it. I am afraid there is not a name which could be applied to that force which would not be misleading, because any special name given to it would pre-suppose special organisation,

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which the hon. Gentleman himself says cannot be supplied at the present time. I would put the term entirely out of consideration. I believe it is exceedingly misleading. I think it has misled the First Lord of the Treasury, and I am sure it is misleading the outside public. The hon. Gentleman knows as well as I do that an army corps is not a separate unit itself, but that it is made up of two or more units which are in themselves independent. In our system we have three divisions, in the Continental armies there are only two, and I would ask the hon. Gentleman whether in his scheme of defence he would not talk of divisions, and, instead of three army corps, talk about nine divisions. As soon as we have got the divisions we can group them together by threes into army corps, give them a general and staff and call them army corps, but to talk about an army corps which is not specially organised is really misleading to the country. though, of course, I do not say that the hon. Gentleman wishes to mislead. It would be a very great advantage to organise this field force by divisions instead of an army corps. If we organise it by divisions we can adapt it to the organisation we already possess. Many of our present districts, each with a general and a numerous staff, are very large in their areas, and contain a large force of Militia and Volunteers, while others, like the Thames, Woolwich, and South-Eastern districts, are very small. I would ask whether in organising this field force it would not be possible for every large district to prepare a division of its own, and to make use of the general and the staff already in existence? If we were to have these divisions of Militia and Volunteers with guns it would be of inestimable value to the units of the battalions which belong to them, and it would give experience to the staff and to our generals. We all think that our generals have not had a fair chance of studying their work in the field on a large scale in this country before taking command on active service. It would be far better to put on one side the use of the phrase "army corps," and to organise the whole of the troops which are going to be mobilised into divisions, and, as far as possible, to put one division in each of the existing districts. If that were done there would be thereby provided a force which would be efficient in the almost

impossible contingency of an invasion of this country, and efficient also for reinforcing the war in which we are now engaged in South Africa.

MR. SETON-KARR (St. Helens): I want to emphasise the enormous importance of improving the rifle shooting of Her Majesty's forces. I listened to the speech of my hon. friend the Under Secretary for War with great interest, and noticed that he only proposed to give increased facilities for rifle practice to the Volunteers. That is a most excellent object, but he did not say anything in regard to increasing the facilities for rifle practice and rifle training by the Militia and Regular forces. I take personally great interest in rifle shooting, and it seems to me that there was something wanting in the hon. Gentleman's speech, and that he did not appear to fully realise the enormous increase in the power of the modern rifle, and the necessity of educating Her Majesty's forces in using the rifle. In the days of the old "Brown Bess" there was not such a thing as practice at shooting at a mark; no man could do more than hit a haystack. The qualities necessary in a soldier were different then from what they are now, and the men did not require to be educated up to the skill now necessary in using modern weapons. Our Army is now armed with an almost perfect weapon, except in some minor mechanical details, which in that respect make it inferior to the rifle possessed by the Boers and the French. Our rifle throws a bullet with as marvellous accuracy as any modern weapon, but I do not think our military authorities have grasped the enormous importance of educating our men to the use of that rifle, although I have not the slightest doubt that they have learned a good deal of late about the power of modern firearms. Let me give an instance. I heard a story of what happened in the days of the Martini rifle. A coat-of-mail was sent down to Woolwich to be tested, and a company of soldiers were told off to fire at the coat-of-mail, but not a single shot struck it. Let me give another instance. At the battle of Ulundi twenty years ago, our soldiers were armed with the Martini rifle, and, firing at a comparatively short range, they killed 1,000 Zulus and won the battle. But it is calculated that only one in fifteen of the shots fired hit a Zulu at all.

Now, if we had had good shooting we might have dispensed with a large proportion of the men engaged and their transport. I quite agree with my hon. and gallant friend who has just sat down that it is of more importance, from a strictly rational business point of view, that we should provide quality rather than quantity in our soldiers, especially in their shooting powers. I think if the British soldier were properly trained he would be just as good a rifleman as is to be found in the world. I am informed that the utmost number of days in the year which the ordinary soldier devotes to musketry practice is sixteen, and that he does not fire, at the outside, more than 250 rounds in that period, including company practice. The Militiaman has only three days rifle practice, and only fires sixty rounds. The Volunteer, unless he chooses to provide his own ammunition, does not fire many more rounds in the year. I contend that it is impossible to produce good rifle shots under these conditions. It cannot be done. Unless you give facilities to our soldiers to fire a great many more rounds in the year, and to practise at long distances, and at unmeasured ranges, you will never turn out shots like the Boers or the cowboys on Western ranches. These latter, owing to the conditions of their life, and the country in which they live, can go to their front door almost and practise firing from there. Of course, we cannot get such facilities in such a crowded country as this; still a great deal more might be done than at present, and I think we should hear a little more on this subject from my hon. friend the Under Secretary for War. I have no doubt it may seem presumptuous on my part, who am not a soldier, to offer these remarks to the Committee, but I sometimes think there is a danger of hon. and gallant Members of this House, old soldiers, being influenced by the hide-bound traditions of the service. They have been brought up in a school that thinks everything of drill and the smart appearance of the regiment on parade, but not in the school in which it is considered as all important that the men should be good shots and that some inducements should be offered to them to make themselves good shots. I happen to be one of a body of gentlemen engaged at the present moment in recruiting a company of sharpshooters for the Yeomanry force, and I may tell the Committee that the men I have come

across have been very largely attracted to this company because, as they say, they want to belong to a corps in which all the men will be good shots. "We want," say they, "to know whom we are going into action with, and whether the man on our right side and on our left can use his rifle effectively. That will strengthen us in action." It seems to me that if some inducement of that kind were offered in some of the regiments of Her Majesty's regular forces, it might be of very great use in attracting the best class of rifle shots—men who would be proud to belong to a distinguished corps of sharpshooters. If I have a fault to find with the proposals of the Under Secretary, it is that they are not large enough. I am glad, however, that they are so large, and I hope that, when the proper time comes, the military authorities will not grudge the expense of making our soldiers the best riflemen in the world.

*MR. LOUGH (Islington, W.): As I am not a military man, I ought, perhaps, to apologise for intervening in this debate; but my excuse is that, although the Estimate is for £13,000,000, only £420,000 has been explained to us as necessary for reorganising the Army. It is a pity so much has been made of that £420,000. While quite willing to provide all that can be needed for the war, I should like to ask one or two questions in regard to the twelve and a half millions which have to be applied to South Africa. Will that sum be all spent on the 31st March? The Under Secretary in his speech stated that the ten millions voted in October was "based on expectations" as to what the war would cost, but these had been disappointed. Most of the expectations formed by the Government in reference to this sad business have been disappointed. If the hon. Gentleman can assure us that the sum of £23,000,000 will be sufficient to meet all the expenses up to the 31st March, he will do something to allay an uneasy feeling widespread throughout the nation. We have not sufficient details of this large sum and I ask, when will these fuller details be supplied? There is an additional sum of five millions, making ten altogether for transport—when will the particulars of that be supplied? I ask these questions, because these moneys will not be printed in next year's Estimates.

Mr. Seton-Karr.

MR. WYNDHAM: They will come before the Public Accounts Committee.

*MR. LOUGH: Surely the hon. Gentleman does not mean to say that the House of Commons will not have an opportunity of considering the details some time or other. Another question which we should consider is, whether the War Office is open to the charge made by supporters of the Government in the House and in the press of having fallen short of its duty in the national emergency through which we are passing? During the short recess there was a great explosion of public opinion, and the parties into which the Government supporters were divided threatened to tear each other in pieces. I hoped, as an opponent of the Government, that that criticism would take some form in the House; but it has not. Now, I am one of those who thought that there was no definiteness in that attack. It sprang from those who desire a great increase in our annual expenditure. I think the War Office has deserved well of the country. It has raised a far larger force than was believed to be necessary, and has done the work wonderfully considering the difficulties with which it had to deal. The hospital service has won the encomiums of the great civil surgeons who have gone out to Africa. There has also been criticism of that mysterious body called the "Committee of National Defence." None of us know exactly what that body is; but we understand that it is a small Committee of the Cabinet. Years ago we were told that its great function was to establish harmony between the War Office and the Admiralty. That function has been well performed during the last three or four months. The War Office and the Admiralty have worked extremely well together, and everything I have said in praise of the War Office may also be said in praise of the Admiralty. It may be asked why, if both discharged their duties so well, is there so much disappointment in the country? I think that disappointment is very unreasonable. If there was to be disappointment it should have been with this House, and it arose from the policy adopted. The fact is that the War Office and the Admiralty—the former particularly—have had to face a far greater undertaking than this House realised. We did not know the magnitude of that task, nor had it been realised

by the Government and the nation. The Boer preparations were greater, and the Boer fighting powers far larger than were supposed. A good deal has been said about the spirit of the nation during the present crisis. In some ways that spirit has been admirable. There has been a great willingness — too much, I think — to provide the Government with help of all kinds; and the Government have been a little too ready in accepting voluntary offers. I think there has been too much sending round the hat to provide our soldiers with food, clothing, luxuries, and all that sort of thing. That is a system which deserves, and should receive, more attention from the War Office. Our soldiers in the field, who offer their lives for their country, are worthy of the best support of the nation in every way, and the taxpayers would be willing to provide everything for their comfort. I have been surprised to see how many offers of contributions have been accepted, and I think the Government ought to examine into this matter. If these clothes and comforts are necessary, the War Office ought to send them. It seems to me that some regiments may be a great deal more popular than others, and these will get a good many things which are not sent to the others. Where all behave equally well all should be treated alike; and the War Office should see that each regiment is treated in this respect as well as another. I believe that it is such questions connected with the war that we ought to discuss under this Vote, and not the reorganisation of the Army; and, like others, I have been placed in great difficulty by the mode of procedure of the Government. There has been mixed up with the necessary war Vote, which we all want to grant, suggestions which require a great deal more consideration than we can possibly give to them at the present time. The hon. Gentleman may say that some of these questions of reorganisation are urgent at the moment, but he has not made that clear. The hon. Gentleman said at the commencement of his speech that nothing would be done of a permanent character by the Government at the present moment, except what was necessary in connection with the present war. [Mr. WYNDHAM dissented.] Some statement of that kind was made, at any rate. We ought not, in the emergency

in which we are placed, to undertake an elaborate permanent scheme for the reorganisation of the Army. The only tendency of such action is to raise unduly our already extravagant expenditure without any guarantee of greater efficiency. We ought to have more time for consideration, and the House and the country should have a better opportunity of looking into plans than can fairly be expected now. The hon. Gentleman says we must get more men, but he has himself met that difficulty by admitting that the War Office has got as many recruits as it wants. No reasonable objection can be made against the proposed increase of pay to the Militia and Volunteers, but we could freely consider it at a later time when the present emergency is over. I conclude by again hoping that the hon. Gentleman will give us fuller explanation of what is taking place in South Africa, and of the details of the expenditure incurred.

*CAPTAIN PRETYMAN (Suffolk, Woodbridge) said he wished to say a few words in connection with the proposals laid before the Committee in regard to the artillery, and especially in regard to the division of work suggested as between the Regular and Volunteer artillery. The Under Secretary for War has made a proposal which appeared to him to be, of all the excellent proposals laid before the Committee, the most excellent and necessary—namely, a proposal for the increase of the Regular artillery by no fewer than forty-three batteries. He happened to be an officer in one of the old horse artillery batteries, and the first time he entered the precincts of the House he sat under the gallery and heard the motion made for the reduction of that arm, which was so bitterly condemned both by military opinion and by the country, because that was a force which could not be improvised, and could not be efficiently provided by any Volunteer force. He had examined the proposals laid before the House of Lords by the Secretary of State for War and compared them with what had been said in that House, and it was not clear to his mind that it was not proposed to use the Volunteer artillery as a mobile force. He believed—and he had had some experience with artillery—that the Government could not get better value for the money which it spent on Artillery than

that which it spent on the Volunteer artillery in giving them guns of position for coast defence. It was a remarkable fact that all instructors and officers, both in the Volunteers and in the Regular service, bore testimony to the shortness of the period in which a Volunteer artilleryman became proficient in his work. He had also a particular knowledge of the district in which he was situated, and as to how it would be armed in case of war. If they compared the cost of a regular garrison battery of artillery with the cost of a battery of a Volunteer corps, the House would realise that it got better value for the small sum it spent on the latter than from what it spent on garrison batteries. In the case of Regular field artillery they had to have specially trained gunners and drivers, and no driver was efficient until he had served at least two years. He did not, therefore, think it was possible to make a mobile Volunteer field artillery. He had noticed from the statement made in the House of Lords that the Volunteers were to be provided with 15-pounder field guns, and that was the reason why he had risen to press the point; it was not a question of detail, but of policy, and he welcomed the statement that forty-three regular batteries were to be raised, which would be allotted to the new army corps, largely composed of auxiliary forces. He hoped that when details came to be worked out, every encouragement would be given to Volunteer artillery corps in every district where we had defences, and that they would be trained in the defence of their own district. He hoped that nothing would be done to check manifestations of military zeal, and that the War Office would do all they could to encourage the formation of Volunteer batteries. He suggested that there should be a nucleus of Reserve men in such batteries. He wished to press upon the House the importance of having the Regular batteries kept up to their full strength, and said that in the Egyptian War of 1881-2, in order to make up a battery to full strength, they had, on an occasion that came under his notice, to emasculate six other batteries in order to do so. That was a destructive criticism of our military system. But it must be borne in mind that on that occasion no Reserves were called up. At present, by calling up the Reserves, they could have all the seven

Capt. Pretyman.

batteries at full strength, and that, he thought, was an answer to a great deal of the criticism they had heard. As to the Volunteer system generally, everything showed that the Government was thoroughly alive to the necessity of strengthening the efficiency of the Volunteers; their weakness, he thought, lay in the small supply of officers generally, and he suggested that that weakness could be met by giving more encouragement to large employers of labour in our towns to form corps out of their own workpeople, and to officer them. In order to do that they must remove some of the expenses which fell on Volunteer officers, and also let them feel that they were real soldiers. He believed they would welcome any extra demands that might be made on them for efficiency, if they felt they were treated as real soldiers. As to the scheme now proposed, he reminded the House that it rested solely on voluntary effort. There was no doubt we had sufficient men in the country, and if we could not get them by voluntary effort, we must get them somehow; but all would agree that every effort should be made to get them voluntarily. They must, therefore, give them inducements to volunteer. As to the criticism on the War Office, he believed that the Department had done the best it could with the materials at its disposal. They set up no claim to perfection, and he believed they would consider all suggestions made to them. He considered it an encouraging feature of that discussion that no serious criticisms had been made of the proposals of the War Office, although they had not departed in any material particular from the system on which they had been working for the last few years. It was a system which could provide what we wanted—a mobile field force, and one which was capable of almost indefinite extension. As to our want of success in the present war, so far it appeared to be due to the fact that we had not realised at the beginning the real strength of the forces arrayed against us. He suggested that some reform should be made in the matter of the interchange of staff and regimental officers; young officers were frequently taken on to the staff and when promoted to positions of responsibility were often deficient in regimental training. There should be a constant interchange between the officers of the staff and those serving with the regiments, so as to bring about

more mutual confidence when they came to work together in time of war, and combine the special knowledge of both in order to produce the best results. He hoped that on both sides of the House the fullest support would be given to the proposals of the Government, both in the matter of carrying on the present war to a successful issue and also in the matter of providing a permanent increase in the defensive forces of the country.

SIR E. T. GOURLEY (Sunderland) contended that the main object of the Government in bringing forward this scheme was, firstly, to meet the exigencies of the situation in South Africa, and, secondly, for the purpose of home defence. His view of the matter was that the whole of the War Office required to be put into the melting-pot. The permanent officials constituted the portion of the War Office which required to be reformed, and in that portion Parliament ought to apply the pruning-hook. In the present crisis supports were sent out to South Africa consisting entirely of infantry, without either cavalry or artillery, and afterwards, when artillery was found to be required, it was sent out by the slowest transports that could be obtained. Had it been sent by the transports then ready, the artillery could have got to the Cape of Good Hope by the date at which it eventually sailed from England. Had it been sent out by swift vessels it would, in his opinion, have made all the difference in the battles of Colenso and Dundee. It would, he thought, have saved the situation. With regard to the question of horses, they could have been purchased in South Africa to a large extent, but the War Office instead purchased them in this country and sent them thousands of miles over the sea to South Africa before they were fit for service. It stood to reason that native horses, which could have been obtained at the beginning of the war, were worth far more than horses sent from home, which had to be acclimatised before they could be used. Again, if at the commencement of the campaign the Government had accepted the offer of mounted infantry which they had since been so glad to avail themselves of, we should not be in the difficult position in which we find ourselves at the present moment. The House was told that the Government underestimated the resources of the Boers, but such a thing

should never have occurred in the most expensive War Office in the world. There was no excuse whatever for the blunders and conduct of the War Office in the preparations for the war, especially with regard to heavy guns. With regard to the scheme put forward, it was not clear whether the Militia was to be embodied for four or five months this year or every year. He took it for granted that it was only this year, but even in that case it might, and probably would, disorganise the trade of various districts if so large a body of men were called out for so long. In the district which he represented no less than 2,000 men would be affected, and it was hardly to be expected that the employers of those men would keep their positions open until they were disembodied. He would like to point out to the hon. Gentleman that what we want in the Volunteers is efficiency. At present, about one-third of the men in our Volunteer regiments resign annually; and in order to obtain the capitation grant the new men were hurried through their exercises, but it was almost impossible for them to become really efficient. What was really wanted was a change of something like this character: Instead of a Volunteer being allowed to engage himself for, say, six months, and then to send in his resignation, he should bind himself for twelve months, and during that time to make himself efficient by a proper attendance at battalion drill and shooting exercise, otherwise the proposed increase of the capitation grant might be money misspent so far as ensuring efficiency was concerned. Again, by way of encouraging the men to become efficient, he held that those who had to leave their employment early to go to a distant range should be allowed their full expenses, and also the part pay they had sacrificed in consequence of leaving their employment. He would suggest that in order to maintain a force in a state of efficiency, and by way of counteracting the enormous number of annual resignations, it would be well to offer those men who had passed a certain stage of efficiency in battalion drill a retainer after the fashion adopted by the Naval Reserve. Another point he would direct attention to was the cost of officers' uniforms. At present it was an exceedingly costly item, and it should be borne in mind that Volunteer officers were not as a rule wealthy men. They were comparatively

poor; and it would be well, in his judgment, if the War Office could see its way to find nearly the entire cost of the Volunteer officers' uniforms. Now the hon. Gentleman in the very able speech which he delivered last night seemed to think that occasion might arise when there would be a temporary absence of the Fleet. He could only say in reference to that, that whatever policy the War Office might pursue, whatever policy the Admiralty might be guided by, he trusted that there would be a good understanding arrived at as to the position of our first line of defence. The Fleet should never, under any circumstances, be allowed to leave the Channel. So long as we held the Channel there could be no fear of anything whatever in the shape of invasion by a foreign Power. To illustrate his meaning, we had engaged, in connection with the present war, something like one hundred transports. Having regard to the use we had made of them in the conveyance of the British Army to South Africa, we could calculate how many transports would be required to bring an army across, say, from Calais or Antwerp. They would require something like a hundred large vessels to transport to England an army of 100,000 or 150,000 men with all the impedimenta belonging to munitions of war. Well, given our Fleet a proper strategical position, in its present high state of efficiency, it could effectively arrest and deal with such an invading force as that, and the bogey of invasion would have no terrors for us.

*COLONEL BLUNDELL: The question of compulsory service has recurred often in the course of this debate, and we may have to come to that some day; but the time is not yet. What I rise most particularly to do is to ask the House to pause before it consents to condemn our army in South Africa as not a good one. My humble opinion is that our army in South Africa is quite equal to a force of similar dimensions that any European Power can put into the field. You may ask, Well, what about the great reverses we have met with already? I will tell you. Our army has been confronted with an entire change in tactics, and with an enormous development in the power of rifles, Maxims, Nordenfeldts, and other small arms. We have known a similar case to our own occurring in the war of 1870, when the

Prussian Guards at St. Privat were absolutely paralysed by the deadly effect of the rifle then possessed by the French troops. One of their generals in attacking before Metz had an enormous number of men swept out of action by that weapon. What did the King of Prussia do? He did not trouble himself about his War Office, but he at once issued an order to his officers that they must conform to the conditions of modern fire in their dispositions. In the same way, Sir Redvers Buller, I doubt not, has profited by the lessons which the present campaign has taught him. Sir Redvers Buller is a man as brave as his sword; to him the temptation to push on at Vaal Krantz must have been terrible, but he withdrew his troops when he found that the fire they would be exposed to made success impossible on that line. I feel certain that the sequel will show the country that we have an army which understands its business as well as the army of any Continental Power.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.): This debate has resolved itself into a discussion between military experts and those who consider themselves military experts. I, as an unmilitary expert and a mere humble civilian, venture to oppose this Vote, because the issues at stake are confounded between the justice of carrying on the war and the condition of the Army; and as regards the latter issue, after the powerful speech of the hon. Member for West Belfast—to which we all listened with such awe and respect in his powerful indictment of the War Office—I could not find it in my heart to vote in support of a single demand of the War Office until it is purged of many of its sins. To come to this House and blindly vote £2,500,000 of money when the military experts are divided as to its expenditure seems to me an unreasonable demand. I cannot see how the Government can justify it, and I and my hon. friends will oppose the granting of a single additional penny, because we are convinced that the war is unjust, unnecessary, cruel, and a gigantic conspiracy against liberty. I have witnessed a remarkable change come over this House. At one time the party that was dominant was that of peace, retrenchment, and reform; but we seem to have passed to the very antithesis of that. We are all

Sir E. T. Gourley.

for fighting—fighting for everything and fighting everybody. The irony of it all was seen when England sent a representative to the Peace Conference at the Hague, where a representative of the Orange Free State sat also. Now when the opportunity of arbitration offers it is rejected with scorn. The cry is for more war, more bloodshed, and fresh sacrifices of hundreds and thousands of gallant lives. Then there is another matter. The Government of the country are willing to take the Irish Militia regiments; and the question arises whether these regiments included the North Cork Militia, who were reported to have gone voluntarily to the front. I am informed by friends in Cork that they were told their services were required at Malta or Gibraltar; but now it is reported that they are going to South Africa. We are asked to vote £2,500,000 in support of a movement like this; but the Irish party flatly decline to do anything of the sort. The business of the Financial Secretary is not so much to look after the War Department as to see that no Irish meat is supplied to the troops. Meat must be obtained from Canada and Australia, and hay from the Patagonian Islands. That is the work of the Army administrators, and then at a time of national crisis people are amazed that they do not understand military tactics. It is not to be surprised at. On Votes 6 and 7 we shall have to expatiate on this present campaign, but in view of the acknowledged incapacity of the War Office, and the proved incompetence of its instruments, and above all, in view of the great blunders of its officers from highest to lowest, it is the duty of the Committee to refuse this Vote.

*COLONEL WILLIAMS (Dorset, W.): I do not desire to unduly prolong this debate, but I wish to say a few words about the Volunteers. I should not have troubled the Committee by going into details if the hon. Gentleman had not invited suggestions; but points of detail are so vital in regard to the Volunteers that I may certainly be pardoned for saying a few words on that subject. I want first of all to recognise very frankly the way in which the Under Secretary for War has grasped a good many of the conditions of Volunteering, which are essentially different in the country from those in the town. I think the difficulty

which many hon. Members do not perceive is that whereas a Militiaman and a Yeoman give up a definite portion of every year to military training the Volunteer is a man who cannot afford to give up a long period of time, but is willing to devote the odds and ends of his spare time to do what he can and train himself for the defence of the country. I am one of those who deprecate the sending of too large a force of Volunteers out on foreign service. I quite appreciate the motive which led to these Volunteers being employed abroad, and I appreciate the spirit in which it was done, but I am bound to say that that force was recruited for home service and not for foreign service. I do not believe that the sending out of Volunteers will encourage recruiting, because many of the men who would be willing to give up a considerable portion of their spare time to Volunteering will consider twice before they enlist if it comes to be understood that they are to volunteer for active service, or that it will not be lightly regarded if they do not volunteer. With regard to the men themselves there is no doubt that the Volunteers are now taken from a much lower stratum of society. It is exceedingly hard in times of peace for men to leave their employment for any length of time for military training. I should, however, like to say a word of praise for the spirit in which employers of labour have met Volunteers. I have had ten years experience in command of a Volunteer battalion, and I can very faithfully say that employers are always ready, although put to considerable inconvenience, to give the men the time to attend instruction and so forth. But the essential weakness of our Volunteers is the want of money, and I am extremely glad to learn that we are to have a larger capitation grant, and also that part of the increased money is to go to enable them to form transport. I must express my satisfaction with the proposal to utilise this money for transport purposes. I think there is more than one Volunteer battalion which has undertaken this duty, and it has been proved that, given a sufficient grant, it is quite possible to organise from the material at our disposal—from the carts and wagons freely lent—what would be a very efficient transport for a force of Volunteers. With reference to camping out every year, and the invitation to Volunteers to

attend instruction for a month, I fully realise the value of that if we could do it, but I fear there are very few Volunteer regiments who could go into camp for a whole month at a time. If the grant was given upon a certain number of days attendance, and they would not all be taken away at one time, perhaps it would be possible to arrange matters. I have seen the increasing difficulty of men getting leave for so long a time. In my own battalion it has been the custom to devote the 10s. allowed by the Government to paying the men the wages which they lose, because the employers, although they give the time freely, cannot be expected to pay the men's wages as well. Therefore, if the camps are maintained for a longer time than a week, I hope great care will be taken that men are allowed to attend as they can, and not too large a number of men are expected out at the same time. The difficulties of battalion drill in a country district I know from experience are very great. Take my own battalion for instance. I have ten companies scattered over the whole of one county, and it costs me something like £50 to bring my battalion together. It is true that the Government grant now goes some way to meet that, but unless I can get at least half the battalion together it is very hard to get that grant. Although I should very often like to get two or three companies together for battalion drill, at the present time I cannot do it, because I do not get the grant for less than half the battalion. I trust, therefore, that an increased allowance for attending battalion drill may be given, and also, if possible, that some slight addition will be made to the travelling expenses to provide the funds for other purposes than travelling, which at present have to come either out of the corps funds or the officers' pockets. My remarks apply still more forcibly to shooting. I am very grateful for the promise to provide more ranges. I hope, however, it will not always be considered necessary to make those ranges up to a thousand yards. A man who can shoot well at 500 yards or 600 yards will not do badly at 1,000 yards with a little practice. A man in my own battalion who shot very high up in the Queen's Hundred, who had only fired at 800 yards a few times in his life, and never at 1,000 yards, managed to get 26th or 27th place in the final stage of

Col. Williams.

the Queen's. That is a proof that a man who is a good shot at 600 yards can easily accommodate himself to the longer ranges. In reference to travelling, I know of men who live seven miles away from a range, and it takes them about half a day to get there and back, for they have no railway to help them, and the necessity for an increased travelling allowance to the range is a very vital one. I know that the Government are providing more ranges in different places, and these may be a very good thing for those who live near to them, but those who live a long way off require travelling allowances. May I say a word about recruiting? Volunteers are to be invited to raise their numbers to 1,000, and if possible to arrange for a second battalion. I am in the position of always being well up to my 1,000, and I could, at the present moment, raise two more companies in new neighbourhoods, which would make my battalion up to twelve companies. I do not think it is advisable to have in one battalion much more than 1,200 men, but there are cases in which it would be advisable to allow a colonel to raise one or two extra companies rather than have two battalions which must be composed of smaller units more scattered. I thank the Committee for listening to what I have said, and I hope the Under Secretary for War will realise that I have only spoken in order to give him, as he asked, some idea of the difficulties Volunteers have to meet.

*SIR ALBERT ROLLIT (Islington, S.): I desire to say a few words chiefly in relation to the Militia and Volunteers. Under this Vote the increase of the Volunteers appears to be an essential condition; therefore anything which bears upon that question seems to me to be relevant to the proposal now before the Committee. The hon. Gentleman who introduced the Government proposals said that he relied upon a large increase of recruiting in the Volunteer force. I have heard doubts expressed upon that subject, but anyone who is familiar with what has taken place recently in the Metropolitan Volunteer corps will be of the opinion that the hopes of the Government will be realised. I believe that if the Government had not, unwisely, issued their special Army orders against any excess of the establishment,

the present numbers would have been considerably exceeded. Even now many companies are recruiting very largely, and have no difficulty in doing so. As one interested in the Volunteer force, I am glad that the time has now come when they are being treated with greater encouragement and greater help, and the hon. Gentleman has stated that the conditions of service will be made more exacting. I think there has been a gradual and sure increase of efficiency in the Volunteers since their formation, and they have never refrained from any reasonable liability to secure this. Therefore, if there is any comment to be made on this subject, it is that the Volunteer force, after forty years' existence and encountering financial and military difficulties, is only now being really recognised on a proper scale, and receiving that complete equipment and those modern weapons which are absolutely essential for the performance of their duty. What the Volunteers think is that if they do their duty to the State the State is bound to do its duty to them. I will take the case of obsolete guns. Not only is the use of those guns an unwise military course of action, but it has discouraged the men, because they knew that they were purposely wasting their time and learning to fire weapons which could not possibly be of use in time of war. The question of transport is one of the chief difficulties, and altogether the Volunteers have not had those conditions of success which would have led to their being in a far better position than they are to-day. One hon. Member, in addressing the House, said that it was their great object to induce the Volunteers to realise that they were soldiers. I venture to say they must be treated in all respects as soldiers, and if they are I am quite sure they will realise their position. The hon. Gentleman was not quite clear as to whether he was going to give a commission to each battalion of Volunteers, but he mentioned specifically the Militia. That would be a very great service, and every step which convinces Volunteers that they are being assimilated to the Regular Army is of the greatest value to the force. I think the proposal to enlarge the scope of the university candidates is an excellent one. I do not know why it has hitherto been restricted, and in the University of London a good opportunity has already been offered us as to com-

missions in the Royal Artillery, and we have met with much success in the presentation of candidates. There is one other matter which may perhaps be regarded as a minor one, but it arises upon the question which has been raised by an hon. Member as to the recognition of the social status of the Volunteers. I understood the last speaker to say that it had not improved, but deteriorated since the formation of the force. I do not altogether agree with that. In the first few months of the force it perhaps was so, but there has been a tendency, certainly in the towns, towards an improvement in recent years. On the other hand, I would like to ask why there has not been more social recognition of the force. Why should we, very rightly, give to the chairmen of vestries and district councils by virtue of their position commissions of the peace, and not give them to those who are performing services to the State as commanding officers of the Volunteers? There is a real reason besides the social one why commanding officers should be placed on the commission of the peace. They have to swear in recruits, and often have to run about to find a justice of the peace. It would be a proper recognition of their position, and it would be of great value, and be valued if that honour were conferred upon them. One point has been constantly urged by some of us in this House in regard to the Volunteers, and it has not even yet been accomplished. I am speaking of the subject of providing more and better ranges. I know the difficulties in the way in London and in the great towns, due to a great extent to the use of modern weapons of precision and long range. But, as has been said before, what is the value of any soldier if he cannot shoot well? If we do not take care to give every facility for our Volunteers practising shooting we shall be relying upon a broken reed, and they will be simply a force on paper which will not be effective in the end. I am glad that additional facilities are to be offered, for under existing circumstances the wonder is that they have been able to get a knowledge of shooting at all. Up to the present they have often been obliged to take the most inconvenient days to practise, and have had to go long distances. The Military Lands Act proposed to give additional facilities to our municipal corporations to acquire ranges, and this is distinctly a local question. Proximity is

the essence of it, and if the War Department were to appeal to the corporations to apply that Act more generally, I believe that not only would they be willing to do so, but I have some reason to know that many of them would be willing to provide the funds necessary for that purpose. For instance, Nottingham has set a very good example by helping to find a range for the Sherwood Foresters in that district. I have only one more word to say, and it is one of regret. It provides an illustration which I think is pregnant to this proposal, and it is that throughout the very able speech of the Secretary of State for War he said very little about a Volunteer Reserve. He dismissed that to the official limbo of favourable consideration. [Mr. Wyndham: "No, no."] I am very glad to see the hon. Gentleman rather repudiates that suggestion, but he said very few words about it. He dismissed it in two sentences. As a matter of fact it is no new suggestion, as the Under-secretary for War seemed to suppose on the part of Lord Wemyss, for the proposal exists and has been in the archives of the War Office for the last ten years, and all that time it has been supposed to be under favourable consideration. The then commanding officer of the Volunteer Battalion of the East Yorkshire Regiment made a definite and detailed proposal to the War Office so long ago as the period I have mentioned. That has received really no attention, and it is to be regretted that a system which would not only retain a large number of efficient Volunteers in connection with their regiments, but which would have the great additional value when a Volunteer removes from one town to another of keeping him still in contact with the force, should not have been applied. I hope that what has now been suggested will be carried out at no very distant date. The higher capitation grant is, of course, very acceptable, and will remove a great burden from the pockets of the Volunteer officers. I confess I have some doubts whether the great majority of the Volunteers can afford to spend a month in camp. I have also this to say about that subject. The proposals now made are to make the Volunteers an absolutely essential part of our national defence. Why, then, when they are in camp for a month or a week, should they not be paid like other embodied troops? They make a sacrifice of their time at other periods, and that is all they

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should be called upon to give. I know the sacrifices which both the officers and men have had to make, and if the Volunteers submit to the more exacting conditions for the benefit of their country, why should they not receive pay when they are embodied? I shall be told that the cost is great, but why should one portion of the community, who give no service, escape the cost and put the burden upon those who are willing to make this sacrifice of their time? The Government, quite rightly, at any rate for the present, though I think the Militia ballot might soon be applied in some modified form, have decided to forego compulsion or conscription, but if the burden is to be cast on the Volunteers only and others are to render no such service, but are to escape any contribution of either time or money, it is an inequitable treatment of the Volunteers. I would strongly urge that, giving their time as they do, they should at any rate be completely recompensed for any expense to which they are put. The rise in the Militia pay is also most satisfactory. I have the greatest reliance on that force, especially in relation to the defence of our commercial harbours, to which the Under-Secretary referred, when the defence may well be left solely to the Militia and the presence of the coast battalions of Royal Engineers and Royal Artillerymen may be safely dispensed with, and so some seasoned men put at the disposal of the War Office. I have only to add that, for the emergency, at any rate, the proposals put before the Committee by the Government are entitled to every consideration; they were introduced in a most able speech, and I trust they will be carried out, and carried out completely, in the same spirit in the War Office.

*MR. TULLY (Leitrim, S.): We, as Irishmen, object to the principle underlying this Vote. In fact, we would not interfere in the matter at all were it not for the fact that in order to raise the money for these extra men you will send your tax-collectors to Ireland to collect a portion of the sum necessary, although we get none of the benefit of the expenditure and have no Volunteers in Ireland. We are not allowed to form Volunteer corps in Ireland, but we are expected to bear a portion of the cost, and I think Irishmen have a right to protest against such

treatment. In Ireland we have no possible interest in this war. None of us have shares in South African mines, and in the event of your succeeding, which does not seem very probable at present, in defeating these two Republics, very few of our people will benefit in any respect. Very few will emigrate to South Africa; very few will be found under the British flag if it ever floats over Pretoria; if they emigrate they will go, as they have always done, to the free soil administered by the United States. We have therefore no earthly interest in the war; we regard it as unjust and unnecessary. You complain that you cannot get enough soldiers to fill your Army. Looking at the statistics, there never was a time in your history when you had fewer Irishmen in the ranks than you have at present. I would contrast that with what has happened when the existence of another country was at stake. When the unity of the United States was threatened Irishmen flocked from all parts of Ireland to the support of the Stars and Stripes. When the American Civil War concluded there were over 100,000 Irishmen among the soldiers who were disbanded—some of the finest fighting material the world has ever seen. I think you would give your very eyes to be able to get 100,000 such men to rally to your flag and fight for you in South Africa. All I say is that if instead of spending these millions we are called upon to vote on the war in South Africa you spent them in conciliating the people of Ireland, in giving them a grip in their own land, you would probably have more chance of getting some of that fighting material. I cannot, as an Irish Member, regard these proposals as such as should commend themselves to the Committee. We look upon the war with minds filled with different ideas from those held by English Members. You think you must win simply because you are English. We look at the facts of the situation with our minds not filled with any such preconceived ideas. We do not think you must win simply because you are English. Up to the present, when the war has been going on for five months, you have not shown yourselves able to make any substantial headway, and we think the proposals to add 120,000 men to your Army are utterly inadequate if you wish to win in this conflict. We read in your own papers the remarks of foreign military critics, and

they say that your plan of campaign in South Africa is altogether wrong, and that with the men and the *matériel*, the bad guns, bad rifles, and bad generalship at your disposal you have no possible chance of succeeding under present conditions. I therefore object to the proposals as being entirely inadequate from your own point of view of success, and I believe, as some of the papers state to-day, that the scheme is simply an elaborate hoax, and that it does not mean anything serious in regard to your position in South Africa. I also object to this Vote as being a wasteful Vote, because when you look at the facts of the situation there is the possibility that perhaps in a week or a fortnight the news may come in that Lord Roberts has had a similar experience to that of General Buller, and then you will be coming down here in a panic demanding many more men and much more money to carry on this iniquitous war. Another reason for my objection to this Vote is that you are holding out inducements to get more men for the Army and for the Militia. I heard the Under Secretary for War state last night that among the additional inducements to Militiamen was the threepenny mess. I do not know what the threepenny mess means, as we are not allowed to know anything about military matters in Ireland—it is treason if we do; but from the treatment you have given Irish Militiamen, I do not think you are likely to get many more recruits in Ireland under existing conditions. You called up a number of Irish Militia regiments and drafted them over to England, and all the special service men who could be induced to sign were sent off to the Cape. It was no part of the bargain of those poor men that they should go to South Africa to fight under the English flag, and certainly they were surprised at being trapped into such a position. The treatment meted out to the friends of these men is something equal to that experienced by the veterans of your Crimean campaign. A number of the men who have been suddenly drafted off to South Africa had their parents dependent upon them, and when they have applied for some of the sustentation money, they have been told that the War Office regulations would permit of no money being given them. I know, as chairman of a board of guardians in Ireland, that in our union we are actually supporting a number of parents of men who are fight-

ing at the front in the Connaught Rangers at Colenso. I also know the quality of some of these Militiamen whom you have called up. Some of them have actually been taken out of the union hospitals, where they have been classed as infirm; they have been taken out, clothed in the red coat, marched off to the station, and I suppose they are now figuring on the War Office sheets as effective soldiers of England. If you go on offering these further inducements you will get more of this wastrel class that are no good for anything. Another reason you are not likely to get many more recruits in Ireland is the treatment the families of these men are experiencing. Not only are the parents deprived of assistance from Government funds, but the other relatives who do get such assistance are being treated in a manner which certainly does not commend itself to my judgment. Under the recent Act I happen to be constituted a magistrate by the votes of the people, and on the few occasions I have attended the local courts I have seen the wives, brothers or sisters of these men—who, on reading the accounts of the battles, had become a little excited, though not more excited than people in your own streets on a Saturday night—sent off to prison. As a Nationalist, opposed to the war, I have protested against that, but that is the work of magistrates supposed to represent the English garrison in Ireland. To show you how worthless that garrison is to you for all practical purposes, I was reading in the *Pall Mall Gazette* the other day a description of the squadron of Imperial Yeomanry that was raised in Ireland. It was stated that almost the whole of the recruits came from the west and south of Ireland, and that very few were obtained in the north. And that is the garrison for whom you have made so many sacrifices! And yet you have rejected every claim we have put forward for justice to our people. It has been said that the Under Secretary for War is the first Minister to raise the spectre of invasion, and to use it as a means of getting additional men and money. You are trying to raise volunteers here in England to protect you from invasion, but yet you deny us the right of raising volunteers in Ireland. I should like to know the meaning of that. Does that mean that if we are invaded by Germany or Russia we must

Mr. Tully.

turn either German or Cossack? I object to that. We ought to have the right to arm and defend ourselves in case of such an invasion. On all these grounds I object to this Vote, and shall join my voice with the voices of other gentlemen from Ireland in resisting at every possible stage these proposals for more men and money to carry on this war.

LORD WILLOUGHBY DE ERESBY (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): I confess I am somewhat disappointed with the statement of the Under Secretary of State for War, because I had hoped that after several months deliberation Her Majesty's Government would have taken some stronger steps towards bringing the military forces of this country to a greater state of efficiency, and to more readily and adequately increase their numbers. As far as I understand the scheme, the Government propose to increase the Army by invitation. My only hope is that their estimates of the numbers of men to be obtained and the rapidity with which they can be trained to be a useful force may be right and my estimates wrong. I am rather afraid that some evil counsel still prevails at the War Office. It is quite plain, from the magnitude of the scheme proposed, that the Government consider the present crisis not dangerous, but deserving some special effort. There is a vote for raising some 120,000 extra men, forty-three batteries of horse artillery, twelve fresh cavalry regiments, and seventeen battalions of infantry. As regards the forty-three batteries of artillery, I am afraid it would be a very long time before they or even any large proportion of them could be made efficient. I myself have no actual knowledge of artillery training, and am, therefore not qualified to speak of the difficulties involved in raising such a large force. But when we come to the question of raising twelve cavalry regiments I am afraid I cannot share the optimism of the Under Secretary for War. One of the parts of his proposal was that the three regiments of Household Cavalry should at the present moment be brought up to war strength. I heard on very good authority that in one of those regiments of Household Cavalry there exists at the present moment thirty trained men. I am quite willing to admit that there are some sixty or seventy recruits in addition, and a

fairly large number of non-commissioned officers, but I certainly do not believe that recruits have been falling into those regiments. It seems to me that to get those three regiments up to war strength of 600 men, at the present rate of increase, would take some four or five years. As regards the recruiting for the infantry, I suppose it is pretty good at the present time; but there is one point I should like to bring before the Committee. The Under Secretary, in supporting his scheme, in order to give some proof that his estimate would be fulfilled, quoted the number of recruits received during the month of January. He told us there had been some 6,000 recruits during that month

—some 2,000 over the number in the previous month; and another part of his argument as to how recruits would fall in was the readiness with which men had volunteered for service in South Africa. As regards the 6,000 recruits of whom the Under Secretary was so proud, I think he has overlooked the fact that during that month we also, unfortunately, had some very heavy casualties. While it is perfectly true we had 6,000 recruits, yet from that number has to be deducted some 3,000 casualties, so that it cannot be said that those 6,000 will in the course of the next few months go to increase the numbers of the Army. Large numbers will have to be found not only to fill up the casualties which are sure to occur in South Africa, but also to fill up the regiments in India and the colonies. The second portion of the hon. Gentleman's estimate was based on the fact that so many men came forward for the Volunteers and the Imperial Yeomanry, and also from the Militia, for service in South Africa. I will only refer to that in passing by saying that when the hon. Gentleman spoke first of all in this House on the South African question he stated that there was no denying the fact that in this country there were thousands of men who would be perfectly willing to soldier if they were to go on active service, but that, unfortunately, among his countrymen there was a rooted dislike to doing guard and barrack drill. I am very much afraid that those men when they see that this increase would largely be left at home will not flock to the standard in the large numbers anticipated. There were three courses open to the Government, namely, to go on as they have always gone on—that is, to try to get soldiers by invitation; secondly, to try to increase the Army

and the land forces by better pay; and, thirdly, by compulsory service. We are told that compulsory service would never be stood in this country, but I am inclined to think that if the Government were to come to this House and say we were in national danger, compulsory service would be accepted and freely given by the people of this country. But I do not suppose that at present the Government can tell the House the country is in grave national danger. We are, however, in a grave emergency, and I think the Government ought, by some means, such as offering better pay, to have tried to raise a field force among men who at the present moment are partially acquainted with military exercises. Judging by the success which attended the recruiting for the Imperial Yeomanry, I believe that if the Government had called on the Volunteers, offering good terms and pay, they would in a very short time have secured an efficient field force of 50,000, if not 100,000 men, with a certain amount of knowledge of the duties they would have to perform. By the method in which you are proceeding at the present time every recruit will have to be taught to ride and shoot, and all the special duties of the particular branch of the service which he joins. By adopting the plan I have just suggested, I believe you would have obtained an enormous number of men, and you would have created a greater feeling of security and rest in the country. There is one other point to which I should like to refer, namely, the question of the instruction given to our Auxiliary forces in the past. I was extremely pleased to hear from the Under Secretary for War that the instruction given to officers in the Auxiliary forces is to be improved. I remember when I first joined the Auxiliary force, there was a school at Aldershot to which Yeomanry officers went, and many Yeomanry officers made themselves efficient in their drill at that school. That establishment, however, was done away with, and some other scheme started, by which Yeomanry officers were sent to different cavalry regiments to learn their drill. I do not wish in the least to disparage present officers of the Auxiliary forces, but, from my own experience, I am perfectly certain that since these schools were abolished the officers are not nearly as efficient as they used to be. It is a great necessity of this country that we should have a large body of officers who

are, at all events, partially acquainted with their work, who could officiate as instructors, and also help when their country was in difficulty. I would only add that I hope the Government will see their way, when they again start these schools for Auxiliary officers, to give those officers also some education in military training. However important it is that officers should know the words of command, it is even more important that they should have some knowledge of how to pitch a tent, or to throw up a shelter trench. From what I have heard—never having been in the Army—I believe this training is very much neglected, even among officers of the Regular forces. As far as digging a trench is concerned, they are probably sent to dig it on a piece of ground where hundreds of men have dug trenches for the last twelve months. I do not think that in such a way an officer can receive a good and thorough military training. Another point is that a larger permanent staff is absolutely necessary for the Auxiliary forces. The Government have tried for economical reasons to cut down that staff. I speak from experience, for at the present moment, in my own Yeomanry regiment, which at the last training turned out the strongest in the whole country, the best squadron leader has gone to South Africa, three or four young officers have gone, fifty of the best troopers have gone, the best sergeant-major has gone, and the adjutant has gone back to his regiment. If that is typical of the other regiments throughout the country, then, if we were trusting to the Auxiliary forces for the efficient defence of the country, we are leaning on a broken reed. I should be pleased to hear that some of the 109,000 troops who the Under Secretary says are in this country are men who thoroughly know their work and are capable of being sent off to augment the regiments in South Africa. I am rather afraid that it will be some time before the 9th or 10th Divisions can be put into the field. It would have been much more reassuring to the people of this country if the Government had come down and stated boldly that they had taken measures by which the 11th and 12th Divisions were to be speedily equipped and made ready for the field. I can only say, in conclusion, that I hope the view I take on this matter is wrong and that the Under Secretary is right, that men will flock to

the standards and recruits pour in, and that he will be able to raise the additional regiments he requires. On the other hand, I cannot disguise from myself that we are passing through a critical stage, and therefore I would have liked to have seen stronger proposals put forward.

*COLONEL MILWARD: An hon. Member opposite said that at the end of the War of Independence in America there were 100,000 Irishmen fighting for America, and that he wished that only that number of Irishmen were in South Africa. I most cordially echo that wish. Everyone who has watched the course of this war has been struck with the courage and heroism displayed by the Irish regiments. My esteemed friend asked some question as to why the Irish Militia were sent to this country and not retained in Ireland. It was suggested that it was because these men were rebels. Never had a more unfortunate statement been made. Whatever may be the political feeling of Irish Members, and to which they may give expression in this House, I am perfectly certain that it would be impossible for men of whatever nationality to show more courage and devotion than Irishmen have shown in South Africa. I admit that, at the far end of this debate, it is very difficult to say anything new, but I wish to assure the Government that so far as I can gauge their intentions, I cordially approve their proposals. It is true that there is nothing novel or revolutionary in these proposals: they are merely an expansion of what already exists. There is no conscription, no ballot even for the Militia. I do not myself approve of conscription. We have always found the men we wanted by other means. Still I differ very much from an expression which fell from the Prime Minister when he said that not the youngest man now living would see conscription. There is a feeling rising in quarters not expected in favour of conscription or the ballot. Manufacturers and employers of labour see that the Germans, who have conscription, are outstripping us in industrial pursuits, and they are asking how it is that the nation which is entirely a military nation is able to thus outstrip us. In considering the proposals of the Government we have also to keep in view the previous proposals made during the last three or four years for the increase of the Army. In 1896 the Under Secretary proposed that there

Lord Willoughby de Eresby.

should be added to the Army 81 guns, or 15 batteries. In 1897 he proposed to further add three new infantry battalions and two new Colonial regiments, one battery of field artillery and 3,500 garrison artillery. In all, between 1896 and 1898 there have been added to the Regular forces no fewer than 28,000 men. In the very remarkable statement made by the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, then Under Secretary for War, in 1898, he said that the force which, if it ever were needed, we could put on board ship was 75,000 men, and that no such force had ever been embarked before by this country. But only two years after that statement had been made we have put on board ship 150,000 men—a fully-equipped army in every respect—without counting the Colonial troops or the troops already in South Africa. It is difficult after that to level criticism at the War Office. It is now proposed to add to these numbers 258 guns and twelve battalions of infantry, and I believe that such is the spirit of our country, these men will be raised, and these guns will be ready in a very short time. The suggestions which I rose to make are, I hope, of a practical character in regard to home defence. First of all, there is the question of rifle ranges. After the new arms were supplied to the Volunteers and Militia a great many of the ranges were discarded, and now they are very few. Now no one can doubt the value of shooting, especially at unknown ranges, but if you have only short ranges, with rifles sighted up to 1,500 or 2,000 yards, it is impossible to train our soldiers, Volunteer or Regular, in firing at unknown distances. I venture to suggest to the Under Secretary for War whether it might be possible to lay upon County Councils the duty of providing ranges throughout the country. These know more of the local circumstances, they are acquainted with the owners of the land, and they would be better able to carry the matter through than the War Office. These ranges would be available for the Volunteers and the Militia and the Regular troops quartered in the district, and also for the shooting of rifle clubs, which it is desired to encourage at the present moment. These ranges could take the place of those at which our bowmen and yeomen of old used to practise. I regret very much that amongst the items of the scheme

submitted by the hon. Gentleman there is no provision for the drilling of our boys in the primary schools. There are at present in many of these schools instructors of drill, but the War Office in conjunction with the Education Department should see to it that every school obtained the services of an old soldier to drill the boys. Nothing would do more good physically than military drill, and nothing would interest them more. As to the length of training of the Militia and Volunteers—if the Government hope that, in this time of emergency, the Militia will give up three months and the Volunteers one month to camp training, that may be done. Whatever the difficulties, the men both of the Militia and the Volunteers would make the sacrifice of their time; but that would be only for this year or the duration of the war. And unless that is made perfectly plain I do not believe that the Government will be able to obtain the men. The men have to consider not only themselves but their employers, and I ask the Committee to consider whether the men in our manufacturing centres can be spared, year after year, for three months, or even for one month, from their industrial employment.

MR. WYNDHAM: That is not a permanent, but an emergency provision.

*COLONEL MILWARD: I am very glad to hear that; but it must be made plain that this is only for one year, and that hereafter we will revert to the old conditions. I believe that the conditions respecting the Volunteers should be made more stringent than they have hitherto been. No man has a right to join the Volunteers who is not physically fit, who means to go only for one or two days to camp, or put in a few drills. We want to make the force a real military force, and it must have real military training. I would like to say a word or two as to the officers. The real root of the difficulty both in the Militia and the Volunteers is that there is too great a paucity of officers; and I am glad to hear that commissions in the Regular Army are to be offered to the Militia and Volunteers. In the Militia the difficulty is not as to first and second lieutenants, but as to captains and majors, for the former hope to pass into the Regular Army, and they leave the Militia if they do not succeed. A great deal might be done through the Lords Lieutenant of

counties. I believe that the Lords Lieutenant have more local influence than any other person, and are much more likely to provide officers from the country gentlemen. That is a point at which I would put on compulsion. *Noblesse oblige*. There are comparatively few men in this country available for such positions. As soon as they become married they are under the influence of their wives. The wives say to their husbands, "When you go to camp what am I to do? I want to go to the seaside or elsewhere for a holiday, and the money you spend in camp would take me and the family there." That is not a mere argument, but a fact, as I know perfectly well. Of course, if you are going to call up these men for a month or three months the difficulty will be increased. It should be remembered, also, that an officer of Volunteers has to give up his time night after night, and on the Saturday afternoon to go to the rifle range, and that when he goes to camp he has to pay his whole expenses. The question of expenses is, I am perfectly certain, a most important one. As it is absolutely necessary that we should have officers for the Militia and the Volunteers, I would adopt the course of taking the ballot among a certain class of the community, say income tax payers, in order to provide officers if they will not come forward from motives of patriotism. I am very pleased to agree to almost all the proposals which come from the Government. The Volunteers and the Militia have been regarded by their friends as the backbone of the defence of this country, and by their critics as a military sham. These forces are anxious to prove they are the one and not the other; and I am certain that the more you call upon them, and the more desire you show to make them an integral part of the Army, the more results you will get from them, and the more will they become a force which may be relied upon for the defence of this country in time of danger.

DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.): It is quite evident that there is some little confusion between the proposals intended for an emergency and those which have to do with some permanent alterations in the administration of the War Office. I am prepared to vote for the men or measures with which the Government propose to carry out this war

Colonel Milward.

to a speedy and triumphant issue. One of the hon. Members opposite expressed disappointment that the Under Secretary for War had not brought forward some larger and wider scheme of War Office reorganisation. I congratulate him on not having done so. I think it would be a highly imprudent thing to do in the midst of this war. After the war has been brought to a triumphant conclusion we can quietly consider what ought to be done, irrespective of the strain placed at present on the patriotism of the country. I do not see any necessity for making any large permanent additions to our Army. Of course, writers and speakers, ranging widely through the unknown, have dilated as to what a combination of foreign nations might do against us. I have always been sceptical as to what foreign nations could do. We have got to take the statements made by the accredited representatives of those nations, who are living on friendly terms with us, and speak of us in terms of brotherhood and equality. But if ever the necessity arose to enlarge our military forces, I take no despairing view about recruiting in the future. We have heard that the last year or two have been record years for recruiting, and is there any reason why that should not continue? The most popular man in the country is Tommy Atkins, and there is no reason why he should not continue to be so when he comes back covered with glory from the Transvaal, and that popularity will have a great influence on recruiting. We know that employers of labour have come to the front in aiding the military authorities in bringing Reservists up and in keeping their berths open for them while they are on active service; but I look forward with some apprehension as to what view employers of labour will take of their workmen being removed into camp for three months every year. I am very glad to hear that the Militia is now to form an essential part of the military constitution, but I want to know what permanent arrangements are to be made to increase its popularity. I agree with the hon. Gentleman who spoke of the influence of the Lords Lieutenant of counties in securing officers for the Militia. In Aberdeenshire there is no difficulty in getting officers, because our regiment is popular; the great difficulty is in getting men. Lord Aberdeen called a meeting of the tenants to consider the very alarming drop made in the rank and

file from 800 to 200 or 300. A great deal of discussion took place as to what the reasons for that were, and one suggestion was that the Militia recruits no longer got the old bounty. I would ask the Under Secretary for War whether the old bounties are to be restored, or whether the bounties he now offers are to be of a temporary character.

MR. WYNDHAM: I think I have informed the Committee several times that we are not prepared at this moment to state the exact terms, but we are considering the desirability of altering and consolidating the various bounties of the Militia, and that would not be a temporary but a permanent measure.

DR. FARQUHARSON: I am very glad to hear that, because all the tenants said that the small number of recruits was owing to the withdrawal of the bounty. The fact is that in Aberdeen we are going to make up the necessary sum if we cannot get it from the Government, and in that way we hope to restore our regiment to its old numbers. Another point which was brought forward by the Lord Provost of Aberdeen was that the military authorities do not study enough the time for the embodiment of the Militia. If you embody a regiment when the hay or corn harvest, or any principal agricultural operation is in full swing, it is natural that the men will not come forward. The time for the annual training should be suited to the exigencies of the industrial occupation of the men. If you consider and study the convenience of the rank and file, it will be more popular. My hon. friend also said that commissions were to be given to the universities and the public schools, and the Militia. I should like to know, are the candidates to be examined for what we call the literary examination?

MR. WYNDHAM: No.

DR. FARQUHARSON: I am glad to hear that, because I think those examinations are rather overdone. I have seen some of the questions, and I could not get within twenty yards of answering them, and any of the young gentlemen in order to answer such questions must be a walking "Encyclopædia Britannica." In conclusion, I will just say it is a very great satisfaction to me to hear that my hon. friend is going to considerably increase the Army Medical Department. That department has come out with its reputation simply untarnished: notwithstanding the great

strain of this campaign, everything has been done admirably for the benefit of the troops. I have to thank my hon. friend for the sympathetic answer that he gave the other day when I asked him to contradict some injurious statements which had been made in *The Times* upon this subject. The department has done its work well, and I am glad it is going to be increased.

*MR. WILLIAM JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.): In the few words I desire to address to the Committee at this time I would like to begin by congratulating the Government and the War Office upon the scheme put forward by the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary. The hon. Member for West Islington a short time ago found fault with the War Office for having accepted too many offers from various sources in this crisis of our country. I, on the other hand, rather complain of the War Office for not having accepted some of the offers from the North of Ireland. The City of Derry Grand Orange Lodge offered to the War Office 200 good marksmen and good riders, but in the communication I received from Lord Lansdowne the noble Lord regretted he could not accept the offer, so that Great Britain lost the services of 200 men who would have upheld the honour of the British flag.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND: I would rather fight for the Boers.

*MR. WILLIAM JOHNSTON: I have listened patiently to adverse criticisms of hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House, and I claim a fair hearing. I forwarded an offer from the Newry Orangemen, to form a Volunteer corps for home service, from among their 700 members. I regret the answer given to a question I put to the Treasury some time ago. I did not get a favourable reply to my question to the First Lord of the Treasury to my offer to raise Volunteers in Ireland; the right hon. Gentleman regretted he could not accept the proposition. The country has witnessed with great approbation the magnificent assistance given by the colonies, and I venture to say if an opportunity had been given to those for whom I speak, they would gladly come forward, and would do their best either at home or abroad for the honour of our flag. If permission was given, 10,000 men in Belfast, alone, could immediately be obtained to enrol themselves in a Volunteer force to maintain the integrity of the British Empire.

know it is not a subject which commends itself to hon. Gentlemen opposite who represent Ireland; those who sympathise with the enemies of England on all occasions are not likely at this time to support the honour of our flag. I venture to call attention to a report of an entertainment given in Belfast on Saturday last where 300 of the Ulster Yeomanry were assembled, who, although the idea was only started a month or two ago, have passed the requirements of Colonel Graves and have already been enrolled. I should like to read, from the *Belfast Newsletter*—

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! It is unusual in this House to produce a newspaper.

*MR. WILLIAM JOHNSTON: I apologise, Mr. Lowther, for having produced one. I would merely say that in a speech made by Lord Londonderry, the newly-appointed Lord Lieutenant of Belfast, he said, although 300 had passed under Colonel Graves to go out and fight in South Africa, more than double that number could be easily obtained. Colonel Graves told them they went out as Ulstermen as well as Irishmen, to do honour to the country to which they belonged. In conclusion, I venture to appeal to this House to permit at least the loyal Irish to rally round the flag of England, and I implore the Government to consider the application made by me a short time ago, and permit them to become soldiers of the Queen.

GENERAL RUSSELL (Cheltenham), who was very indistinctly heard, was understood to say: This was not the time to put the Army into the melting-pot—to reorganise either the Army or the War Office. He was glad that the Government did not propose to introduce compulsory service. There were many reasons against compulsory service, the chief of which was that it must lead to great delay and opposition. But whether it might not be necessary eventually to fall back on some form of compulsion was a question that could not now be decided. Some hon. Members on the other side said that no case had been made out for the permanent increase of the Army. That was not the opinion of the military advisers and of independent experts in this country, who held that the Army was entirely insufficient to fill up gaps in foreign stations, and to meet the needs of the Empire. He heartily welcomed the proposals of the Government, although he doubted whether

the required number of men would be forthcoming. If the men were to be obtained, the Government would have to offer more inducements. They would have to pay them better, make the Army more attractive, and, above all, to devise proper employment for men after they had left the service. He expressed the hope that there would be no more of that veiled hostility to the employment of old soldiers in Government offices. The soldier was a working man just as much as the navy, and was entitled to as much consideration. To supply the deficiency in officers he thought we should take a lesson from the Germans, who had a large reserve of officers who were regularly trained and were ready to fill up vacancies at any moment. When down at Aldershot that day seeing some regiments off to South Africa, he noticed they were no less than six officers short. What would be the condition of those regiments two or three weeks after the casualties of a campaign? He wished to know if it was the fact that our artillery was inferior to that of the Boers, and whether the Government had sent out to South Africa disappearing platforms such as the Boers were apparently using. He expressed the opinion that the Intelligence Department was underpaid. He hoped when the reorganisation of the Army took place the Council of National Defence would be reorganised too. The Council of National Defence was, he thought, improperly constituted in respect that not a single expert had a seat in it. He hoped that this would be remedied when the work of reorganisation was undertaken.

CAPTAIN JESSEL (St. Pancras, S.): It is true, no doubt, that the War Office has done a great deal in the exercise of its organising powers in regard to the present war; it is true that they have transported a large army across the sea, and it is true that that army has been very well equipped, and that the hospital arrangements have been admirably executed; but what the nation has a right to demand of the War Office is that they should organise victory at the front. The real reason why we have not been more successful in South Africa is owing, in great measure, to the faults of our system, and at this late hour of the evening I am not going to enter into an attack on our Army system. It has been discussed at very great length already, and all I can say is that I hope

Mr. William Johnston.

one result will be that steps will be taken to alter the system. On the whole I think that there is a great deal to be said for the proposals of the Government. They have recognised for the first time the importance of the Volunteer and Militia forces. I would suggest that an appeal should be issued to the Lords Lieutenant of the counties to strengthen the Militia, because this is not the time for the Militia ballot. Then there is the danger of locking up men in the Volunteer force to the detriment of the Militia. I hope some statement will be made as to the provision of Volunteer transport, and I wish that the Government had proposed a permanent increase in the cavalry. Our weakness in that arm makes it doubtful whether it is wise to convert the Yeomanry into mounted infantry. The change may seriously affect the Yeomanry, especially in view of the fact that mounted companies are to be raised for the Volunteer battalions. I am glad that the Government have at last shown an inclination to recognise the utility of the reserve of officers. The only such officer within my acquaintance who has been employed was required to pay his own passage to the Cape. I am also glad that we are going to get more officers from the colonies. We all admire the way in which the officers have come forward from the colonies, and I hope the authorities will see their way to induce the colonies to enter into some permanent arrangement with our garrisons with a view to permanent service in other parts of Her Majesty's dominions.

*MR. ABEL SMITH (Christchurch) said that as an amateur he did not propose to criticise these military proposals; but he welcomed most cordially the changes which had been indicated by his hon. friend with regard to the Auxiliary forces. He suggested that recruiting for the Yeomanry would be assisted if a system of registering horses such as was applied for cavalry and other purposes were put in force. Numbers of young men who were ready to serve Her Majesty abroad would gladly join the Yeomanry if they could furnish their own horses. A system of registration would enable them to have horses in readiness. He was perfectly certain that if the War Office took commanding officers and others into their confidence, and were willing to accept suggestions, they would do much to increase the

strength and efficiency of the Auxiliary forces.

MR. DALY (Monaghan): From the different standpoints from which hon. and right hon. Gentlemen have put the Army and Navy before the Under Secretary of State for War, I would not be surprised if, after listening to them all, the hon. Gentleman has a pain in his head by this time. We have heard admirals, generals, colonels, and lieutenants by the score. As far as I am concerned, I do not agree with the very large scheme which the hon. Gentleman has brought forward, because, from the Irish point of view, this large demand upon Parliament is, I think, quite unnecessary and quite uncalled for. As an Irish Member, I feel called upon to enter my protest against it, and when the time comes to go into the division lobby I shall vote against the Government on this proposal. Sir, we have heard a great deal of the loyalty and the inconvenience that Englishmen are prepared to put themselves to to help the Empire; but I have scarcely heard one hon. Gentleman, whether a baronet or lord, whose first word and last was not "pay, pay, pay." There is to be increase of pay, increase of rations; and the Volunteers and the Yeomanry are to come in for their share of this increase of pay. This is where your great patriotism comes in. You must give better rations and better pay or you won't get a single man to help you. Mr. Lowther, I am not a military man, and I am glad I am not, but I have not heard a military man in this House that agrees with the scheme that was brought forward last night. What I am surprised at is that the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for War did not in the first instance invite them all to a friendly party to canvass their views, and secure something like unanimity amongst them on this subject. Now, I believe, Sir, that from start to finish this war has been largely a war for the Stock Exchange. I have never made any other distinction of it than that. I wish to say that I entirely disapprove of this large Vote of men and money for the purpose of crushing a very small State. What seems to me most remarkable about the war, after what we have heard of the great deeds of English soldiers, is that, although there are only 59,000 Transvaal Boers and Free Staters in the field, this country has pitted against them an army of 200,000 men. That is the brilliant British Army. Well,

I don't think it very creditable that it should take four Britons to beat one Boer, and now we are asked to vote a further 120,000, which will increase the number in the proportion of six to one. It is no small wonder that I raise my voice against this proposal, coming as I do from a down-trodden country, seeing that the British forces are arrayed against a little force with the object of overwhelming them by sheer brute force. Up to the present I have heard a good deal of General Buller going forward. But now I see he is going backward. A large sum of money is now being voted, but the poor farmers in Ireland, who supply the best produce and the best horses in the world, will not benefit by it to the extent of a penny. The War Office buy hay in Patagonia and get their bacon from Russia, and it is not the slightest wonder that the soldiers in South Africa have not been able to fight, and have been practically no use in the field. I feel it my duty to oppose this Vote, because I believe the war is unjust and unnecessary, and that it is a war which we will have to contribute to largely without receiving any recompense. We will have to pay the piper, and all we can do is to protest and object in every possible way. Seeing that such a number of Army men in this House object to this scheme, I would advise the hon. Gentleman—he may take my advice, although perhaps if he does not he will not be far wrong—to drop the scheme altogether, which is opposed by his friends on his own side of the House as well as by his friends on this side, and to introduce another scheme, which may be received with more favour.

*MR. HEDDERWICK (Wick Burghs): A great deal of dissatisfaction has been expressed in the course of this debate with the proposals laid before the House by the Under Secretary of State for War. I venture to hope that the hon. Gentleman will not take these expressions of dissatisfaction too seriously. It is very natural, I think, that the service Members in the House should have hoped to see advantage taken of the present wave of excitement to advance reforms which for many years they have advocated and which they have much at heart: but I think if these hon. Gentlemen will reflect for one moment they will be disposed to admit that it would be a miracle if in so brief a time the Government have been able to present to the House a cut and dried

scheme which would include not only the reform of the War Office but also the reform of the entire military system of the country. Any such scheme must be maturely considered and carefully thought out in all its details. The hon. Gentleman is to be congratulated upon the moderation of the proposals which he has laid before the House, and on the fact that they are mainly applicable to the emergency with which we are at present face to face. The moderation of the proposals will commend them to the country. It certainly commends them to many hon. Members of this House, who have not the intimate knowledge of military matters possessed by the service Members, and who would not be prepared at a moment's notice to approve of a large scheme hastily introduced. I hope that the proposals of the Government will have the strong support of the main body of the Opposition. In saying that I am not so much moved by a consideration of the gravity of the war in the Transvaal alone. Deplorable I consider the war, but I feel confident that in the end this country must triumph. I am influenced by other and far wider considerations. Rightly or wrongly, I cannot rid myself of the apprehension that our present difficulties may be made the opportunities of those nations who envy us our vast possessions and grudge us our world-wide commerce. Already, apparently, Germany, taking advantage of the situation, has carried off Samoa after many years of vain intriguing, and we have further humbled ourselves to her by apologising for the exercise of a maritime right which every belligerent enjoys by the law of nations. Then in China and Persia we have interests which seem to be incompatible with the vast ambition and far-reaching designs of Russia. We have grounds of quarrel, too, of old standing with France in Egypt and Newfoundland, and now it seems as if another cause of trouble were looming up for us in Morocco. From these sources what complications may await us in the near future—may be sprung upon us, perhaps, while our hands are tied in the Transvaal! Holding these views, constrained by these apprehensions, it seems to me desirable that we should convince the world that we are a united people when confronted with an emergency, and I venture, therefore, to express the hope that the great body of the Liberal party, however justly they may have found fault with the want

of foresight or with the want of preparation on the part of the Government in the initial stages of this campaign, will strongly support the proposals which the Government have now laid before the House. I will not attempt to criticise the details of these proposals; I make no pretence of military knowledge such as would entitle me so to inflict myself upon the patience of the House. I merely embrace this opportunity of assuring the Government at least of my support in respect of these particular proposals, which, in the circumstances, appear to me to be reasonable and to indicate a commendable calmness of judgment.

MR. GRAY (West Ham, N.): I will not weary the House by discussing the minute details of this scheme, because I do not feel myself competent to form a judgment on it; but one thing I am convinced of is that outside this House there is a great and steadily growing opinion that every able-bodied adult man should take some part in the defence of the Empire. It is impossible for any man to move from one end of the country to the other, particularly during the progress of the war, without seeing evidence of that opinion in every direction. I have found that there are probably many thousands of men anxious to take part in the defence of their country, but who, owing to the state of their business, are quite unable to spare the time to join a Volunteer corps; there are thousands who would be perfectly ready to make themselves skilled marksmen if facilities were only offered to them. There are tradesmen, many of them old Volunteers, who are anxious to keep up their shooting skill, and most desirous of being ready to serve should the need arise, but who are quite unable to spare the time to make the necessary drills and become efficient in a Volunteer corps. There is a steady movement throughout the country for the formation of rifle clubs, which would include a large number of expert shots. I have seen such clubs in the rural districts of Austria, where village after village has its own club, and I see no reason why the Government should not encourage these clubs by offering prizes for marksmanship, just as plates are offered for horse-racing.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): Would the hon. Member extend it to Ireland?

MR. GRAY: Were the Irish peasant left free to form his own judgment I certainly would. I have watched peasants

and tradesmen in Austria taking part in inter-village competitions, and showing the results of their marksmanship with considerable pride. There was a time in England when a large part of our defensive as well as our offensive force depended on the skill of the Yeomanry as marksmen. I see no reason why that time should not recur. There are, of course, many difficulties in the way, such as the cost of providing rifles, the securing of the necessary ammunition, and above all the obtaining of ranges. But all these difficulties are not insuperable if the Government would only help. It is only right that this movement should be countenanced, and I hope that the War Office will look with favour on it at this juncture. The Government have a great opportunity now, owing to the enthusiasm throughout the country, which may not recur for many years, and if they would only grant men such as I have indicated the right, under proper conditions, to use ranges, if they would loan them rifles and provide them with ammunition at cost price, I see no reason why we should not have in this country a defensive force of many thousands, something in the nature of the Reserve. I do hope that before the debate closes some statement may be made by the Under Secretary for War on this subject. I am perfectly certain that a large number of men are anxiously awaiting some lead from the War Office in the matter. There is just one other topic to which I would wish to refer, namely, the suggestion that lads in our public schools ought to receive a certain amount of military training. It may not, however, be generally realised that very young children cannot stand the ordinary form of drill, and it may not be known that physical exercises—known as Swedish drill—are now compulsory in every county, and there are very few schools in which time is not devoted to such exercises every week. That form of physical drill is more beneficial to young children than ordinary company drill, which places too great a strain on the muscles of a young child. Under proper conditions, however, no doubt much might be done in the direction of military drill. I have looked at school children drilling in Battersea Park under sergeants in the Guards, and they presented a very creditable appearance. The movement, however, is one which must be developed cautiously and on the right lines, and I hope

that we shall not rush at once at compulsory military drill in schools. I rejoice greatly that the Government have decided to put aside conscription. I am sure the country is not ready for it, and I consider that the Volunteer movement, if properly encouraged, will lift us out of our present difficulties and make us stronger and better prepared to meet difficulties in the future.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion): The hon. Member who has just spoken has urged the importance of every adult man in the United Kingdom volunteering in defence of the Empire. What does the hon. Member mean by the Empire? Does he mean that every able-bodied man in Great Britain and Ireland should volunteer for the purpose of going abroad to support an expedition set on foot by a Jingo Government? If he only means this country, then we all agree with him, assuming that it is necessary to defend it. This country has not been invaded for over eight centuries, and we are not likely to have another invasion for eight centuries more unless we interfere with other people. The hon. Member cited the example of Austria, but Austria is in daily fear of invasion, or at any rate is daily liable to invasion. Nothing but an imaginary line drawn across the map distinguishes its boundaries, and on that ground it is necessary that it should have a strong defensive army for the purposes of repelling an invasion. There is not the slightest possibility of any attack on us; therefore I say our home defences are sufficient. I dissociate myself also from what has been said by my hon. friend the Member for the Wick Burghs. He said he would support the Government in all their proposals with respect to this war. I am not able to do so, and I will tell the Committee why. If I agreed with the proposals of the Government, then I would agree with the policy which necessitated this increase. I disagree thoroughly with that policy. I consider the war is absolutely unjust, and I believe it is our duty in honour and conscience to bring it to a close as soon as we can, but I am not willing to vote for an additional single man in order to carry it on. As far as my vote goes it will be given to indicate that it is our duty to open negotiations at once, to confess that we are in the wrong, and to dismiss the Colonial Secretary and his satellites from the service of the Crown, as a guarantee that we do not intend to interfere

with the independence of the Transvaal in the future. There is no necessity for this abnormal increase of the Army as long as we carried out the foreign policy practised by the Liberal party almost for generations. The Army is ample, and it would remain ample if we continued the foreign policy of Mr. Gladstone, not meddling or interfering in the concerns of other people, and especially not making aggressive movements or organising jingo expeditions against other countries. In that case no country in the world would raise a finger against us, and the Volunteer and Militia forces alone would be quite sufficient for defensive purposes. This war has proved that for defensive purposes our Army is not only big enough but too big. If 40,000 farmers in the Transvaal have proved themselves capable of resisting the whole force of the British Empire, surely the 6,000,000 able-bodied men in England would be able to do so with the regular Army, if they were given the same cause to fight—namely, in defence of their own homes.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do report Progress; and ask leave to sit again" — (Mr. William Redmond)—put and agreed to.

Committee report Progress; to sit again To-morrow.

OUT-DOOR RELIEF (FRIENDLY SOCIETIES) (No. 2) BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order for Second Reading read.

*MR. STRACHEY (Somerset, S.): I beg to move that this Bill be read a second time. It consists of only one clause, and has the sanction and approval of the friendly societies of this country, and has received the unanimous approval of the National Conference of Friendly Societies. It provides that where a board of guardians grants outdoor relief to any member of a friendly society, it shall not take into consideration any sum up to five shillings which may have been granted by the society.

MR. BANBURY (Camberwell, Peckham): At this time of the evening it is impossible to discuss this Bill. It is perfectly true it is a very small Bill, and consists of only two clauses, but it nevertheless interferes very seriously—

It being midnight, the debate stood adjourned. Debate to be resumed upon Tuesday, 27th February.

Adjourned at one minute after Twelve of the clock.

Mr. Gray.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wednesday, 14th February, 1900.

PETITIONS.

MINES (EIGHT HOURS) BILL.

Petitions in favour, from Ormiston; Oxenford; Tranent; Elphinstone; Penston; and Prestongrange; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL.

Petitions in favour, from Horsham; and Manningtree; to lie upon the Table.

SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS TO CHILDREN BILL.

Two petitions from Manchester, in favour; to lie upon the Table.

RETURNS, REPORTS, ETC.

CIVIL SERVICES (SUPPLEMENTARY—ESTIMATE, 1899-1900).

Estimate presented,—of the further amount required in the year ending 31st March, 1900, for sundry Colonial Services [by Command]; Referred to the Committee of Supply, and to be printed. [No. 48.]

TRADE REPORTS (ANNUAL SERIES).

Copy presented,—of Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual Series, No. 2379 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

INQUIRY INTO CHARITIES (ADMINISTRATIVE COUNTY OF DURHAM).

Return ordered, “comprising (1) the Reports made to the Charity Commissioners, in the result of an inquiry held in every parish wholly or partly within the administrative county of Durham into Endowments, subject to the provisions of the Charitable Trusts Acts, 1853 to 1894, and appropriated in whole or in part for the benefit of that county, or of any part thereof, together with the Reports on those Endowments of the Commissioners for inquiring concerning Charities, 1818 to 1837; (2) a digest, showing in the case of each such parish whether any, and, if any, what such Endowments are recorded in the books

of the Charity Commissioners in the parish; and (3) an index, alphabetically arranged, of names and places mentioned in the Reports.”—(*Mr. Grant Lawson.*)

INQUIRY INTO CHARITIES (COUNTY OF MONTGOMERY).

Return ordered, “comprising (1) the Reports made to the Charity Commissioners in the result of an inquiry held in every parish wholly or partly within the county of Montgomery into Endowments, subject to the provisions of the Charitable Trusts Acts, 1853 to 1894, and appropriated in whole or in part for the benefit of that county, or of any part thereof, together with the Reports on those Endowments of the Commissioners for inquiring concerning Charities, 1818 to 1837; (2) a digest showing, in the case of each such parish, whether any, and, if any, what such Endowments are recorded in the books of the Charity Commissioners in the parish; and (3) an Index, alphabetically arranged, of names and places mentioned in the Reports.”—(*Mr. Grant Lawson.*)

SUPERANNUATION ACT, 1884.

Ordered, That the Order of the 18th day of October, 1899, that the Treasury Minute under the Superannuation Act, 1884, relating to. Mary Byrne, Postmistress, Beaumaris, do lie upon the Table, be read and discharged.

Ordered, That the said Treasury Minute be withdrawn.—(*Mr. Hanbury.*)

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) ACT (1898) AMENDMENT BILL.

[SECOND READING.]

Order for Second Reading read.

*MR. TULLY (Leitrim, S.): I beg, Sir, to move the Second Reading of this Bill, and in doing so I must claim the indulgence of this House while I strive to explain and justify, if I can, the principles contained in it. It is a complex question and one presenting great and serious difficulties. It is designed as an amendment to the Local Government (Ireland) Act that was carried through this House by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and I think, Sir, there is not one of us on these benches who does not regret the cause which has

led to his absence from the House at this juncture. I must say at the outset that that Act was a great and far-reaching measure, and I suppose it was as large a measure of reform as the right hon. Gentleman could expect to carry through under the circumstances. But from our experience of the working of the Act, extending over nearly twelve months, we are convinced that a number of amendments are required to make it a thoroughly practical and workmanlike measure. Sir, in Ireland we have had to labour under circumstances of considerable difficulty in carrying out the work of local government. In England reform in local affairs and in local bodies came by stages—in Ireland it reached the people in a lump. In England you first got municipal reform based on household suffrage; then you got county councils on a democratic basis; and after some years you got parish councils. But the way you managed these things for us in Ireland was different. All our local bodies and institutions were flung into the melting pot together, and we got municipal reform, county councils and district councils at the same time. Considering that the Act started with an almost complete revolution in the administrative local bodies, I think Englishmen will admit that it is so far creditable to Irishmen, after nearly twelve months working, under circumstances of great difficulty, that so few mistakes have been made. For one thing we have not given much work to our friends, the lawyers, in Ireland. The complaint that we come here to-day to make is not one that we would expect to hear from the opposite Benches—that these bodies are extravagant. Our complaint is that it is the central body, whose duty it is to supervise these local bodies, which is extravagant, and which has wasted the money of the taxpayers in Ireland. I will not attempt to conceal that some of the proposals contained in this Bill are drastic proposals, but as far as we can they are an attempt on our part to bring the laws of local government in Ireland into harmony with the wishes of the majority of the people, and as far as is practicable under the different circumstances into harmony with the laws of local government as existing in England and Scotland. In England and Scotland your local government Boards are amenable to the influence exercised by the votes of the people in

Mr. Tully.

the polling booths. You have in England and Scotland no law for the free chartering of armed police on any district of the country at the whim of an irresponsible Executive. You have no law for compensation for malicious injuries—for making the ratepayers a kind of insurance society for the property of people who will not avail themselves of the advantages of insurance. We claim equality and equal laws in these matters. In England your Local Government Board has two members in this House who change as each Government is changed by the votes of the people. In Scotland, the Scotch Local government Board has two members in this House, the Scotch Secretary and the Scotch Solicitor General, who are elected by the votes of the people, and change with each Government. In Ireland we have nothing similar. The right hon. Gentleman, the Member for Montrose, in his speech on the Second Reading of the Local Government (Ireland) Bill, and who himself, as Chief Secretary for Ireland, was, for a time head of the Irish Local Government Board, drew attention to the unrepresentative nature of that Board, and he emphasised it as a weak point in your measure, that you made no provision for bringing that Board into harmony with the views of the people of Ireland, constitutionally expressed. Well, we are striving in this Bill to bring about that harmony. We propose to set up a Board which will exercise a certain supervision over the acts of the Local Government Board, so far as they come into collision with the wishes of the local bodies. For precedent we have gone to a certain extent to the machinery which is to be found in the Board of Agriculture Act which was passed in this House last year, and which provides for an advisory Board; and you have so far demonstrated the practicability of the principle of popular control that you have provided that eight members of the Board of Agriculture are to be elected by the county councils and other representative people, and four are to be nominated by the Department. In the Board we propose to set up four members are to be elected by the chairmen of the thirty-three county councils in Ireland, one by the six county boroughs, and two are to be appointed by the Local Government Board. That is the machinery we propose to apply; and it is simple and inexpensive. Here, in England, the views

of the county councils are to this extent recognised—that you have passed a County Councils Association Act, an Act by which the county councils can pay the expenses of that association out of the rates. We have no such body, recognised by statute, in Ireland. We propose to set up this new Board under the name of the Board of Control, which was the name of a good old fossilised body which existed in Ireland previous to the passing of the Local Government Act, which did away with it. We have, however, no objection to the name, and we would take it again if we got the powers tempered by the restraints exercised by vote by ballot. Well, Sir, the Local Government Board in Ireland is, as I have said, entirely out of touch with the people; and the effect of the Act of 1898 was to widen the gulf that separates the Local Government Board in Ireland from what I might call the ratepaying classes in Ireland. Under the old state of things, before the passing of the Act, the landlords paid half the rates; but under the Act they have been relieved from that responsibility. So long as the landlords paid their share of the rates we had no complaint against the Local Government Board in regard to increasing the rates; but the moment the landlords as landlords ceased to pay rates we find a complete change come over the spirit of the Local Government Board. We find that instead of that body checking waste and extravagance, it is doing everything in its power to encourage wasteful and extravagant expenditure. When we find this going on, we cannot help entertaining the suspicion that perhaps the Local Government Board, in striving to make local self-government expensive, are at the same time striving to make it unpopular. Well, Sir, when the Local Government Act was passed, you proceeded to strengthen that body; and the executive, by way of promoting harmony between them and the people of Ireland, selected a gentleman (Mr. Richard Bagwell) as an additional member of the Local Government Board. He was a gentleman who had spent his time as a Unionist pamphleteer, reviling our people, and actually libelling Irish Members who sat upon these benches. Well, one of the first public acts of Mr. Bagwell was to make a speech denouncing the very Act under which he

held office as a salaried servant of the Crown! Now what is it we find in Ireland since the Local Government Board set to work to increase the cost of administration? We find that no more roads are to be mended; we find that no more paupers are to be supported in the workhouses; and no more lunatics are to be cared for in the asylums. The system of keeping the accounts has been simplified by substituting county rating and union rating for the old system of baronial rating and divisional rating, and although the clerical work has been thus reduced, the Local Government Board has in nearly every county in Ireland doubled the salaries of the officials. That is what we complain of, and the same complaint is made not only in the south and west, but also in the north of Ireland. In the county with which I am acquainted, the secretary was paid a salary of £293 by the Grand Jury—that was all that came out of the ratepayers' pockets—and he also levied fees off the road contractors. Although the county paid for the printing, he charged them fees for tender forms and specifications, and while there was no statute to authorise these charges, these fees were levied off contractors by the Grand Jury officials all over Ireland. We offered our secretary £700 a year on condition that he did all the work, and paid any accountant and clerks he needed. The Local Government Board step in and say that the gentleman who got £293 from the Grand Jury must now get £600 a year, and we must besides pay an accountant and clerks to do all the work, while he need not do anything at all. That is a typical instance of what the Local Government Board are doing all over Ireland. It is true of Kerry in the south, and it is true of Fermanagh in the north, where the Unionist county council adopted even a stronger resolution of protest than we did in Roscommon in the west, and my hon. friend (Mr. Jordan) will bear me out in this matter. What they have done in raising salaries in the case of the county council officials, the Local Government Board have also done in the case of the district council and poor law officials. The other day a member of an English council told me that his experience of officials was that their one aim in life after they are appointed is to study how they will get an increase of salary, and if one of them sees an official in a neigh-

bouring union or council getting more salary than he does, he concentrates all his energies to induce his paymasters to bring him to the same level. What is true of officials in England is true of Ireland, and the Local Government Board, perhaps, in raising salaries wholesale wish to attach to themselves all the devotion and all the support of every official under all the new bodies. They have carried this principle so far that in one case, where an official was found content with his salary, they insisted on his taking £10 more than he asked for. This was in Abbeylax Union, and the Clerk there has been obliged to accept a higher salary than he thought fair himself. I am glad the Financial Secretary to the Treasury is present, because there is one point to which I wish to direct his attention, namely, as affecting the compensations which have been granted by the Local Government Board. In the union with which I am acquainted, it was part of the clerk's duties to check the rate collectors' accounts once a fortnight. The Local Government Board issue an order that where the clerks of union do this work now, although it was part of their former duties, they must get 5s. per hundred ratings, and in the case to which I refer this came to £45 a year. The clerk claimed that he had lost £10 a year as returning officer and £12 a year under the Cattle Diseases Act, and the Local Government Board sanction his claim for £110 compensation for diminution of income, although he had already got £45 extra as I have described, and then the Local Government Board come in and say he must get £80 a year for his new duties under the district council, although this new work replaces the duties that were transferred from him. Half this compensation for diminution of income is to come out of money controlled by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury. In Belmullet Union the same thing was sanctioned by the Local Government Board, but I believe the Imperial Treasury have come in and told the Local Government Board that although they may fire away the money of the Irish ratepayers they are not going to fire away the money of the Imperial Treasury. I am afraid that nearly all these compensations have now been paid, but I hope the hon. Gentleman will make some inquiry into the matter, and he will find

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cases just as extraordinary as those I have quoted. The reason I have given these details is in order to make out a case, as it strikes us in Ireland, why we want control or some check on this body of gentlemen in Dublin who are appointed by English parties, who are entirely irresponsible to Irish opinion, and who ignore and flout us. I will deal with a few of the other acts of the Local Government Board since the new bodies have taken office. Of the object of the first matter to which I will refer I do not complain; the object was a worthy one, but I object to the means adopted by the Local Government Board to attain that object. I refer to the Board's action with regard to dispensary doctors. I, for one, think dispensary doctors in Ireland have been ill-paid, badly paid. In some cases their salary has not been more than the wages of an ordinary skilled mechanic. What I complain of is that the Local Government Board issued an ukase under Section 12 of the Act of 1851, breaking the contracts these doctors had with the new bodies, and ordering that they should have an increase of salary, without any regard to local feeling.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. ATKINSON, Londonderry, N.): The hon. Gentleman is under some misapprehension; there is no increase of salary.

*MR. TULLY: There is an extra expense, which is the same thing to the ratepayers.

MR. ATKINSON: No; the hon. Gentleman is mistaken.

*MR. TULLY: I will explain it to the right hon. Gentleman; I know all about it. I often hear the sacredness of the right of contract referred to in this House. The contracts which the Irish doctors had with the Irish unions were that they were to give twelve months' work for twelve months' pay. But the Local Government Board come in and say, "No; we will give you thirteen months' pay for eleven months' work, because each doctor acted as *locum tenens* for his neighbour." That is how it has practically worked out in our union. Under this order of the Board the doctors are given a month's leave of absence, and, whether we like it or not,

we must pay the salaries of the *locum tenens* for that period. I do not object to the doctors getting a month's holiday; I do not object even to the expense caused by it; but I do object to the means by which the Local Government Board did it. Although the Board had this power from 1851, they did not put it into force until the landlords had been relieved of paying their portion of the poor rate. Another question which has caused a great deal of discussion in Ireland is one the object of which also is philanthropic—the question of trained nurses. I voted with the Government for the clause myself, but I never thought it would be utilised in the manner it has been. There was to be a trained nurse employed in each union, under rules prescribed by the Local Government Board. Influenced by some of those subterranean influences which exist in Dublin, the Board drafted the rules in such a way that they deliberately excluded the very best class of nurses in the Catholic parts of Ireland—they shut out the nuns, and made this sphere of work a close preserve for nurses coming from hospitals in Dublin, one of which is a limited liability company paying regular dividends. As half the salary is not recouped to the unions unless the appointment is made under these prescribed rules, it is almost impossible, unless the guardians incur heavy financial liability, to have sisters of mercy as nursing officers. The effect of the rules is that in order to be a trained nurse in a workhouse a lady must spend three or four years in a city hospital, and we know that when a lady has spent that time in the city she will hardly be content to remain very long in a little country town. The result is that these nurses flit from one union to another, and the Local Government Board sanction it, and permit this kind of thing to go on. In our union we decided to give the salaries on a sliding scale, so that the longer the nurse stopped the bigger salary she would get. We issued our advertisements on that line. The Local Government Board, however, would not agree to these advertisements, but they actually wrote down to say that if we would issue our advertisements in the form they thought right they would send them to the nurses they had on a special list. Although we had been advertising for a number of months without getting

a reply, it was then for the first time that we discovered the existence of this little list and were able to get a reply. We wanted to have Catholic nurses, it being a Catholic district, but the reply we got from the “little list” of the Local Government Board was from a lady in an English rectory, who was asked to come over to a little country town in the west of Ireland and settle down there as a trained nurse. We have also found that the Board have another “little list” in regard to the question of analysts of medicines. One of the provisions of the Act was that the unions would not be recouped half the cost of medicines unless the medicines were analysed by a qualified analyst. We had had a county analyst for years, to whom the county paid £25 a year, a sum which covered all his duties. As soon as the Local Government Act was passed we had a letter from the Local Government Board intimating that we should not be recouped half the cost of medicines unless we appointed a special analyst. Some of the unions advertised, and got gentlemen to tender to do the work at very nominal sums, but the Board would not sanction their appointment. Then to our great surprise we found they had a little list of five or six gentlemen, and unless we accepted the terms of these gentlemen we could not get the appointment sanctioned. In our county, one of those gentlemen, perhaps the most distinguished member of the profession in Ireland, Sir Charles Cameron, had made his bargain with the different unions in the county, and instead of getting £25, for which he had been willing to do the work, under the Grand Jury, he would have made about £300 a year. We, as a county council, were not going to have the ratepayers treated in that way, and we interfered, and decided that unless he would accept £50 and do all the work of the unions, we would remove him as county analyst. He agreed, cancelled his bargain, and took our offer. That was another instance in which the Board had a little list, but how do we know that in other appointments we may have to make they have not other little lists introducing similar conditions? The Government have refused to give us a Catholic University in Ireland, and while we have got a semblance of local government, how do we know but by insisting on certain University tests for candidates, our Catholic fellow-country-

men will be excluded, and we may have to still appoint the same old parties who have monopolised all these things in the past? These are some of the reasons upon which I justify our claim to have a board of control in Ireland elected by representatives of the ratepayers, and if a county council or a district council appeals to this board they will have power to make an order. Clause 5 deals with demands ordered by a judge of assize. There is an obvious misprint here which makes it somewhat obscure. This clause deals with what are known as imperative presentments, but the particular clause to which we take exception is the one dealing with the free quartering of extra police on different districts. There is no such power in England or Scotland, and in those countries the Executive have no power to quarter police on any part of the country they please. This clause is introduced to bring about an equality of the law of Ireland with the law of England and Scotland, and its object is to have some control over the action and whims of an irresponsible Executive, and to prevent the free quartering of any police on particular districts. In this matter we ask for equality between the law of Ireland and England and Scotland. Irishmen get more than a share of their equality when taking the risks of the battlefield. We ask for some equality in the blessings of peace. Clause 6 deals with the question of money and rates. Of course we ask for money in this Bill. There is a saying in Ireland "That every aristocrat's stick has a silver top," and "That every sermon ends in money." We ask that there may be some equality between the treatment given to English occupiers and to Irish occupiers. In England, when you gave the agricultural grant to the English occupiers, they got the full benefit of it. But in Ireland, when you gave the Agricultural Grant, you voted one half of it directly into the pockets of the landlords. All we ask is that Irish occupiers shall get the full benefit of the Agricultural Grant, and the amount we ask for is something slightly in excess of what the landlords are getting under the Agricultural Grant. At the passing of the Act, you promised us three quarters of a million; you have only given us £722,000. In that characteristic manner in which you give doles from your Imperial Treasury you have "docked" us of £25,000 from the

sum you promised at the passing of this Act. In the county where I am on the new bodies the Local Government Board are giving their attention to preparing lists of favourite officials instead of giving us information of finance affecting the rates of the county. As far as I can make out in our county—and I had the assistance of a distinguished financier who examined the figures—I found from our scrutiny that, so far as we could make out the returns, we were about £1,000 short compared with what we should have got under the Agricultural Grant. I find that the Most Rev. Dr. Kelly has gone very carefully into these figures, as they affect the Asylum grants, and he finds that the Imperial Treasury have deprived us of a great deal of money which we were entitled to at the passing of the Local Government Act. He says—

"In October, 1897, the British Treasury had received £159,000 of Irish money from the Irish publicans. That amount was a payment for twelve months. Out of that payment the British Treasury had defrayed the expenses of Irish Asylums only for three months up to the end of the year 1897, and then shifted the burden to the Irish Taxation Account. What right had the Treasury to receive and retain twelve months' income, while defraying only three months' liabilities?"

That is the statement of the manner in which we have been treated in regard to the Agricultural Grant to which we were entitled according to the statement of the right hon. Gentleman on the opposite bench. As a private Member I could not, of course, introduce any Bill which would mean a draft on the Consolidated Fund, but I have mentioned the Irish Church surplus. In the Queen's Speech you were striving to give that fund to the landlords, most of whom are absentees from Ireland, and are a worthless class who are no use to you now that you are in a difficulty. I contend that it is far better that this money, if it is to be given in relief of rates, should be given in the Irish towns and on farm buildings. I think there is a wide difference to be drawn upon this question of buildings and their rating in Ireland and England. England is a manufacturing country, while Ireland is an agricultural country, and the little towns live on the agricultural industry, and when it is depressed, they are depressed. It is not so in England, where you depend on manufacturing industries. Therefore, buildings in Ireland should not

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be treated on the same lines and principles which are applied to them in England and Scotland. If this money is voted, it should be voted in relief of the buildings on farms and in relief of the rates in the towns in Ireland. I am sure you could not give the money from the Imperial Treasury to a better purpose than that of enabling public bodies in Ireland to apply it to matters dealing with the health of the people, sanitation, waterworks, and the building of better houses for the artisans. You could not vote money for a better purpose than that of enabling these public bodies to go on with this work of improving the towns of Ireland. The next clause is one by which we propose that the rates of any hereditament under £4 valuation, if two thirds of the county council or urban council decree it, shall be levied on the landlord, as was the case in the past. There is nothing very novel in this proposal. The hon. Gentleman the Member for North Belfast introduced a clause in the Local Government Bill by which he applied this very provision to county boroughs, and it is now the law, and we simply ask that the powers of that clause shall be extended from the boroughs in Ireland to the county councils and urban councils, because most of the poverty exists in the small villages in Ireland. I have seen since the change came into operation that the rating authorities have had to go to the houses of the very poorest people and claim rates which are in many cases equal to the entire earnings of the family for a single week, and many of them have had to go without food on that account. We cannot levy rates on poor washerwomen, and people living in wretched hovels. The result is that such rates have to be levied on the solvent ratepayers. Consequently the owners of this slum property—and there is no property pays so well, for they make more profit out of slum property than decent houses—escaped their rates and put them on to the other ratepayers. This proposal is already the law in some parts of Ireland, and that law should be clearly and equitably extended to the whole country. We put on a check that this power can only be exercised by a two-thirds majority. There is also in the Bill a minor proposal dealing with the urban districts which become urban authorities. If a town in

Ireland proposes to become an urban sanitary authority, only one-fourth of the rates fall on the lands and the other three-fourths fall on the occupier. That is a small question, but it has prevented those people in Ireland becoming urban authorities, and I think it should be the policy to encourage urban authorities that are inclined towards progress and improvement. Then we have another clause, which states that the contributory areas for special sanitary charges shall be determined by the district council. At present these are only fixed with the sanction of the Local Government Board. When special sanitary work was done for a special district, the old rule was that the expense should be charged to the area which derives the benefit of it. The Local Government Board does not care about doubling salaries, but if a parish pump has to be provided that Board steps in and says that in the interests of economy they cannot sanction it—that it would complicate the book-keeping, and cause more expense. The result is that they put an embargo and a block on all sanitary improvement. When the Local Government Board talk of economy it reminds me of Mark Twain's saying, "It would almost make a cast-iron dog laugh." And now as to the exclusion of clergymen from our local boards: the clause proposed in this Bill is copied from the English County Council Act of 1888. We say that the present law excluding the clergy—who, after all, in Ireland are in a great majority priests—is a slur upon them. It is a re-enacting of the old penal laws; it is monstrous, and I shall always protest against it. The next clause deals with the question of the magistrates in Ireland. It is copied nearly word for word from the English Act, and we claim the equality of Ireland with England. We say that the magistrates in Ireland appointed by the votes of the people should be as independent as the magistrates elected by the votes of the people in England. If a magistrate commits himself, or is guilty of some act of indiscretion, we say, let him be tried as a magistrate in England is tried, in open court, but do not let him be tried in secret by the Lord Chancellor of Ireland. The next question we have to deal with is the use of court-houses, schoolrooms, and other buildings, the expense of which is provided for out of the

rates. This clause is copied from the Scotch Act. In Scotland you can hold meetings in any room built out of the public rates. There is no restriction as to class or political opinion. I have myself addressed an Irish Nationalist meeting in a public building in Scotland, got under this clause by Irish Nationalists residing there, but if I go over to Ireland I am prevented from doing so. Now, I say in a matter like that we should have equality of treatment, and that the Irish should not have this badge of inferiority put on them. The question of the use of court houses in Ireland has become acute during the last few months, and I am aware that a great deal of the trouble about it was stirred up by a secret circular issued to the sheriffs by Dublin Castle. It was all because the green flag had been hoisted above a court-house, and the circular commanded the sheriffs to interfere. In the county I represent I heard the sheriff—who is a gentleman, who has lived in England a considerable time, and for that reason has, perhaps, more common-sense—say :

“You may hang the green flag from every pane of glass in the building so far as I am concerned, but I have been directed by Dublin Castle, and I must obey my instructions, to prevent you decorating the court-house, if you call it a decoration, with the green flag.”

If I ask for the use of a court-house for the purpose of political meetings it is looked upon as a blasphemy, whereas in Scotland you are allowed to hold such meetings in court-houses, schoolrooms, or any public building erected out of the rates. When you draw this hard and fast line how does it work out in Ireland? In the principal cities and large towns, where politics are supposed to be worked up to fever heat, you have town-halls, built out of the public rates, where meetings can be held, either national or Tory, and all kinds of politics talked; but in the little country towns, where the court-house is the only building large enough for any public meeting, and where life is sad and dull enough, Dublin Castle steps in, prevents a meeting being held, and the court-house remains empty as if it were sacrosanct. I say that it is a monstrous thing. I know that a creamery society, promoted by the right hon. Gentleman the Vice-President of the new Board of Agriculture in Ireland, was actually put out of a court-house. In my own union we have allowed the meet-

ings of his creamery society in our Board room, and I suppose the Local Government Board will come down upon us and turn them out. We are compelled under the law passed in 1898 to hold quarterly meetings of the district council, at which the public have a right by statute to admission. At these meetings the road contractors are appointed, and hundreds have to attend with their sureties. When in Strokestown, in my county, the district council went to discharge this public duty, they found the door of the court house barred and bolted against them, and all because they did not issue a placard summoning the meeting, stating that it was held by permission of the sheriff. The district councils replace the old presentment sessions, which always held their meetings in the court house, but because the councils are elected by the votes of the people, and because their members are drawn from a different class to the old presentment sessions, they cannot hold their meetings unless they put on their placards the badge of inferiority, “We meet by permission of the sheriff.” We find that rooms in these court-houses are used, and have been used for years, for the meetings of the local Freemason lodges and as rent offices, and recently the Sligo court-house was used for the sheriff’s family ball. I shall very briefly refer to the remaining proposals of the Bill. One of them deals with the question of the width of roads. In the old days the grand juries made all the roads for the convenience of the districts in which they themselves lived, and the more populous districts—the mountains, bogs and swamps into which the poor were driven—were left without sufficient road accommodation. The people were compelled to pay for the beautiful roads leading to the deserted houses of landlords, while they themselves had no roads leading to their villages. The greatest amount of inconvenience is caused by this want of roads. Corpses have to be carried over ditches and fields, and clergymen and doctors have to travel through fields to many houses. According to the Act new roads must be sixteen feet wide, and we ask power to make roads in the poorer districts twelve feet wide. It is in the interests of economy, as four feet makes a great difference in the amount of land required. In

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Devonshire and also in France there are narrow lanes, and all we ask is that instead of an arbitrary rule being fixed it should be left to the discretion of the county councils to make roads of any any width not less than twelve feet. Of course in such roads stopping places can be provided, as in Devonshire, to allow carts to pass, and no objection to the proposal can be taken on that ground. Another proposal in the Bill provides for direct labour. In some counties this proposal has not been served by the indiscreet advocacy of some new found friends of labour drawn from the camp of hon. Gentlemen opposite. We think that it is an important question if we are to have good roads in Ireland. In England and Scotland the local bodies can employ labour direct to make or repair roads, and we claim the same right in Ireland. The grand juries were tied up by the contract system. It was probably one of the necessities of the case, because they only met twice a year. But the new bodies meet more often—the district councils meet nearly every week—and there would be perfect supervision and no abuse if labour were directly employed. When the new bodies were elected the contractors, who had systematically neglected the roads under the grand juries, imagined they had nothing more to do except to incur the inconvenience of coming to the meetings of the councils for their cheques. We could not find our way to agree to that arrangement, and we were not going to put up with high rates and bad roads. We put down our foot, and the contractors howled when we insisted that there should be good roads. Under one of the provisions of the Act I was, fortunately, able to secure five miles of road for direct labour. The ratepayers thought we were going to rob them, but the result was that we had better roads than we ever had before. The contractors became frightened, they believed the labourers would compete against them for the roads, and contractors who had never swept the roads before are now buying brushes. I think, therefore, that the new bodies in Ireland ought to have the power to employ direct labour. Another clause in the Bill deals with provisional orders. It may seem a contradiction that the first part of the Bill provides that the powers of the Local Government Board should be curtailed,

whereas the last clause proposes that provisional orders made by them should not require the sanction of Parliament. It is, however, a very real hardship, and we ask that when a Provisional Order is made by the Local Government Board it ought to be accepted. In one town I know we are promoting a scheme for the better housing of artisans. In that town a penny in the £ produces only £18, and because of some difficulties in Chancery, although there is no opposition we must get compulsory powers and come to Parliament to have the Provisional Order of the Local Government Board confirmed. I say we should get some modification of the law in that respect. Another provision in the Bill proposes the total abolition of claims for malicious injuries. Such claims have always been a fraud and a sham, and no similar power exists in England or Scotland. We claim equality in the matter. Why cannot property be insured, as in this country, against injuries which are only too often inflicted in the interests of the owners? I must apologise for having taken up so much of the time of the House. As I said at the beginning, this is a very complex question, and one full of grave and serious difficulties, especially when we are compelled to bring it forward by way of Bill. But owing to the new rules of Supply we have been deprived of the opportunity of debating the action of the Local Government Board in connection with the administration of the new Act, and accordingly the Board has escaped the criticism it should receive from the representatives of the people in Parliament. I do not know whether I can appeal to hon. Gentlemen opposite to give this Bill favourable consideration. Perhaps if the right hon. Gentleman, whose absence we all deplore, had been present and had been able to listen to the case we submit he would consider it, and perhaps embody some of the reforms we ask for in the law of the land. Notice of opposition to the Second Reading has been put down by an hon. Gentleman opposite, who, as far as I know, has never been in Ireland in his life. Because we ask for equality in the law as between England and Ireland the hon. Gentleman, who knows little or nothing about Irish affairs, blocks our Bill, and I suppose the big battalions of the Government will fling it out later on. I heard one of the military Members oppo-

site say, yesterday, what he would not give for 100,000 Irishmen in the present crisis of English affairs. To begin with, will he give us this Bill, which hurts no Imperial interest, and is a mere fragment of the rights we are entitled to? Very probably that hon. and gallant Gentleman will be found in the lobby against us this evening, and as long as our reasonable demands are treated in this way you need not expect us to take that sympathetic interest in your troubles that you now appear to require from us.

MR. DALY (Monaghan, S.): My task in seconding the motion will be very easy, considering the brilliant manner in which my hon. friend has treated this question and the number of details into which he has gone. I think the experience of every Irish Member in this House is that very seldom does a measure affecting Ireland pass into law which is perfect, and it is for the purpose of endeavouring to repair some of the cracks and flaws, and to supply omissions in the Local Government Act of 1898 that my hon. friend has drafted the little Bill, the First Reading of which he has just moved. After twelve months' working of this Act we have discovered in it defects which it is necessary to remedy, and, in view of the admirable manner in which the county and districts councils have discharged their duties under it, I do hope we shall obtain from the Attorney General for Ireland some assurance that the Government are prepared to give favourable consideration to our proposals. It must be admitted that, after all, when the Bill passed into law it was not much more than a mere skeleton. It took the Local Government Board a long time to fill up the crevices and to put some clothing upon it. That clothing is still ill-fitting. To show how little regard was paid to the Bill when it was passing through this House I may point out that one of its provisions was that the urban council elections should take place on Sunday, the 15th January, and this, not unnaturally, caused a great deal of uneasiness among the people of Ireland, who were shocked at the idea that the sanctity of the Sabbath was thus to be desecrated. I admit that the error was remedied, and that the elections were held on a Monday. But that does not do away with the fact that there were a great many heart-burnings on the point among the Irish

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people. Seeing that this Act embodies the Grand Jury, the Poor Law Relief, and many other Acts, it is not to be wondered at that there are defects to be found in it, and I believe that if the Government were to accept the measure of my hon. friend it would rectify many of those defects, and ensure much more smooth working in the future. I think the suggestion of my hon. friend the Member for South Leitrim, to establish a Board of Control, is a very happy one. At the present moment there is no such board. The whole of the work falls on the Local Government Board, and, from my experience of more than twenty years in connection with boards of guardians and other local bodies, I must say that the Local Government Board is unsympathetic and unrepresentative of the feelings of the Irish people. It is for the purpose of endeavouring to secure some representation of the people that this provision has been introduced into the Bill. I do not see how a Board of Control could do the least harm. It would be representative of the four great provinces of Ireland, as well as of the cities and boroughs, and inasmuch as the Local Government Board would have two members upon it, I cannot see where any injury is to come in from the acceptance of the provision. I believe, on the contrary, it would give the Irish people confidence in the working of the Act, and at the same time it would relieve the Chief Secretary for Ireland of some of his too numerous duties. We all regret that the right hon. Gentleman is not here to-day; we regret, too, the cause of his absence. We all hope that he will be back before long. But we cannot be surprised at his being laid up, considering the arduous work he is called upon to perform. He is suffering from what we may call a sweating system. He has to appear in so many different capacities that it is surprising he should ever be able to fulfil all his duties. Whether rightly or wrongly, the idea has grown up in the minds of the Irish people that the Local Government Act is being worked in such a way as to discredit them. There is no hangover of the Local Government Board who is not flouting the voices of the representatives of the people. They dictate terms to those representatives, and, in fact, so great has been the increase in salaries through the intervention of the Local Government Board that the Act will be of

very little use to the people for a great many years to come. My hon. friend has cited a number of instances in which the Local Government Board have interfered and increased salaries, and have flouted the views of the representatives of the people on the local boards of Ireland. It is unnecessary for me, therefore, to bring forward any further cases to prove the un rebuttable case which my hon. friend has placed before you. I will, however, refer to one. The Castleblaney Board of Guardians quite recently was called upon to appoint a clerk to the union, and they fixed a salary which they deemed adequate for the performance of the duties. But the Local Government Board for three months refused to sanction that salary, although during the whole of the interval the guardians were plagued with applicants for the post at the salary they had fixed. Why should guardians, who know the wants of a district, and exactly what the duties of an officer are, be thus interfered with by the Local Government Board? Then there is the case of the dispensary doctors' holidays. An order—I say nothing as to whether it is right or wrong—has been issued by the Local Government Board upon this subject, and I would ask why should boards of guardians be coerced in this matter? Our workhouses have been built for at least fifty years, and it is an extraordinary thing that it is only when the landlords are relieved of the duty of paying half the poor rates that the Local Government Board come forward and compel boards of guardians to give holidays to the doctors. I put a question to the Chief Secretary on this subject the other day, and asked whether the board of guardians had been consulted in the matter. The answer was in the negative. When later on I asked if it were not a fact that the giving of these holidays involved an expenditure of from £15,000 to £20,000, the right hon. Gentleman did not deny it, but he pointed out that it only represented about half a farthing in the pound of the ratepayers' money. But surely the fact of the cost being so small does not justify the refusal to recoup boards of guardians for an outlay as to the necessity for which they were never consulted. If a doctor falls sick he is entitled to have a substitute appointed in addition.

*THE SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. T. W. RUSSELL, Tyrone, S.): Why not?

MR. DALY: I am not disputing that. But I am contending that this is a matter which ought to be left in the hands of boards of guardians. Why did not the hon. Member for South Tyrone advocate this change before the landlords escaped paying half the poor rates?

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: The hon. Member is speaking in ignorance of the facts. For years before I occupied a seat on this front bench I brought in a Bill for the better treatment of dispensary doctors in Ireland, and it would have been passed but for the opposition of a few of the hon. Members opposite.

MR. DALY: It is extraordinary how the opposition of Members on this side of the House prevailed when the landlords were in power. The moment they got out of power our opposition becomes of no effect. The hon. Member talks about my ignorance of the facts, but it seems to me that he thought it a good thing to go before the country and say, "I am in favour of holidays for the doctors, and I will bring in a Bill to secure them, knowing as I do that so long as the landlords are in power it can be brushed aside by the opposition of a few Nationalist Members, but the moment the Local Government Act is passed the Irish Members need not be consulted, and the thing can be done." Why, I again ask, did not the hon. Gentleman do it before the landlords were relieved of the payment of half the poor rates? I believe that if he had been as zealous in pushing this matter forward before the Local Government Act was passed as he now is, the result would have been that we should have got a much larger grant from the Government.

*MR. T. W. RUSSELL: All the Bills I introduced were before the Local Government Act was passed, when the landlords paid half the poor rate, and I repeat, though the majority of the Irish Members were in favour of them, a few Members opposite successfully opposed them.

MR. DALY: I hope the hon. Gentleman has improved his opinion by the explanation. At the same time I am un-

convinced. I accept the explanation for what it is worth, and put the cloak of sincerity over it in charity. He did his best under the circumstances. Since the passage of the Local Government Act the Local Government Board have issued orders for making workhouses into a sort of high-class hotel. This has only been done since the rates fell upon tenants and occupiers, and the landlords consequently escape. The Local Government Board know so little about the country districts that they tar them all with the same brush. They do not know which treat the poor well and which do not, so they issue the same hard and fast rule to the whole of the boards of guardians. I say the board of guardians of which I am a member has not been well treated, and that the benefits received from the Agricultural Grant will be scarcely noticed in that district. The average cost on the rates is 1s. 1d. in the £, and after receiving the Agricultural Grant the increases we had to make one way and the other very nearly absorbed it. Then as to the clerks of the unions in Ireland who had to keep the union rating, all that has now been transferred to the county council, but the Local Government Board says the salaries of those gentlemen are not to be less than before, though they perform less duties. In some instances there have been increases of salary. The hon. Gentleman need not shake his head.

MR. ATKINSON: I do not question the hon. Gentleman's statement, but I deny that any salary has been increased whilst the duty has been decreased.

MR. DALY: I will now pass on to a grievance much felt in Ireland, namely, clergymen not being allowed to be members of boards of guardians. In a great many districts they are the largest ratepayers, and it is shocking that the largest ratepayer and generally the best educated man in the district should be said to be not qualified to act on the board of guardians or the district council, when those who cannot write their own names are qualified. I would rather have a clergyman on the council than his nominee, for there may be some reason in arguing with him, but if any man is brought in as his nominee he will not budge a sixteenth of an inch, whatever reason you bring to bear. This is my opinion after twelve months experi-

ence of the work of the Local Government Act. There is one other matter I would like to refer to, and that is that the ratepayers of Ireland who pay the salary cannot appoint the court-house porter. Is it any wonder that we are not satisfied, and have grave suspicion of the laws which are made for us in this House? This Bill may amend some of the errors of the Local Government Act; it is a very useful Bill, and it would smooth away many difficulties in the working of the Local Government Act.

Motion made and Question proposed—
"That the Bill be now read a second time."—(Mr. Tully.)

MR. ARCHDALE (Fermanagh, N.) said he did not propose to offer many remarks upon the proposed Bill. When the Local Government Bill was brought in last year, against the wishes of the majority of the Unionist Members, they determined to give it the most loyal support, and since it had passed into law they had done their utmost to facilitate the working of the Act in every possible way. While there were some clauses of the new Bill which were most useful, he could not disguise his opposition to the principle of the measure, more particularly to the suggested Board of Control. The Board of Control would do away with the Local Government Board, and while he admitted that the latter body was not under sufficient control, he could see no advantage in having a Local Government Board in Ireland if there was to be a Board of Control to override its decisions. In moving the Second Reading of the Bill the hon. Member asserted that the Bill introduced the same system of control as the Agricultural Act passed last session. It was not the same system. The Agricultural Board was an advisory Board; the Board of Control under the Bill would be a supreme Board. He thought it was a great pity that politics were so largely introduced in the county councils, and that there seemed to be no prospect of meeting in a central association of the county councils in Dublin to assist the Local Government Board without the political element presenting itself. He thought the Local Government Board interfered to a considerable extent more than they should, but in a great many cases with a good deal of reason. One of the cases mentioned

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was that of the Sisters of Mercy in the unions. Nobody appreciated the good qualities of the Sisters of Mercy and nuns more than he did, but he believed that the nuns acting as nurses in the different unions were not allowed, according to the rules of the order, to act at night. At that time, therefore, paupers were left to the mercy of some idiotic old pauper who knew nothing about nursing, and that, be it noted, at the very time they most required attention. He did not think that was the proper state of affairs. Nurses should be available both night and day, to do all the good they could for the poor of their respective neighbourhoods, receiving fair pay and fair treatment. He could not help thinking that dispensary doctors in Ireland got the very worst of treatment. He believed that his Unionist colleagues were most anxious to give them good treatment and good pay. He knew that many hon. Members on the other side were also most anxious to see them fairly treated, but unfortunately many of the district councillors did not seem to have the knowledge and understanding of the subject of the old guardians, and in their endeavours to save the rates treated the doctors as if they were not worth their proper pay. As to the proposed repeal of the fifth section of the Local Government Act, he thought that to put England on a par with Ireland in the matter of malicious injuries was to lead the House to a false impression as to what would happen in the country. It was no good to put England on a parallel with Ireland, for everybody knew that the same things did not happen there. Many of them followed the meetings of the United Irish League in the same way that they used to follow the meetings of the Irish National League. He had not so much objection to the rating of the owner instead of the occupier in the case of small tenements under £4. Many of these men were very poor, and the collection gave the rate collector an immense amount of trouble. As to Clause 10, he had not the least objection to a clergyman or priest, or minister of any denomination, being a councillor, but he must say that he did not think it was proper work for them. He thought a minister of religion had much better attend to his own work, and from what he knew of clergymen, he did not

think they were particularly anxious to do the work. He saw no objection to Clause 12, entitling the county councils to the use of the court house. As to the direct labour clause (Clause 15), his experience was that labour for the councils was entirely contrary to cheapness and also to good roads. As a county councillor and district councillor he did not think the proposed Board of Control would add to economy, to good work, or to anything conducive to the good of Ireland, and for that reason he was totally opposed to the Amendment Act which the hon. Member had brought forward.

MR. JORDAN (Fermanagh, S.): I rise to support this Bill. The arbitrary action of that irresponsible Board in Dublin, the Local Government Board, compels us to seek redress in this House. The Local Government Board in Dublin is an aggregation of fortuitous atoms responsible to no one. It acts on its own initiative; it rules at its own sweet will; it has no responsibility; it is accountable to no one; it is perfectly absolute and despotic in Ireland; whereas in England the Local Government is a State department, and is managed and represented in this House by a Cabinet Minister and an Under Secretary of State, whose sole business is to attend to that department, and who are accountable to this House for its right administration. But with us, local government is not a department of State, and we have no Parliamentary representative responsible. For although the Chief Secretary for Ireland is said to be the head of the Irish Local Government Board, he does not stand in the same relation to us as the right hon. the President and the Member for South Tyrone stand to the English Local Government Board. The Chief Secretary has too much to do, he is President of too many Boards in Ireland, and it is impossible that he in Ireland could attend, as your Minister in England does, to any one department, and it would be unfair to ask him. We are thus left at the mercy of a coterie of officials in the Custom House, and at the whim of every secretary and clerk in the offices of the Local Government Board to interpret Acts as he thinks fit and to issue mandates to local bodies, irrespective of their applicability, convenience, or expense. To such an extent have the Local Government Board per-

sisted and insisted on their commands being obeyed by urban, district, and county councils and board of guardians, that it has become a public scandal; and there is little but friction and irritation between them and public boards. I have no doubt their orders are often illegal, but they know it is hard for small boards to fight a public department. And then if they have not law they make it in a handy manner by an order in council or a rule. And the most extraordinary part of the case is that all their instructions are in the direction of additional labour to local officials and additional expense, and that to such an extent that I consider the whole of the Agricultural Grant will soon be absorbed in salaries of new men, in additional salaries to old hands, in pensions and expenses of printing, and of various other kinds, until the farmers won't derive a penny-worth of benefit from the grant. They won't assist local authorities to reduce expenditure or even to conduct business at moderate expenditure. Everything is made as expensive as possible. You cannot resist the impression that the Local Government Board intends to penalise Irish ratepayers, that the Local Government Act may become so distasteful to them that they will seek to get back to the old grand jury system to rid themselves of this expensive luxury—more particularly since the landlord goes scot free. If this be true—and it is true—is it any wonder we claim some court of appeal, some responsible tribunal, against the arbitrary decisions of the Local Government Board? Having so arraigned this Board, I think it is only just to prove my case. I shall not deal in generalities. I will cite their action in the county of Fermanagh—the county I represent, both here and on the local boards. I will first state the action of the Local Government Board in regard to the Fermanagh County Council, and in reference to the salary and emoluments of the secretary of the council. An off-scion of one of the respectable houses of the county was appointed some years ago to be secretary of the grand jury at a net salary of £306 a year. The place was a sinecure: a clerk ran the concern for fees while the secretary walked about smoking cigars—he smokes cigarettes now. The council did not wish to dismiss him. They knew he would do little. They appointed three clerks to do the work;

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they took him at the estimate of the grand jury, who were his friends, and knew his worth. We took him on at their estimate and a little more, for the finance committee fixed his salary at £310 a year. This recommendation came before the county council, and they unanimously adopted the committee's report. He appealed to the Local Government Board, and what was the result? The Local Government Board, without consulting us, without asking our reasons for our decision, without any consideration whatever, in the most arbitrary and despotic manner wrote us that they— they, mark you—had fixed his salary at £500 a year, or £190 of an advance. The announcement fell on the council like a lyddite shell, and several Tory members said, "There is no use in us sitting here as registering machines of the Local Government Board in Dublin. We had better retire and let them do the business themselves." I say it was an insult to override our decision in such a way, and no man will sit on county councils and be dealt with in such a drastic and despotic manner as that. Again, we had voted him £60 as expenses for bringing the Act into operation, and on his appeal, without any reference to us whatever, the Local Government Board in the same arbitrary manner wrote to say they had fixed the sum at £100, or £40 more for this small transaction. We knew the merits of the case; they knew nothing about them, only on the *ex parte* statement of the secretary. The next thing we hear is that Inspector Saunderson came down to see a certain number of books which have to be inspected every week. When we appointed the three clerks these books were brought to the table, and we were told that the three clerks were necessary to check these books weekly. When the inspector came down to make his inspection the secretary told him—privately, of course—that he could not do all this work weekly, and it was too much for him and the three clerks, and they could not do it. After that we had a recommendation from the Local Government Board, through the inspector, that we should appoint another clerk in addition to the other three, to assist the secretary to do the work, for which we had already appointed three clerks. I think it is perfectly preposterous that we should be treated in

this manner by the Local Government Board. I must say that the county council of Fermanagh are most anxious to administer the affairs of the county honestly, fairly, and justly to all parties concerned. It is a Unionist council, and not one of those tag-rag-and-bobtail Nationalist councils. The Earl of Erne is the chairman, and he is a most respectable chairman. And yet this is the way the Local Government Board treats the Unionist council for Fermanagh. I think the least the Local Government Board might have done was to consult us before deciding to make these increases. So indignant was the county council that they at once passed the following resolution, which I will read to the House. His Lordship was in the chair, and the resolution is as follows—

“ We hereby protest in the strongest possible manner against what this council considers the most high-handed action of the Local Government Board in fixing the salary of the secretary of the council at £500—*i.e.*, £190 over what this council, after due deliberation, thought was quite sufficient, and at granting him £40 over our decision for bringing the Local Government Act into operation, and that we hereby refuse to accept their decision on the matter, and resolve by every means at our disposal to re-ist it.”

What must have been the indignation of that Unionist council, with Lord Erne in the chair, when they passed such a resolution unanimously, without a dissenting voice? I say that when such a resolution can be passed unanimously by the county council of Fermanagh the action of the Local Government Board stands condemned. I see the Under Secretary for the English Local Government Board in his place, and I ask him what would he have done under such circumstances? My opinion is that the President and the Under Secretary himself would have written to the local authority asking them their reasons for their action, and they would probably have sent an inspector down to investigate the matter. All we want is that, if there should happen to be a difference of opinion between us and the officers of the Local Government Board, we should be heard on the other side. If we are heard fairly on the other side then we might arrive at a conclusion by compromise satisfactory to all parties. But for the Local Government Board in Dublin to sit upon us in this way is more than honourable and respectable men can bear, and we won't bear it.

The Fermanagh County Council will carry out that resolution, and they will refuse to pay these sums when the bill is sent in. We had a case not long ago in connection with the poor law guardians. Dr. Clark, one of the dispensers, had charge of six divisions, and his salary was £120 a year. In re-arranging the districts one of these divisions was taken away from him, and the Local Government Board wrote down to the board of guardians, asking them to consider this question, and a full board met to discuss the matter. After due deliberation the board decided to reduce Dr. Clark's salary by one-sixth, leaving the other five divisions at £20 each. It was also decided at the same meeting to give him five years' compensation for the loss of the sixth division, and that was in accordance with the Board's view of the Act. They decided to pay him £100 compensation, but the Local Government Board in a few days changed their mind, and after asking us to consider the question, which we did to the best of our ability and favourably to the doctor, the Local Government Board changed their mind, and said, “ This won't do at all, and you have not got the right theory.” They then increased the salary to £108, and I consider that such action is only mocking us, and is not fair. Then there was the case of the clerk to the union. The Attorney General has stated that there was no case in which an increase of salary had been made to the clerk of the union where the work was reduced. But the clerk to our board has had his work reduced, and yet we pay him the same salary. The other day £60 a year was fixed as his salary as secretary to the rural district council. That is the way the money is voted. Our clerk is a most efficient clerk, and we had got a set of very expensive books sent down, and we asked the Local Government Board to allow us to work our books as before. But, regardless altogether of expense, the Local Government Board said we must throw our books away and have a new set, in order to facilitate the work of the auditor, and they compelled us to get a new set of books. The result was that to keep this difficult set of books we were compelled to add £75 a year to the clerk's salary. That is the way the money is going in the county of Fermanagh, where we seem to have no control whatever over the expenditure.

We are told that this is popular local county government, but it is anything but popular. We are elected, but we are made simply the machines to carry out the whims and fads of the Local Government Board. You talk about a despotic oligarchy in the Transvaal. That may be so, but there is no more despotic oligarchy on the face of the earth to-day, than the half-dozen irresponsible gentlemen on this committee called the Local Government Board, and are we to get no redress? Are we to be always the football of the Local Government Board? Are we to have no control and no court of appeal? I greatly regret that the Chief Secretary for Ireland is not in his place, and I am always suspicious when I see the Attorney General here. I have a most profound respect for him as a lawyer, but he is icy, and if you want anything of the warmth of reform you will not get it from him. He can point out to you the difference between tweedledee and tweedledum splendidly, but you get nothing from him, and I say this with the most profound respect. We might get something from the Chief Secretary for Ireland, because he once said himself that he would like to be in power to see how this scheme would work in Ireland, and I have no doubt that he desires to see the Act work well. If the Chief Secretary were here now and had these things pointed out to him, he might as a statesman—not as a lawyer—give some consideration to what we are saying, because we are pointing out facts and not mere theory. In conclusion I say that, we ought to have some elected body, some board of control by which we should have an appeal against the decisions of the Local Government Board, so that the side of the county councils and district councils should be heard, and in order that we should get some consideration.

MR. GRANT LAWSON (Yorkshire, W.R., Thirsk): My hon. friend, in his eloquent speech, has found fault with my moving the rejection of this Bill, because I am not the representative of an Irish constituency. It is rather a novel argument to urge that English Members are not to take an interest in Irish Bills. I think it would be well if not only Unionist Members from England, but also the Liberal Members from England, were present upon the occasion of the dis-

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cussion of such Bills as this. I desire that Ireland should be governed, as far as possible, in accordance with Irish ideas, but this measure goes considerably beyond that limit. It is necessary to make a careful study of all the proposals made by Irish Members, and these Bills are valuable because they throw a curious light upon the sort of legislation which Irish Members would be likely to put forward if they had an Irish Parliament. They also have some interest of a literary character, and I will give presently some illustrations. Irish measures have all one great fault in practical legislation, and that is that they attempt to do too much. The ardent spirits and eloquent minds of hon. Gentlemen opposite often exceed the limits of possible legislation allowed by the rules of this House to private Members. This Bill bristles with principles every one of which is suitable for a full-dress Second Reading debate. If I may say so, the main principle of the Bill is the establishment of a Board of Control. But there are in this Bill other principles as loosely strung together as are the beads on a necklace of sham pearls. The principle of this measure is that this House was altogether wrong in the year 1898, when it passed the Irish Local Government Act. That is the second principle underlying this Bill. But I will explain to the House what happened in that year. A great many of the clauses contained in this Bill were proposed as amendments to the Local Government Act. A considerable discussion took place on the subject raised by Clause 8. Clause 10 deals with the question whether clergymen in holy orders should be eligible as members of councils and poor law boards. But this question has also been debated, not long ago, in this House, and defeated by 127 votes to 88. I am not speaking now of the merits of these proposals. Now, it took almost all the power of the Chief Secretary and nearly all the time of the whole session to pass that measure through Parliament two years ago, and the hon. Member opposite now picks out all the controversial points raised in the discussion of that Act, and puts them all into a private Member's Bill, which he asks us to pass in the time—or his share of the time—at the disposal of private Members. I will come back to the fundamental principle of this Bill, and that is the Board of Control. This Board of Control is a very interest-

ing body, formed for the purpose of assisting the Local Government Board in carrying out the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898. The House is well aware of the terrible confusion caused in the East India Company by the Board of Control, and I should have thought that the words "Board of Control" would have been avoided in this Bill. Clause 2 says that—

"The Board of Control shall consist of the following members—(a) Four persons to be appointed by the chairmen of the thirty-three councils in the prescribed manner; (b) one person to be appointed by the mayors of the six county boroughs; (c) two members of the Local Government Board."

That is to say, this body is to form machinery for forming itself—an un-created body is to create machinery for its own creation. What is this body to do? Clause 3 says—

"The Board of Control shall meet at least four times a year for the purpose of discussing matters of public interest in connection with any purposes of this Act or the principal Act."

Well, if the power of this Board is limited to debating, that is a wide subject for a limited debating society. Its real object is to weaken the Local Government Board, because only two members of that Board are to be allowed to be upon it, and five out of the seven controllers are to be appointed by the bodies to be controlled. But to get at the real power to be conferred on this Board of Control we must go to Clause 4—

"When, after the passing of this Act, any orders are made by the Local Government Board affecting any county or district council, or poor law board, any such council or board may, within the prescribed time, and in the prescribed manner, appeal therefrom to the Board of Control; and the Board of Control shall at the hearing of such appeal have power, after hearing the parties, in such manner as they think fit, to confirm, annul, or vary any such order."

That is to say, this Board of Control shall have power to review the decisions of the Local Government Board. We have heard much of the conduct of the Irish Local Government Board in connection with certain local government bodies in Ireland. I cannot go into these domestic squabbles; but nearly all the things complained of in this debate, nearly all the powers exercised by the Local Government Board in Ireland can, under the law of England,

be exercised by the English Local Government Board with regard to local authorities here. We know that the English Local Government Board has produced uniformity and efficiency in local government. The yoke which the greatest and oldest municipalities in England bear willingly and contentedly the new-born Irish authorities call out against as the gravest tyranny. Would a change be for the better? The Irish Local Government Board have accumulated great experience, and have a staff of inspectors who are paid. The members of the Board of Control are not to be paid, and there is no provision in the Act for paying them. And how are these gentlemen to obtain a knowledge of every single part of Ireland, seeing that they would start with no experience, and would have no inspectors? But not only is this Board of Control to hawk at the Local Government Board, but to put themselves above and come down upon Her Majesty's judges; for in Clause 5 it is said that—

"Where the demand of a sum by any county or district council, or by the treasurer of such council, or other officer of the county, in behalf of the council, is ordered by a judge of assizes, under the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, or any other Act, the county or district council concerned may appeal for such order to the Board of Control, and the Board of Control shall have power, after hearing the parties, if they think fit, to confirm, annul, or vary such order."

That is to say, Her Majesty's judges of assize should bow before the Board of Control, and may be over-ruled by it.

MR. TULLY: I think I explained that that was only as to charges for extra police.

MR. GRANT LAWSON: Unfortunately, the hon. Gentleman draws his clause very much too wide, for it includes any payment ordered by a judge of assize. I do not suppose that ever in modern history was such an attempt to interfere with the bench, except when President Kruger wanted the judges of the High Court of the Transvaal to make their judgments conformable to the wishes of the Raad. Why all this unnecessary phraseology? Why not abolish the Local Government Board altogether? Why not relieve the judges of this part of their duty? Why not relieve the county councils of the payment of their debts? That would be economy, and reduce the

sum chargeable against Ireland in the balance sheet. I pass over a good many clauses in the Bill—although some may regard them with suspicion and as capable of being turned into weapons of oppression in capable hands—and come to Clause 11, which deals with making the chairmen of the county councils *ex officio* justices of the peace. The second sub-section of that clause is really legislation by reference. We have heard of removable magistrates in Ireland, but these magistrates are by this clause to be made irremovable, even for bad conduct, which I should think is a monstrous proposal. One other point I should like to refer to, namely, the question of roads. The hon. Gentleman who moved the Second Reading spoke of the narrow roads in Devonshire. I know something about these roads, and how it is impossible for two carriages going in the opposite directions to pass. In a very interesting work on China, Mrs. Bishop mentions that the roads there are so narrow that two coolies cannot pass one another. The Chinese are a peaceful and deferential race, and when one coolie carrying a weight meets another, if the other believes him to be superior, he steps into the mud to let the superior pass. What are you to do in the case of a twelve-foot road, which Clause 14 provides for? An Irish car averages in width of frame from six to eight feet from board to board, so that two cars meeting on these narrow roads could not pass. I maintain that a twelve-foot road is too narrow. Again, the principal Act says that there shall be an unimpeded footway, but this Bill provides that they shall be no longer so unimpeded. Section 19 says that—

“No Provisional Order made by the Local Government Board after 1st January, 1901, shall require to be confirmed by Parliament.”

That is an attempt to avoid the control of Parliament over local authorities in Ireland, and to pass a Home Rule Bill in half a sitting. I hope that other speakers may expose some other of its absurdities, and it remains for me to propose that it be read this day six months.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTSON (Hackney, S.): I find no fault myself with many of the provisions of the Bill, and I think that, to a certain extent, a Wednesday afternoon could not be better employed than in hearing hon. Members for

Mr. Grant Lawson.

Ireland stating their objections to the working of the new system of local government in Ireland. I take it that the main principle of the Bill is the creation of the Board of Control, which, it is said, is for the purpose of assisting the Local Government Board in carrying out the provisions of the Local Government (Ireland) Act of 1898. I think there is a certain amount of humour in proposing to appoint a Board of Control to assist the Local Government Board, which the Bill practically proposes to abolish. [HON. MEMBERS: No, no!] Whatever may be the wording of the Bill, that is the clear meaning and intention of every section of it. The chief complaint against the Local Government Board is that it has increased expenditure. My personal interest is exactly the same as that of hon. Gentlemen opposite; I want the rates to be lowered. The grounds on which it is stated that the Local Government Board have increased expenses are only two. One is printing. That is a small matter, and is almost necessary. But the one real substantial objection made was on the question of salaries. I think it must be within the recollection of everyone that when the Bill was before the House we all specially desired that the existing officials should be treated fairly and liberally. One instance was given in which a salary had been increased from £293 per annum with certain fees to £600. Well, I presume that the fees brought the original salary up to the £600, so that the expenditure was about the same as before. [HON. MEMBERS: No!] It must have been brought to something near it before that salary was sanctioned by the Local Government Board. The whole of the increase of salary will not fall on the county council, because presumably they will get better terms from the persons with whom they deal if these fees are not paid, or if the fees are paid into the funds of the county council.

MR. FLAVIN (Kerry, N.): The great bulk of these fees were illegal, and that is what we complained of.

MR. HERBERT ROBERTSON: I hold that where the Local Government Board has increased the salary of any particular official there is some rather good reason for it. Then it has been said that the doctors' salaries had also been in-

creased—that a doctor now got thirteen months pay for twelve months work. I would put it that the doctor gets twelve months pay for eleven months work, and I do not really think that any hon. Gentleman will object to his having a month's holiday, which he never had before. The chief charge against the Local Government Board in substance is, that they have taken this particular opportunity, when the landlords' interest in the rates is considerably less than it was before, to make these various changes. I think that is a little unfair to the Local Government Board. Some of the changes—as, for instance, that about the doctors' salaries—should have been made before. After all, it was natural that, when the Local Government Act of 1898 was passed, a certain number of changes would be made, and I cannot help thinking that most people will acquit the Local Government Board of a sinister intention of making local representative government unpopular by increasing expenses. Now there is Clause 6, the object of which is to make the assessment of agricultural land like that in England. I am not sure that that would put a good deal of money into the landlords' pockets. As regards the rating of small occupiers, when this question was before the House, I pointed out that there would be some difficulty in realising the amount, and I should not be displeased if something had been put into the Bill to alter that particular rating. But strong reasons have been given from Ireland by the larger farmers—that is, those who pay over £4 rent—that if the small occupiers had no interest whatever in the amount paid for rates, they would be exceedingly likely to elect representatives on the boards whose action would contribute to the rates going up. I do not think gentlemen who pay rates in Ireland, or the ordinary farmers, would approve of that section. As to Section 10, allowing persons in holy orders to be elected on the boards, I pointed out, when the principal Act was under discussion, that opinion on the opposite side of the House was by no means unanimous on the question, and that there were many Nationalist Members strongly opposed to persons in holy orders entering these boards. Clause 11 is intended to make every justice of the peace appointed under the Act irremovable. I should like to see the Irish Act on that point as it now exists

applied to England. As I understand these justices in England are not removable. I should like to see them removable. Another objection is, that the chairman is only a justice of the peace for the particular district in which he resides. But there was a reason for that. I do not care about the proposals for the use of the court-houses. The hon. Member for Thirsk objected to the new roads being less than sixteen feet wide, but there are many old roads that are not more than twelve feet wide, and I cannot see that any serious difficulty arises therefrom. Jaunting cars do not go down these roads.

MR. CARSON (Dublin University): Can a bicycle go down these roads?

MR. HERBERT ROBERTSON: Oh, yes, quite easily. There is seldom a foot-path on these roads, but where there is, I admit that bicyclists generally ride on the foot-path. By Clause 17, foot-paths may be blocked altogether. That reminds me that at the time of my first connection with Ireland, twenty years ago, I saw a triumphal arch put up. I naturally inquired by whose authority the arch had been erected; and the answer was, "Oh, we have no authority in Ireland: every man, as in Israel of old, does that which he thinks right in his eyes." I always found that very much the rule, and that it made Ireland a very pleasant place to live in. One of the most important sections is Clause 16, repealing the Acts granting compensation for criminal injury. Now the persons who suffer from criminal injury are small farmers, who would be ruined if these Acts were repealed. They are very old Acts, and only bring in an old Irish law custom at the time when property was tribal, and when any damage was done, the whole tribe paid. I strongly object to the repeal of these Acts. There are some points in the Bill which I would wish embodied in the law, and when they are brought under the consideration of the Chief Secretary they may be embodied. But on the whole I believe the Bill as it stands is a most pernicious measure, and I hope the House will reject it.

Amendment proposed—

"To leave out the word 'now,' and at the end of the Question to add the words 'upon this day six months.'"—(Mr. Grant Lawson.)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. ATKINSON: I rise comparatively early in this discussion for the purpose of endeavouring to remove some of the misapprehensions which apparently exist among hon. Members opposite both as to the law and the facts. Before I approach that, however, I must thank the hon. Member who moved the Second Reading of this Bill for the kindly expressions he indulged in with reference to my right hon. friend the Chief Secretary. I regret as much as any hon. Gentleman from Ireland that my right hon. friend is not here to support, as I am perfectly certain he would support, the motion, "That this Bill be read a second time this day six months." I had the honour of being associated with him in the carriage through the House of Commons of the Local Government Act, 1898. I know what his opinions on the different sections of that statute are. I know his anxiety that that Act should be a success, and I am perfectly certain that he would look with horror and dismay on a Bill of this kind, which, if carried, would mean the uprooting and destruction of that system on the establishment of which so much labour was expended, and to the result of which he looked with bright prospects. The Act of 1898 took a considerable time in passing through this House. It took, I think, twenty-two days in Committee and several days on Report, and its different clauses were discussed with considerable acumen and ability and at considerable length by many Members from Ireland. Most of its important clauses came into operation on the 1st of April last year, and some of its clauses only came into operation about six weeks ago. Owing to a doctrine which was preached in Ireland, and to which, I think, several hon. Members were opposed—particularly the hon. and learned Member for Waterford, the hon. and learned Member for North Louth, and the hon. and learned Member for Cork—a doctrine which was summed up as "the humbug of toleration," no representatives of the grand juries were elected on the new Boards, with the result that the elected members are absolutely without experience.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL (Donegal, S.): What about the ex-officio members?

MR. ATKINSON: I wish the hon. Gentleman would only interrupt me when he understands. I said that the elected members are entirely without experience in county administrative affairs, and the proposition is now—after six or nine months trial, before these county councils have struck more than one rate, before their accounts have been audited for the first year—to abolish the control without the constant exercise and operation of which the whole system of local government in Ireland would, as I shall prove by examples, have been reduced to absolute chaos. The Local Government Board have interfered in three capacities in discharge of their statutory duties: first as arbitrators between the county councils and the district councils, and again as the statutory authority to whom individuals who were aggrieved by the actions of the county councils appealed. But they have interfered much more than that; they have interfered when appealed to in thousands of instances by the county councils themselves, who from day to day were begging advice direction, and control upon the thousands of cases that came up before them; and the rule has been this: that in proportion as the councils have asked for advice and have taken advice their proceedings have been satisfactory and their business has been well conducted; and in proportion as they have neglected to ask for advice or have refused to take advice their business has been unsatisfactorily conducted. Now I shall give two instances. I shall give the county of Meath—the best managed county in Ireland. I am not now referring to questions in which the Local Government Board have a right to interfere, but to questions of voluntary interference. The county council of Meath asked for advice on fifteen different matters. They were of this character: as to the attendance of county officers at meetings of the county councils; as to the period which should elapse between the meetings of committees and the meetings of the council; as to the method of communication between the county council and the district councils; as to the mode in which certain damage was to be dealt with; as to how they were to prepare their agenda paper; as to the powers of the county councils regarding direct labour, and other matters of that character, fifteen in number. They

appealed to the Local Government Board for advice; that advice was given and taken, and the business of the council was conducted properly. That is absolute and conclusive proof that the action of the Local Government Board has not been oppressive, unjust, offensive, or tyrannical, because they had been treated as guide, philosopher, and friend by several councils. With regard to the county council of Roscommon, in which the hon. Member who moved the Second Reading of this Bill is interested—

MR. TULLY: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that I am in a small minority on that council?

MR. ATKINSON: I am very sorry to hear it, because the hon. Gentleman showed a great knowledge of the working of county affairs in his speech. The county of Roscommon would not act in the way suggested by the Local Government Board. They were told they ought to get a competent staff, but they would not, with the result that everything got into confusion, and then they had to get fifty clerks to do work which could have been done better by thirty clerks if they had taken the advice of the Local Government Board when it was given. Now I will state another illustration. I turn to Mayo. Mayo may be described as the Mecca of Nationalism. It had the advantage of being represented in this House by an hon. Member who is described as the "Father of the Land League." It has now the advantage of having as one of its inhabitants the "Father of the United Irish League," who no doubt exercises a governing influence and control over the deliberations of the county council. It has the further advantage of being represented in this House by an hon. Member who was for some time recognised as, if not the actual, at least the titular leader of the Irish race at home and abroad. One would have thought that the successful management of local affairs would be conspicuously displayed in Mayo. Mayo asked for advice, but Mayo did not take it, and the consequence was that when its affairs were investigated it was found in November, 1899, after the council had been in existence from the 1st of April, that one collector had not completed his bonds and that another collector had not collected anything at all for the half year, and that

the financial statement had not been kept up. The hon. Member for Fermanagh advocated extreme parsimony in connection with the staffs of the county councils.

MR. JORDAN: I did not advocate extreme parsimony. I only advocated what was fair and just.

MR. ATKINSON: We will see about that. The staff of the county council of Mayo consisted of two clerks, and the result was—

MR. TULLY: Is it not a fact that the Local Government Board allowed the secretary to resign in the middle of the half year, thereby disorganising the whole business?

*MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! That may be a very proper observation to make during a speech, but not as an interruption.

MR. ATKINSON: The result was that the affairs of the county of Mayo, with all the advantages I have mentioned, were reduced to such a state of utter and absolute chaos that in their confusion and distress the county council possessing all these qualities for self-government passed a resolution on the 30th January requesting the Local Government Board to send down a qualified accountant forthwith to take over the accounts of the county, and authorising the accountant to appoint a sufficient staff, and also authorising the necessary payments. The council for over eight months had not made out a rate-book; every part of the county business was in a state of absolute chaos, and in their distress they passed a resolution begging the much-decried Local Government Board—who want to bring discredit on county government in Ireland—to send down some officer to relieve them from the misery and confusion into which their own neglect to take advice had brought them. We have Meath at one end, which asked advice and took advice, and Mayo at the other end, which either did not ask for advice or when it got it did not take it. What is the proposal in this Bill? It is absolutely necessary, by the common experience of England, Ireland and Scotland, that there should be some controlling body to exercise control over and direct the operations of local

government. The Poor Law Acts of Ireland have been in existence since 1838 ; under these Acts the Local Government Board have exercised a minute, searching, and continuous control. Of course, in endeavouring to bring this Act into operation they had a stupendous duty to discharge. They had thousands of elections to conduct ; they had 550 local bodies to regulate, and I think they regulated them without complaint ; and as I shall presently show, the Local Government Board have every reason to be most satisfied with this debate, because, while there was a strong disposition to attack them, and violently attack them, all that has been brought home to them in this debate is that they interfered in four matters with regard to the salaries of wretched, under-paid, over-driven, and harassed medical doctors, who in many cases scarcely received the remuneration of a decent artisan, and who, by the connivance of farmers and others, from whom better might be expected, were obliged to discharge duties never expected of them. Considering all the duties they have had to perform the Local Government Board have every reason to be proud of the result of this debate, which has brought the charge against them to an issue.

MR. DALY : I do not wish to interrupt the right hon. Gentleman, but no charge has been made against the medical officers in Ireland. The boards of guardians have always been anxious to give them vacations.

MR. ATKINSON : I quite understand the generosity of the hon. Gentleman ; he would be willing to give medical doctors vacations at their own expense.

MR. DALY : Certainly not.

MR. ATKINSON : In bringing the Act into operation the Local Government Board not only conducted these elections, but they wrote 72,000 letters of advice and direction. Their advice was given daily and their interference was also daily. They can only act by sealed order, and these orders are made daily. What is the proposition put forward in this Bill ? It is that these orders should be reviewed by an authority meeting four times a year. I will give a few illustrations of how that would work.

Mr. Atkinson.

The Local Government Board dismiss an officer by sealed order for drunkenness. What is to become of him during the three months that the appeal is pending ? They superannuate an officer by sealed order ; what is to become of him pending the appeal, because the tribunal only meets every three months ? The Board may make an order about assisted emigration. What is to become of the emigrant until the tribunal meets ?

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL : He should stay at home.

MR. ATKINSON : When public graveyards are closed by order of the Local Government Board they occasionally admit by sealed order isolated interments by people having burial rights. What is to become of the remains pending an appeal ? I could give dozens of similar illustrations, and I was astonished that the hon. Gentleman who introduced this Bill, and who seems to have an acquaintance with poor law administration, could ever have entertained the idea that it was possible to construct a tribunal meeting only once in three months to review orders made daily. If that were to be done the dead would remain unburied and the living would starve. Let me say a word about the character of this tribunal. As my hon. friend has already pointed out, it has an advantage over all created things, namely, that before its birth it should regulate the conditions under which it was to come into the world. It is to be elected according to rules which it can only make itself after it is elected. It cannot be elected until it makes the rules, and it cannot make the rules until it is elected.

MR. FLAVIN : Were such things ever done by the grand juries ?

MR. ATKINSON : Giving the hon. Gentleman every credit I am unable to see the relevance of that remark.

MR. FLAVIN : They broke every law they liked.

MR. ATKINSON : I do not think anything ever existed before under the same conditions as this proposed tribunal. I heard from a friend who had travelled a good deal in the East that he once attended a Passion Play, and when he arrived he found Adam on the stage waiting to be

created. What would this tribunal be? There is no place mentioned where the election is to be held, no time for the election is mentioned, and if it were to be carried out all the county councils of Ireland would be found in procession in Dublin or elsewhere awaiting its creation. That is not the only peculiarity about it. What next? It is admitted that control over the local authorities is absolutely necessary. What is the suggestion? That a new body should be created by nomination by the county councils, the chairmen representing the councils, and with the mayors representing the county boroughs largely predominating over the official element. That is, that there should be a committee of control to control the controllers. It is somewhat as if boys in school formed a committee to decide whether the masters were right or wrong. I do not think that such ideas will gain general acceptance. Could there be anything more topsy-turvy—more upside down—than this board legislating for itself: making rules for itself before it is born, and controlling its own controllers? It will have no staff and no place of meeting; it is, according to the Bill, to sit once only in three months, but it will have so many orders to deal with that—to use an Irish bull—it can only cope with them by sitting continuously twenty-four hours out of every twelve. Again, where is this body to sit? It has no local habitation; is it to meet in Dublin or is it to be ambulatory?

MR. TULLY: If you pass this Bill we will prescribe all these rules after.

MR. ATKINSON: It has no staff, and the Bill makes no suggestion as to where it is to get money to carry on its business. [An HON. MEMBER: The Government is to provide that.] The Bill not only creates a topsy-turvy, upside down arrangement, but it proposes to repeal all the provisions in the Local Government Act of 1896, over which there was the greatest dispute in this House—I regret that I shall have to deal with them *seriatim* presently—and what is the justification the hon. Member brings forward for reversing everything done under the Act of 1896? As I shall be able to show, he wants laws in Ireland similar to the law of England when it suits his purpose; but when that does not

suit his purpose he wants the Irish law dissimilar from the English laws.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: And why not?

MR. ATKINSON: It seems to me it is the old game of "heads I win; tails you lose." What is his justification? It is just that the Local Government Board have been too liberal in the sums they have awarded to different offices; then that they have given a month's vacation to the doctors without consulting the local authorities. Further, that they have insisted on the employment of trained nurses, and finally that they have ignored local opinion. I do not think there is any need for me to refute the imputation that the Local Government Board are anxious to increase the expenses of local government in order to discredit the working of the county councils. A more unfair or a more unfounded charge—if it were made seriously—has never been uttered.

MR. SWIFT MACNEILL: It is seriously made.

MR. FLYNN (CORK, N.): And we have to pay the money.

MR. ATKINSON: Let us see what the Local Government Board has done. I think if the hon. Member for South Fermanagh had taken the trouble to look at the Act he would have been more correct in his observations. Any person listening to the debate and unacquainted with the provisions of the Act would have come to the conclusion that the Local Government Board fix and regulate the salaries of the county officials. As a matter of fact the Board have no power to deal with any but the existing or grand jury officers—the county surveyor, the county secretary, and the clerk of the district council; and with regard to these the only duty of the Board is to see that their salaries are fixed by the county councils and boards of guardians in accordance with the fees and emoluments they previously received under the grand juries.

MR. T. M. HEALY (LOUTH, N.): Nothing of the kind; it is quite the other way.

MR. FLAVIN: Does the right hon. Gentleman say that the Local Government Board do not fix the salary of any officer who is not an existing officer?

MR. ATKINSON: They only have to deal with the transferred officers whom I have already mentioned, and to see that their remuneration is fixed under the 115th section, subsection 18, on the principle set forth in the English Act of 1888 which directs that they shall take into consideration all the emoluments these particular officials have enjoyed. They have done nothing but that, and I invite hon. Members to name any case in which they have acted otherwise. After all, the power is only a temporary one; it ceases immediately the officer dies or resigns. The hon. Member complained that the Board had not taken into consideration the remonstrances of the local bodies, and had not given the county councils an opportunity to condemn the system.

MR. JORDAN: I did not say "condemn the system"; I said they had not given us an opportunity of stating our case.

MR. ATKINSON: The hon. Member also said that the fact that they had not had an opportunity of stating their case was enough to condemn the system.

MR. JORDAN: And so it is.

MR. ATKINSON: And what are the facts? The Local Government Board sent to every one of these bodies a circular setting forth the provisions of the section and asking their opinions. Before acting they waited until the month of January in this year. The opinions of these bodies were carefully considered, and all the Local Government Board did was to fix the salaries, with the sole view, not of treating these officials generously, but of securing them fair remuneration. The hon. Member for South Monaghan complained that the fees of many of the officials were increased. He apparently begrudges the £7 10s. which was added to a certain clerk's salary.

MR. DALY: The salary was fixed at a sum which the local body deemed sufficient, and my complaint was that the Local Government Board added £7 10s. to it.

MR. ATKINSON: They were bound to fix the salary according to what they considered fair.

MR. CONDON (Tipperary, E.): Then why waste time consulting the local bodies at all? [Cheers.]

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The right hon. Gentleman must be allowed to continue his speech without interruption.

MR. ATKINSON: The local bodies were consulted because it was most desirable that their views should be before the Board, and to have a tribunal of appeal merely for the purpose of registering the decrees of the tribunal appealed from seems to be perfectly useless. What are the other causes of complaint which have been advanced? One is in connection with the dispensary doctors, and I may at once say that the Local Government Board had power to exercise authority in the case of this class of wretchedly paid and hard-worked officials, and will certainly continue to interfere where they have reason to believe that a policy dictated by parsimony and a heartless want of consideration is being pursued. The next reason given for superseding the Local Government Board was that they will not treat nuns as trained nurses. The Board has only power to give remuneration to trained nurses, and though I have great respect and admiration for nuns of all descriptions, I must point out that they have not the skill of trained and certificated nurses. In "Felix Holt, the Radical," Mrs. Holt says "Bad medicine is as good as good medicine with a blessing," and hon. Members opposite appear to think that the piety of these nuns takes the place of skill.

*MR. TULLY: The nuns are trained in the Mater Hospital, and all the best hospitals in Dublin.

MR. ATKINSON: Then if the nuns obtain certificates the Local Government Board will not refuse to pay them.

*MR. TULLY: Their order will not allow them to have certificates.

MR. ATKINSON: The hon. Gentleman is quite right in saying that, but I repeat that the nuns are not entitled by reason merely of their piety to take positions

involving the exercise of medical skill. The last charge was a small point about county analysts, and as to that I may point out that these officials are appointed under the Food and Drugs Act. With that the Local Government Board have no more to do than to see that the local authority appoints a fit and proper person. I am anxious to defend a tribunal which has been so much assailed, which has had such vast duties thrown upon it, and which has discharged those duties as the friends of local government in Ireland wish them to be discharged—a tribunal which has done its best to set the machine going upon fair lines, and whose efforts, I am happy to say, have been appreciated. I find in the *Nation*, a periodical which some of the hon. Members opposite will respect, these words—

“We have never been slow to criticise the policy or methods of the Local Government Board and its principal measures, but we think we shall only be expressing the feeling of the majority of those who have watched its proceedings since the passing into law of a great measure of popular rule when we say that its course in the main has been characterised by courtesy, fair play, and a just sense of responsibility, and that it has discharged the duties entrusted to it both well and wisely.”

On the part of the Government I wish to entirely associate myself with that expression of opinion. I now pass on to the different clauses of the Bill. By its provisions the numerous duties which the Local Government Board has to discharge would be submitted to the review of this extraordinary tribunal, and in truth there is no principle in the Bill except the principle of overturning everything that exists. Clause 5 deals with the question of appeal, and would give this composite tribunal of county councillors the power of reviewing a decision even upon a question of law. Clause 6 is a gem. It proposes that half the rates on all houses in Ireland shall be paid out of the Church surplus. It would require £450,000 per annum to pay half the rates on all the houses in Ireland, and, even if there were no objection in principle, how is the hon. Member to extract £450,000 a year out of the Church surplus, considering that the Church endowment, before anything was deducted from it, did not amount to that? The hon. Member is arguing that the part is greater than the whole. In England, owing to the distressed condition of agriculture, half the rates were paid, and it was con-

tended that as Irish agriculture was still more depressed, there was an even stronger claim for relief. But the hon. Member goes further and suggests that because of the distressed condition of agriculture every one who lives in a house should have half his rates paid. Surely that is a total misapplication of the principle on which relief is granted. The Bill requires under Sub-section 2 that it shall be paid out of the local taxation account. The objection to that is that it is not in the local taxation account, because the Church surplus was never put there. Sub-section 3 provides that certain modifications of Sections 49 and 50 of the Act shall apply. The objection to that is that they apply already. Clause 7 is directed to the relief of occupiers from the payment of rates. The hon. Member in that seems to forget the great broad principle on which the Act of 1898 is founded—namely, that the rate should be thrown on the occupier, in order that he who has the power shall bear the burden. By that means we were able to get rid of those embarrassing checks which were introduced into earlier Bills dealing with local government. We said that if the landlords were to be relieved financially they should also be deprived of power to interfere, and we provided that those who had the powers should also bear the burden of any extravagance in which they might indulge. The suggestion of the next clause is to make a special rate to pay for a special purpose. What it really does is to enable the county council to erect works and charge them on a particular district. If they were so disposed they could make water works for a particular town, and make a charge, not against the people residing in that county, but against the population in a fixed area. Now with respect to the clergy and the district councils. I quite admit that on that point there were differences of opinion, and that there is a good deal to be said on both sides, but I do insist on the fact that there was no intention to offer insult or inflict any stigma on the clergy of any denomination. Experience showed that it was desirable that they should be excluded from such local bodies. The next clause gives power to the Lord Chancellor to remove lunatics. That was a thing which was deliberately introduced, because it was considered most unwise to put these ex-officio magistrates in a position occupied by no other judge in the land.

Even a county court judge may be removed by a superior court, and a judge of the Supreme Court may be removed by a Vote of both Houses.

MR. MAURICE HEALY (Cork): How about England?

MR. ATKINSON: It is different in England.

MR. MAURICE HEALY: How?

MR. ATKINSON: Of half a dozen reasons I will cite one. Different county councils in Ireland not merely express sympathy with the Boers, but also a fervent hope that the massacre of Majuba may be repeated. The question of the court-house is, I know, a vexed question. Built primarily for the administration of justice, they are put in charge of an officer of the Crown, who is bound to look after the Crown property and to issue Crown writs, etc. He seems to me to be the proper custodian, inasmuch as his duty is to make arrangements for the administration of justice. Subject to that the Act, which did not wish to put the councils to the expense of building halls to transact their business in, contained a subsidiary clause by which they were entitled to use the court-house subject to the discretion of the sheriff. The district council had no right to use it.

MR. TULLY: The district council replaced the old presentment sessions.

MR. ATKINSON: And the sheriff refused to allow the green flag to float over the court house. The reason why we say the green flag should not be allowed to fly there is because in one district the green flag might fly, while in the next the Orange flag might be used, and in the border counties both might be seen, with most probably a riot on the roof. On behalf of the Government, and with the full conscience that I express the opinion of my right hon. friend the Chief Secretary, I appeal to the House to reject this Bill, on the ground that it is premature, crude, ill-advised, and mischievous.

MR. MAURICE HEALY said the Attorney General had just given a *non possumus*, to which Irish Members were

Mr. Atkinson.

accustomed on the introduction of a private Bill, but they looked forward to the day in the case of this Bill, as had happened with dozens of other private Bills, when the Government of some years hence would gladly accept the proposals of this Bill. This Bill contained two proposals of a somewhat large character, and a number of points of detail, in reference to which one would have thought the Attorney General himself would be glad to see some amendment. The history of English legislation always was that in a measure like the Local Government Act of England or Scotland, Bills correcting defects of detail disclosed in the working of the measures would be always welcome. That, unfortunately, was not their experience in the case of Irish measures. Last year the Attorney General himself told the House that the Government were considering the matter of introducing a measure to modify the Grand Juries Acts, so as to provide for the proper working of the Local Government Act. That pledge was never redeemed. To-day an opportunity had been given him of, at any rate, giving a similar undertaking. Still he had not held out any hope that the Government intended introducing any measure, even to amend the various defects which the experience of eighteen months had disclosed in the working of the Local Government Act. No, Irish Members had to be content because once in the course of ten years, by agitation amounting in the end to a revolution, a large amending Act was passed, such as the Local Government Act, and now they were to wait for another ten or twenty years until sufficient popular force was developed to compel the Government of the day to again take up Irish legislation, and to again determine what reforms were called for in the Irish law. He would mention just one instance of gross injustice under the Local Government Act. Hitherto the roads in small Irish urban centres had been attended to by the grand juries, and the cost of making and repairing those roads came out of the county cess, which was levied equally on all classes of hereditaments. The effect of the passing of the Local Government Act, which had been to transfer the duty of the making and repairing of those roads to small Irish bodies, was to completely change the incidence of taxation, for while before the cost was thrown equally upon all

classes of hereditaments, now those smaller bodies had only power to tax lands at one-fourth of their valuation, with the result that, besides the injustice that had arisen owing to the changed state of the law with regard to taxes on land and buildings, an additional injustice was set up, for in the small towns nearly the whole charge of making and maintaining the roads had been thrown upon buildings alone. Yet the Attorney General said he did not understand what the clause that sought

to remedy this very great grievance meant. He treated this Bill as if it were an attack upon the Local Government Board, while it was really an attempt to amend the law relating to local government in Ireland. He regretted that time did not permit him to say more on the present occasion.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes, 126; Noes, 216. (Division List No. 12.)

AYES.

Abraham, William (Cork, N.E.)
Allan, William (Gateshead)
Allison, Robert Andrew
Ambrose, Robert
Ashton, Thomas Gair
Atherley-Jones, L.
Austin, Sir John (Yorkshire)
Austin, M. (Limerick, W.)
Barlow, John Emmott
Bayley, Thomas (Derbyshire)
Billson, Alfred
Birrell, Augustine
Blake, Edward
Brunner, Sir John Tomlinson
Burt, Thomas
Buxton, Sydney Charles
Caldwell, James
Cameron, Sir Chas. (Glasgow)
Cameron, Robert (Durham)
Carmichael, Sir T. D. Gibson
Carvill, Patrick G. Hamilton
Causton, Richard Knight
Channing, Francis Allston
Clark, Dr. G. B.
Colville, John
Condon, Thomas Joseph
Crean, Eugene
Crilly, Daniel
Curran, Thomas B. (Donegal)
Curran, Thomas (Sligo, S.)
Daly, James
Dalziel, James Henry
Doogan, P. C.
Douglas, Charles M. (Lanark)
Dunn, Sir William
Emmott, Alfred
Engledew, Charles John
Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)
Farrell, James P. (Cavan, W.)
Farrell, Thomas J. (Kerry, S.)
Fenwick, Charles
Flavin, Michael Joseph
Flynn, James Christopher

Fox, Dr. Joseph Francis
Goddard, Daniel Ford
Gourley, Sir Edw. Temperley
Gurdon, Sir Wm. Brampton
Hammond, John (Carlow)
Hayden, John Patrick
Hayne, Rt. Hn. Charles Seale-
Healy, Maurice (Cork)
Hedderwick, Thos. Charles H.
Hemphill, Rt. Hon. Chas. H.
Hogan, James Francis
Holland, William Henry
Horniman, Frederick John
Joicey, Sir James
Jones, D. Brynmor (Swansea)
Jones, Wm. (Carnarvonshire)
Jordan, Jeremiah
Kay-Shuttleworth, Rt. Hn. Sir U
Kearley, Hudson E.
Kilbride, Denis
Kinloch, Sir John Geo. Smyth
Langley, Batty
Lawson, Sir W. (Cumberland)
Leese, Sir J. F. (Accrington)
Leng, Sir John
Lewis, John Herbert
Lough, Thomas
Lyell, Sir Leonard
MacDonnell, Dr. M. A. (Qn's C)
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift
McCartan, Michael
McCrae, George
McDermott, Patrick
McEwan, William
McGhee, Richard
Maddison, Fred.
Mandeville, J. Francis
Mendl, Sigismund Ferdinand
Molloy, Bernard Charles
Montagu, Sir S. (Whitechapel)
Moore, Arthur (Londonderry)
Morgan J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)
Murnaghan, George

Norton, Capt. Cecil William
O'Brien, Patrick (Kilkenny)
O'Connor, Arthur (Donegal)
O'Connor, Jas. (Wicklow, W.)
O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
O'Malley, William
Parnell, John Howard
Pease, Joseph A. (Northum.)
Philipps, John Wynford
Pickersgill, Edward Hare
Power, Patrick Joseph
Price, Robert John
Redmond, John E. (Waterford)
Redmond, William (Clare)
Reid, Sir Robert Threshie
Rickett, J. Compton
Rickett, John Bryn (Eifion)
Robson, William Snowdon
Samuel, J. (Stockton-on-Tees)
Shaw, Thomas (Hawick B.)
Steadman, William Charles
Sullivan, Donal (Westmeath)
Sullivan, T. D. (Donegal, W.)
Tanner, Charles Kearns
Tennant, Harold John
Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr)
Trevelyan, Charles Philips
Tully, Jasper
Wallace, Robert
Walton, Joseph (Barnsley)
Warner, Thomas Courtenay T.
Weir, James Galloway
Williams, John Carvell (Notts.)
Wilson, Charles Henry (Hull)
Wilson, John (Durham, Mid.)
Wilson, John (Govan)
Wilson, Josh. H. (Middlesboro')
Woodhouse, Sir J. T. (H'fd.)
Woods, Samuel
Young, Samuel (Cavan, East)
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Sir Thomas Esmonde and
Captain Donelan.

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Archdale, Edward Mervyn
Arnold, Alfred
Arnold-Forster, Hugh O.
Arrol, Sir William
Atkinson, Rt. Hon. John
Bailey, James (Walworth)
Baird, John George Alex.
Balcarres, Lord

Baldwin, Alfred
Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manch'r)
Banbury, Frederick George
Barnes, Frederick Gorell
Barry, Rt. Hn. A. H. Smith (Hunts)
Barry, Sir Francis T. (Windsor)
Bartley, George C. T.
Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir M. H. (Bristol)
Beckett, Ernest William

Begg, Ferdinand Faithfull
Bhownaggee, Sir M. M.
Biddulph, Michael
Bill, Charles
Blakiston-Houston, John
Blundell, Colonel Henry
Bowles, Capt. H. F. (Middlesex.)
Bowles, T. G. (King's Lynn)
Brassey, Albert

Brodrick, Rt. Hon. St. John
 Brookfield, A. Montagu
 Butcher, John George
 Carlile, William Walter
 Carson, Rt. Hon. Edward
 Cavendish, R. F. (N. Lancs.)
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 Cecil, Lord Hugh (Greenwich)
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 Coghill, Douglas Harry
 Cohen, Benjamin Louis
 Collings, Rt. Hon. Jesse
 Colomb, Sir John Charles R.
 Cooke, C. W. Radcliffe (Hereford)
 Corbett, A. Cameron (Glasgow)
 Cotton-Jodrell, Col. Ed. T. D.
 Courtney, Rt. Hon. Leonard H.
 Cox, Irwin Edward Bainbridge
 Cross, Alexander (Glasgow)
 Cross, Herb. Shepherd (Bolton)
 Curzon, Viscount
 Dalkeith, Earl of
 Davies, Sir Hor. D. (Chatham)
 Denny, Colonel
 Dickinson, Robert Edmond
 Digby, John K. D. Wingfield-
 Dixon-Hartland, Sir F. Dixon
 Dorington, Sir John Edward
 Doughty, George
 Douglas, Rt. Hon. A. Akers-
 Duxford, Sir William T.
 Duncombe, Hon. Hubert V.
 Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart
 Egerton, Hon. A. de Tatton
 Elliot, Hn. A. Ralph Douglas
 Faber, George Denison
 Fellowes, Hn. Ailwyn Edward
 Fergusson, Rt. Hon. Sir (Manchester)
 Field, Admiral (Eastbourne)
 Finch, George H.
 Finlay, Sir Robert Bannatyne
 Fisher, William Hayes
 Flannery, Sir Fortescue
 Fletcher, Sir Henry
 Flower, Ernest
 Forster, Henry William
 Foster, Colonel (Lancaster)
 Fry, Lewis
 Galloway, W. Johnson
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 Gedge, Sydney
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 Gibbs, Hn. Vicary (St. Albans)
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 Gordon, Hon. John Edward
 Goulding, Edward Alfred
 Greene, Henry D. (Shrewsbury)
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 Hall, Rt. Hon. Sir Charles
 Halsey, Thomas Frederick
 Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord G.

Hanbury, Rt. Hon. Robert W.
 Hanson, Sir Reginald
 Hardy, Laurence
 Haslett, Sir James Horner
 Heaton, John Henniker
 Helder, Augustus
 Hickman, Sir Alfred
 Hoare, Sir Samuel (Norwich)
 Houldsworth, Sir Wm. Henry
 Houston, R. P.
 Howard, Joseph
 Howell, William Tudor
 Howorth, Sir Henry Hoyle
 Hozier, Hon. James Henry C.
 Jeffreys, Arthur Frederick
 Jenkins, Sir John Jones
 Jessel, Captain Herbert M.
 Johnston, William (Belfast)
 Johnstone, Heywood (Sussex)
 Kenyon, James
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 Keswick, William
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 Lawson, John Grant (Yorks.)
 Lea, Sir Thomas (Londonderry)
 Lecky, Rt. Hon. Wm. Edw. H.
 Llewelyn, Sir Dillwyn (Swans)
 Lockwood, Lieut.-Col. A. R.
 Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine
 Long, Col. Charles W. (Evesham)
 Lowe, Francis William
 Loyd, Archie Kirkman
 Lucas-Shadwell, William
 Macartney, W. G. Ellison
 Macdonald, John Cunningham
 MacIver, David (Liverpool)
 MacLure, Sir John William
 MacArthur, Charles (Liverpool)
 McKillop, James
 Marks, Henry Hananel
 Massey-Mainwaring, Hn. W. F.
 Melville, Beresford V.
 Middlemore, J. Throgmorton
 Milward, Colonel Victor
 Monk, Charles James
 Montagu, Hon. J. Scott (Hants.)
 More, Robt. Jasper (Shropshire)
 Morrell, George Herbert
 Morton, A. H. A. (Deptford)
 Mount, William George
 Murray, Rt. Hon. A. G. (Bute)
 Murray, Col. Wyndham (Bath)
 Myers, Wm. Henry
 Newdigate, Francis Alexander
 Nicol, Donald Ninian
 Parkes, Ebenezer
 Pease, Herb. Pike (Darlington)
 Penn, John
 Phillpotts, Captain Arthur
 Pierpoint, Robert
 Pilkington, R. (Lancs, Newton)
 Pilkington, Sir G. A. (Lancs. SW)

Platt-Higgins, Frederick
 Plunkett, Rt. Hon. H. Curzon
 Pollock, Harry Frederick
 Pretymann, Ernest George
 Pryce-Jones, Lt.-Col. Edward
 Purvis, Robert
 Pym, C. Guy
 Rentoul, James Alexander
 Richards, Henry Charles
 Richards, Sir T. (Hartlepool)
 Ridley, Rt. Hon. Sir Matthew W.
 Ritchie, Rt. Hon. C. Thomson
 Robertson, Herbert (Hackney)
 Rothschild, Hon. Lionel Walter
 Round, James
 Royds, Clement Molyneux
 Russell, Gen. F. S. (Cheltenham)
 Russell, T. W. (Tyronne)
 Rutherford, John
 Ryder, John Herbert Dudley
 Samuel, H. S. (Limehouse)
 Sandys, Lt.-Col. Thos. Myle
 Sanderson, Rt. Hon. Col. Ed. J.
 Savory, Sir Joseph
 Seton-Karr, Henry
 Sharpe, William Edward T.
 Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)
 Shaw-Stewart, M. H. (Renfrew)
 Sidebottom, William (Derby)
 Simeon, Sir Barrington
 Sinclair, Louis (Romford)
 Smith, Abel H. (Christchurch)
 Smith, J. Parker (Lanarks.)
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 Stanley, Edward J. (Somerset)
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 Talbot, Rt. Hon. J. G. (Oxford Univ.)
 Thorburn, Sir Walter
 Thornton, Percy M.
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 Tomlinson, Wm. E. Murray
 Osborne, Thomas
 Vincent, Sir Edgar (Exeter)
 Warr, Augustus Frederick
 Webster, Sir Richard E.
 Welby, Lieut.-Col. A. C. E.
 Wharton, Rt. Hon. John Lloyd
 Whitmore, Charles Algernon
 Williams, Colonel R. (Dorset)
 Williams, J. Powell (Birm.)
 Willoughby de Eresby, Lord
 Willox, Sir John Archibald
 Wilson-Todd, Wm. H. (Yorks.)
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Words added.

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Adjourned at twenty minutes before
 Six of the Clock.

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[AUTHORISED EDITION].

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Amendt. = Amendment. *Os.* = Observations. *Qs.* = Questions. *As.* = Answers.
Com. = Committee. *Con.* = Consideration. *Rep.* = Report. Where in the Index* is added with Reading of a Bill, or a Vote in Committee of Supply, it indicates that no Debate took place on that Stage of the Bill, or on that Vote. Subjects discussed in Committee of Supply are entered under their headings, and also under Member's Names, without reference to the actual Vote before the Committee. The abbreviation "S" has been adopted as explanation under the subjects.

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*Q. Mr. Maclean; A. Mr. Brodrick, Feb. 13, 1367.*Samoa — Anglo-German Convention, *See Samoa.*Sickness and Old Age Insurance—Report,
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*Q. Mr. Hedderwick; A. Mr. Brodrick, Feb. 13, 1360.***Gibbs, Hon. V. (Herts, St. Albans)**South African War—Policy of the Government, etc. (Vote of Censure), *Feb. 1, 355.*

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Q. Mr. Woods; A. Sir M. W. Ridley. *Feb. 13, 1368.***Glencoe and Natal**

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Q. Mr. Hedderwick; A. Mr. J. P. Williams, *Feb. 6, 711.***Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir J. E.—Vice-President of the Council for Education [Cambridge University]**Agricultural Districts, Education in—Circular to Local Authorities, etc., *Feb. 8, 924.*Commercial Subjects—Extending Education Grants to, *Feb. 12, 1239.*Dublin Museum—Removal of Objects of Art, alleged, *Feb. 1, 284; Feb. 5, 581.*

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Qs. Col. Pryce-Jones, Mr. B. Roberts, Col. Milward; *As.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 5, 568; Q.* Mr. B. Roberts; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 8, 906.*

M'Leod, Mr. J. [Sutherland]

Highlands of Scotland—Deer Forests, Crofters' and Cotters' Grievances, etc., *Feb. 8, 985.*

Maddison, Mr. F. [Sheffield, Brightside]

Army—Strengthening and Improving Organisation of the Regular and Auxiliary Forces, Government Proposals, *Feb. 12, 1308.*

Welsh Railway Dispute, *Feb. 5, 582.*

Mafeking

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Magersfontein Engagement

See South African War.

Magistrates and Justices of the Peace

Removal of Justices of the Peace, Ireland *Q.* Mr. Mandeville; *A.* Mr. Atkinson, *Feb. 5, 589.*

Maidenhead Gas Bill

c. Ordered, *Feb. 9, 1033.*

1R. Feb. 12, 1209.*

Mail Service

American Mails, Time occupied in Transit—Return ordered [Sir J. Leng], *Feb. 13, 1357.*

Australian Mail Steamers—Fremantle as Port of Call

Q. Mr. Hogan; *A.* Mr. Hanbury, *Feb. 6, 726.*

Irish Questions

Galway Mails—Delivery of Letters in Carrabrown

Q. Mr. Pinkerton; *A.* Mr. Hanbury, *Feb. 12, 1245.*

Listowel Mails, Delay

Q. Mr. Flavin; *A.* Mr. Hanbury, *Feb. 12, 1244.*

Sneem Mails, Late Delivery of

Q. Mr. Flavin; *A.* Mr. Hanbury, *Feb. 9, 1053.*

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Right of Search—Case of the *Herzog*, etc., *See* Contraband of War.

Malcolm, Mr. J. [Suffolk, Stowmarket]

South African War and the Government (Vote of Censure), *Feb. 5, 635.*

Malta

Insanitary Condition of Barracks, etc.

Q. Mr. Stevenson; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 13, 1365.*

Transport Service—*Golconda*, Unsatisfactory Condition of Boat, alleged

Q. Captain Norton; *A.* Mr. Goschen, *Feb. 12, 1231.*

Manchester

Williams, Emanuel, Case of

Q. Sir J. Leese; *A.* Sir R. Webster, *Feb. 6, 721.*

Manchester City Railway Bill

c. Ordered, *Feb. 9, 1034.*

Order discharged, *Feb. 12, 1216.*

Petition for Bill ordered to be withdrawn, *Feb. 12, 1216.*

Manchester Corporation Tramways Bill

1. 1R. Feb. 12, 1162.*

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Manchester and Liverpool Electric Express Railway Bill

c. Ordered, *Feb. 9*, 1034.
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Manchester Ship Canal Bill

1. 1R. Feb. 12*, 1164.

Mandeville, Mr. F. [Tipperary, S.]

Irish Brigade with the Boers—Alleged Murder of wounded Prisoner, *Feb. 12*, 1224.

Removal of Justices of the Peace, *Feb. 5*, 589.

Manhood Suffrage (Ireland) Bill

c. 1R. Feb. 2*, 419.

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Historical Manuscripts Commission — Calendar of House of Lords Manuscripts Presented, *Feb. 5*, 549.

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See South African War.

Margate Corporation Bill

1. 1R. Feb. 12*, 1162.

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1. 1R. Feb. 12*, 1164.

Marine Insurance Bill

Q. Mr. Warr; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 12*, 1248.

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Q. Admiral Field; *A.* Mr. Goschen, *Feb. 8*, 915.

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c. Ordered, *Feb. 9*, 1034.
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Q. Sir C. Dilke; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 1*, 271.

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Q. Mr. Hedderwick; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 5*, 571.

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South Mayo Division—New Writ, *Feb. 6*, 691.

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Q. Mr. Hedderwick; *A.* Mr. J. Chamberlain, *Feb. 9*, 1050.

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Mendl, Mr. S. F. [Plymouth]

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Q. Mr. Bainbridge; *A.* Mr. Goschen, *Feb. 6*, 712.

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Q. Sir C. Dilke; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 12*, 1238.

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Q. Mr. Havelock Wilson; *A.* Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 12*, 1238.

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Qs. Mr. Warner; As. Mr. J. P. Williams, *Feb. 2*, 440; *Feb. 5*, 583.**Meteorological Council**Report, *Jan. 30*, 45, 62.**Methuen, Lord**

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Os. Lord Bateman, Marquess of Lansdowne, *Feb. 12*, 1166.**Metropolitan District Railway Bill**c. Ordered, *Feb. 9*, 1034.1R.* *Feb. 12*, 1209.**Metropolitan Police**Houses of Parliament, Approaches to, etc.
—Sessional Order, *Jan. 30*, 60.**Metropolitan Police Provisional Order Bill**c. 1R.* *Feb. 8*, 902.**Metropolitan Water Companies Bill**c. Ordered, *Feb. 9*, 1034.1R.* *Feb. 12*, 1209.**Metropolitan Water Supply**

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Q. Sir J. Colomb; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 13*, 1362.**Military Lands Provisional Order Bill**c. 1R.* *Feb. 9*, 038.**Military Proposal of the Government**

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Q. Mr. Seely; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 12*, 1362.**Militia**

Bonuses to Officers—Ex-Army Officers' Grievances

Q. Capt. Norton; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 2*, 440.Bounties—Variety in payment of, Statement (Marquess of Lansdowne) *Feb. 12*, 1176.

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O. Earl of Kimberley, *Jan. 30*, 17;Q. Mr. Warner; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 1*, 272.Statements (Marquess of Lansdowne), *Feb. 12*, 1175 (Mr. Wyndham) 1274.**Irish Militia**

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Q. Mr. Hogan; A. Mr. Hanbury, *Feb. 13, 1374*

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Q. Sir C. Gull; A. Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 6, 718.*

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of Mr. Pott, etc., *Feb. 6*, 706.

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c. Ordered, *Feb. 9*, 1034.

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—Number of Batteries and Equip-
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Q. Mr. Hedderwick; A. Mr. Wynd-
ham, *Feb. 2*, 432.

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Q. Sir E. Gourley; A. Mr. Goschen,
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Q. Sir W. Foster; A. Mr. Chaplin,
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Murnaghan, Mr. G. [Tyrone, Mid]

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Feb. 8, 931.

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Education Department Reorganisation—
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1229.

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Feb. 8, 991.

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Q. Mr. M. Healy; A. Mr. Plunkett,
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Q. Mr. Gibney; A. Mr. Atkinson,
Feb. 8, 936; Q. Mr. A. O'Connor;
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Q. Mr. Flavin; A. Mr. Atkinson, *Feb.*
9, 1056.

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1217.

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Release, etc.

Q. Sir W. Wedderburn; A. Lord G. Hamilton, *Feb. 8, 1920.***Navy***First Lord*—Rt. Hon. G. J. Goschen.*Civil Lord*—Mr. Austin Chamberlain.

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Q. Sir C. Dilke; A. Mr. Ritchie, *Feb. 12, 1928.***Coal Supply**

Cardiff Firm supplying 400,000 tons to Foreign Government, alleged

Q. Earl of Dunraven; A. Marquess of Lansdowne, *Feb. 5, 1961*; Q. General Russell; A. Mr. Goschen, *Feb. 5, 1975.***Emergency Contracts**Qs. Mr. D. A. Thomas; As. Mr. Goschen, *Feb. 6, 1912*; *Feb. 8, 1916.*

Cruisers—Subsidised Cruisers, Return

Q. Mr. Bainbridge; A. Mr. Goschen, *Feb. 6, 1912.*

Efficiency—Naval Preparation Abroad, etc.

O. Earl of Kimberley, *Jan. 30, 18.*Expenditure—Naval Expenditure and Mercantile Marine, Return Ordered [Sir J. Colomb], *Feb. 8, 1903.*

Fishery Cruisers, Trawling in Irish Waters

Q. Mr. Pfrench; A. Mr. Goschen, *Feb. 9, 1905.*

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O. Sir C. Dilke, *Feb. 12, 1928.*Home Defence—Fleet *v.* the ArmyDilke, Sir C., on the Government Military Proposals, *Feb. 12, 1922.*Marines, *See that Title.*Patriotic Fund, Application and Administration of—Amendment to the Address [Mr. Kearley], *Feb. 8, 1911.*

"Revenge," H.M.S., Explosion on, Cause of, etc.

Q. Admiral Field; A. Mr. Goschen, *Feb. 8, 1917.*

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Qs. Sir J. Fergusson; As. Mr. J. P. Williams, Mr. Goschen, *Feb. 12, 1922.*Transport Service, *See that Title.*

"Victoria and Albert" Yacht, Capsizing, cause of

Qs. Sir E. Gourley, Mr. W. Allan A. Mr. G. J. Goschen, *Feb. 1, 1929.*

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Q. Commander Young; A. Mr. Goschen, *Feb. 5, 1975.***Navy—cont.**

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Q. Mr. Bond; A. Mr. Goschen, *Feb. 12, 1927.***Navy Estimates**Estimates presented, with Explanation of Differences, *Feb. 9, 1941.***Neath Harbour Bill**L. 1R.* *Feb. 12, 1963.***Nelson, Earl,**Militia—Government Military Measures, *Feb. 12, 1989.***Netley Hospital**

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Q. Capt. Norton; A. Mr. J. P. Williams, *Feb. 14, 1928.***New Hebrides**

Sale of Spirits and Fire-Arms to Natives

Q. Mr. Hogan; A. Mr. Brodrick, *Feb. 13, 1966.***New Members Sworn**Dickinson, Mr. R. E., for Somerset County [Wells Division], *Jan. 30, 54.*Faber, Mr., for the Borough of York, *Feb. 12, 1949.*Guthrie, Mr. W. M., for Tower Hamlets [Bow and Bromley Division], *Jan. 30, 54.*Vincent, Sir E., for Exeter Borough, *Jan. 30, 54.*Wason, Mr. E., for Clackmannan and Kinross, *Jan. 30, 54.***New Peers**Avebury of Avebury, Baron, *Jan. 30, 5.*Northcote of Exeter, *Jan. 30, 5.*Wynford, Lord, *Feb. 12, 1961.***New Russia Company Bill**L. 1R.* *Feb. 12, 1965.***New Writs**Armagh, Mid, *Jan. 30, 54.*Clackmannan and Kinross, *Jan. 30, 54.*Lancaster, County of [Rossendale], *Jan. 31, 190.*London University, *Jan. 30, 54.*Mayo, South Mayo Division, *Feb. 6, 691.*Nottinghamshire [Newark Division], *Feb. 5, 564.*Plymouth, *Feb. 12, 1918.*

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Somerset, County of [Wells Division],

*Jan. 30, 54.*York Borough, *Jan. 30, 54.***Newark**New Writ, *Feb. 5, 564.***Newcastle-upon-Tyne Electric Supply Bill***c. Ordered, Feb. 9, 1034.**1R.* Feb. 12, 1210.***Newcastle Yeomanry**

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*Q. Mr. L. Morgan; A. Mr. Wyndham, Feb. 2, 432.***Newcastle West**

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*Q. Mr. Austin; A. Mr. Atkinson, Feb. 8, 937.***Newfoundland**

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*Q. Sir C. Dilke; A. Mr. J. Chamberlain, Feb. 2, 443.***Newport Corporation Bill***1. 1R.* Feb. 12, 1163.***Newport [Monmouthshire] Gas Bill***1. 1R.* Feb. 12, 1165.***Newry, Keady, and Tynan Light Railway Bill**Petition referred to Standing Orders, *Feb. 9, 1038.*Standing Orders not complied with, *Feb. 9, 1022, 1027.***Newspapers**

Continental Press—Attacks on Great Britain—Paper "Warfare"

Os. Earl of Kimberley, Jan. 30, 13; Earl of Rosebery, Jan. 30, 35.

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*Q. Mr. Coghill; A. Mr. Hanbury, Feb. 6, 709.***Newsvendors**

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*Q. Mr. H. S. Foster; A. Sir M. W. Ridley, Feb. 2, 440.***Newtown and Llanllwchairn Urban District Gas Bill***1. 1R.* Feb. 12, 1163.***Nicaragua Canal**

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*Q. Mr. Duncombe; A. Mr. Brod- rick, Feb. 8, 922.*Convention between Her Majesty's Government and the United States, Presented, *Feb. 7, 830; Feb. 8, 897.***Nigeria**Foreign Jurisdictions Act—Order in Council Presented, *Feb. 1, 234.***Noble, Sir A.**

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*Q. Mr. J. A. Pease; A. Mr. Wyn- ham, Feb. 8, 913.***Norfolk**

Foot and Mouth Diseases Outbreak, Regulations, etc.

*Qs. Col. Gunter, Mr. Channing, Sir M. Hoare; As. Mr. Long, Feb. 8, 927; Q. Mr. Stevenson; A. Mr. Long, Feb. 9, 1052; Os. Lord Burghclere, Duke of Devonshire, Feb. 13, 1354; Q. Mr. F. W. Wilson; A. Mr. Akers Douglas, Feb. 13, 1371.***North Borneo***See Borneo.***North British Railway Bill***1. 1R.* Feb. 12, 1165.***North-Eastern Railway Bill***1. 1R.* Feb. 12, 1165.***North-Eastern Railway (Steam Vessels) Bill***1. 1R.* Feb. 12, 1165.***North Metropolitan Electric Power Supply Bill***c. Ordered, Feb. 9, 1034.**1R.* Feb. 12, 1210.***North Metropolitan Railway and Canal Company Bill***c. Ordered, Feb. 9, 1034.**1R.* Feb. 12, 1210.***North Warwickshire Water Bill***c. Ordered, Feb. 9, 1035.**1R.* Feb. 12, 1211.***Northcote of Exeter, Baron**New Peer, *Jan. 30, 5.***Northumberland, County of**Polling Districts, County Council Order, *Feb. 9, 1022, 1041.*

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Q. Mr. Bainbridge; A. Mr. Wyndham, Feb. 6, 706.

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Q. Mr. J. A. Pease; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 8, 913.***Norton, Capt. C. W. [Newington, West]**Army—Strengthening and improving Organisation of the Regular and Auxiliary Forces—Government Proposals, *Feb. 12, 1293.**Golconda*, Unsatisfactory Condition of, alleged, *Feb. 12, 1231.*

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Policy of the Government, etc. [Vote of Censure], *Feb. 6, 743.*Promotion from the Ranks, *Feb. 1, 272.*Spion Kop—Royal Engineers, Delay in sending forward, alleged, *Feb. 13, 1359.*War Office—Reorganisation Committee Report, *Feb. 13, 1363.***Notting Hill Corporation Bill**c. Ordered, *Feb. 9, 1035.*1R.* *Feb. 12, 1211.***Nussey, Mr. [Pontefract]**Wire Cutters for Troops in South Africa, *Feb. 1, 264.***O'Brien, Mr. P. [Kilkenny]**Judges, Ireland—Religious Disabilities, *Feb. 5, 585.*

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Q. Mr. Murnaghan; A. Mr. Atkinson, *Feb. 8, 931.***Oldham**

Telegraphic Delays—Complaint

Q. Mr. Runciman; A. Mr. Hanbury, *Feb. 4, 722.***Oldham Corporation Bill**c. Ordered, *Feb. 9, 1035.*1R.* *Feb. 12, 1211.***Old Age Insurance**Germany—Report, *Jan. 30, 47.***Old Age Pensions**Departmental Committee, Report Presented, *Feb. 9, 1041; Feb. 12, 1165.*National Old Age Pensions, Petition, *Feb. 13, 1357.*

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Q. Sir J. Rankin; A. Mr. Chaplin, *Feb. 12, 1236.*

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Q. Sir J. Colomb; A. Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 12, 1220.***Old Age Pensions Bill**c. 1R.* *Feb. 2, 415.***Old Age Provident Pensions Bill**c. 1R.* *Feb. 2, 426.***Omagh Estate, Co. Tyrone**

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Q. Mr. Murnaghan; A. Mr. Atkinson, *Feb. 8, 931.***O'Malley, Mr. W. [Galway, Connemara]**Galway Postal Service Complaints, *Feb. 6, 722.*Land (Ireland) Acts, Administration and Working of, *Feb. 9, 1147.***Orange Free State**

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Q. Mr. W. Redmond; *A.* Mr. Brod-
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Ossett Gas Bill

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Q. Mr. Weir; *A.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb.* 12, 1247.**Schools**

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Q. Mr. Hedderwick; *A.* Mr. A. G. Murray, *Feb.* 5, 582.Crofters and Cottars, for Collective heading, *See* that Title.Deer Forests—Grievance of Crofters and Cottars, etc. — Amendment to the Address [Mr. Weir], *Feb.* 8, 973; Division 1002.Education—Minute of the Committee of Council on Education Presented, *Feb.* 5, 549, 563.

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Q. Sir E. Gourley; A. Mr. Goschen, *Feb. 12, 1220.*

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Q. Mr. Colville; A. Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 2, 437.*

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Q. Mr. W. Redmond; A. Mr. A. J. Balfour, Feb. 5, 578.

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Qs. Sir E. Gourley, Mr. W. Allan; *A.* Mr. Goschen, *Feb. 1*, 279.**Victoria and Albert Museum**

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Q. Lord Balcarras; *A.* Sir J. Gorst, *Feb. 13*, 1370.**Vivian, Lord**Sat first after the Death of his Father, *Feb. 8*, 897.**Vivisection**Prohibition—Petitions, *Feb. 7*, 829; *Feb. 8*, 898.**Voluntary Schools (Grants in Aid) Bill***c. 1R.* Feb. 6*, 730.**Volunteers**

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Qs. Mr. W. Johnston, Mr. P. O'Brien, Mr. W. Redmond; *As.* Mr. A. J. Balfour, *Feb. 5*, 564.

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Q. Mr. J. A. Pease; *A.* Mr. Wyndham, *Feb. 8*, 913.

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Q. Mr. S. MacNeill ; *A.* Mr. J. P. Williams, *Feb. 12*, 1231.

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